Boston Public Library
3 9999 10522 731 6

PER. RM

No. AP2.N7

V.171
1900

United States Mortgage & Trust Co.,

59 CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK

Capital $2,000,000 **Surplus $2,250,000**

Transacts a General Banking Business

Allows interest on Deposits subject to check
Is Legal Depositary for Court and Trust Funds
Acts as Fiscal Agent for Cities and Corporations

Buys and Sells Foreign Exchange
Issues Commercial and Travelers' Credits available in all parts of the world

Loans Money on Bond and Mortgage
Issues First Mortgage Trust Gold Bonds
Acts as Trustee, Registrar and Transfer Agent

Transacts a General Trust Business

OFFICERS

GEORGE W. YOUNG.....President
LUTHER KOUNTZE.....Vice-President
JAMES TIMPSON.....2d Vice-President
ARTHUR TURNBULL.....3d Vice-President
CLARK WILLIAMS.....Treasurer
WILLIAM P. ELLIOTT.....Secretary
RICHARD M. HURD.....Asst. Secretary
CALVERT BREWER.....Asst. Treasurer
ALEXANDER PHILLIPS.....Man'g For'n Dept.

DIRECTORS

Samuel D. Babcock

Wm. H. Baldwin, Jr.	Gustav E. Kissel
Frederick O. Barton	Luther Kountze
C. Ledyard Blair	Charlton T. Lewis
Dumont Clarke	Richard A. McCurdy
Charles D. Dickey	Theodore Morford
William P. Dixon	Robert Olyphant
Robert A. Granniss	Charles M. Pratt
G. G. Haven, Jr.	James Timpson
Charles R. Henderson	Eben B. Thomas

George W. Young

Copyright, 1900, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO. All rights reserved.
Entered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails, as second-class matter.

Eighty-sixth Year. Tres Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 171: No. 1.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

July, 1900.

CHINA AND MODERN PROGRESS.

Mutual Helpfulness between China and the United States,
His Excellency, WU TING-FANG,
Chinese Minister to the United States.

The Struggle for Reform . . . . . CHARLES JOHNSTON,
Bengal Civil Service (Retired).

Missions and Missionaries in China . POULTNEY BIGELOW

A Republican View of the Presidential Campaign,
General C. H. GROSVENOR

Notes on Spencer, Buckle and Comte . . . LEON GAMBETTA

Gambetta's Methods of Study . . . . . JOSEPH REINACH

Lord Playfair . . . . . MAYO W. HAZELTINE

OUR OPPORTUNITY ON THE PACIFIC.

American Control of Ocean Transportation,
E. T. CHAMBERLAIN,
United States Commissioner of Navigation.

The Projected Cable-Line to the Philippines, CHANDLER HALE

A Forecast of the Twelfth Census . . M. G. MULHALL, F.S.S.

The Plague at Oporto . . . . . Dr. ALBERT CALMETTE

State Care of Dependent Children . . HENRIETTA C. WRIGHT

SOUTH AFRICAN PROSPECTS.

The Settlement After the War, S. C. CRONWRIGHT-SCHREINER

The Ultimate Triumph of the Boers . CESARE LOMBROSO

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

LONDON:
WM. HEINEMANN, 21 Bedford St., W. C.

PARIS:
BRENTANO'S, 37 Avenue de l'Opera.

Single Number, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, $5.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. CLXXI.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

VOL. CLXXI.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NOV 10 1964

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE.
1900.

Per Dept
*A P2
.N7
Vol. 171

Copyright, 1900, by The North American Review Publishing Co.

All rights reserved.

Apr. 6-1901
Works

PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXIV.

JULY, 1900.

MUTUAL HELPFULNESS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY, WU TING-FANG, CHINESE MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

TRADE, which lies at the foundation of international intercourse, has an eminently selfish origin. It is a constant manœuver on the part of men to sell dear and buy cheap. Since each party in a commercial transaction seeks only his own advantage, it was for a long time thought that one of them could gain only at the expense of the other. Thus the "mercantile system," which for centuries held Europe spellbound, made gold-getting the end and aim of all commercial activities. The promotion of friendly relations with the object of securing an exchange of benefits was not considered of even secondary importance. Then came the navigation laws which had for their avowed purpose the crippling of all rival shipping by laying a heavy tax upon the carrying trade of foreigners. Though such measures are no longer considered advisable in the commercial world, their baleful effects are still felt in the political thought of the present time.

Nations now enter into friendly relations with each other because it is believed that both sides are benefited by such rela-

Copyright, 1900, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

3871

tions. Their transactions cannot be one-sided affairs, for the simple reason that it takes two to make a bargain. If one party is dissatisfied with the arrangement, the other party will not long have an opportunity to enjoy its benefits.

Confucius was once asked for a single word which might serve as a guiding principle through life. "Is not reciprocity such a word?" answered the great sage. "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." This is the "Golden Rule" which should govern the relations of man to man. It is the foundation of society. It lies at the bottom of every system of morality, and every system of law. If it holds good with respect to individuals, it ought to hold good with respect to nations, which are but large aggregations of individuals. Therefore, if permanent relations are to be established between two nations, reciprocity must be the key-note of every arrangement entered into between them.

Having recognized this great principle of international intercourse, how shall we apply it to the case of China and the United States in such a manner as to result in mutual helpfulness? Assuredly, the first thing to do is to take a general survey of the situation and see what are the present needs of each country. Then we shall perceive clearly how each may help the other to a higher plane of material development and prosperity.

The United States now has its industrial machinery perfectly adjusted to the production of wealth on a scale of unprecedented magnitude. Of land, the first of the three agents of production enumerated by economists, the United States is fortunately blessed with an almost unlimited amount. Its territory stretches from ocean to ocean, and from the snows of the Arctic Circle to the broiling sun of the tropics. Within these limits are found all the products of soil, forest and mine that are useful to man. With respect to labor, the second agent of production, the United States at first naturally suffered the disadvantage common to all new countries. But here the genius of the people came into play to relieve the situation. That necessity, which is "the mother of invention," substituted the sewing machine for women's fingers, the McCormick reaper for farm hands, the cotton gin for slaves. The efficiency of labor was thereby multiplied, in many cases, a hundred fold. The ingenious manner in which capital, the third agent of production, is put to a profitable use, is equally characteristic of America. It is well known that there is an enormous

amount of capital in this country seeking investment. Every one who has a little to invest wishes to obtain as large a return as possible. Since competition reduces profits, the formation of industrial combinations, commonly called trusts, is for the capitalist the logical solution of the difficulty. These enable the vast amount of capital in this country to secure the best results with the greatest economy. Whether they secure "the greatest good to the greatest number" is another matter.

The development of the resources of the United States by the use of machinery and by the combination of capital has now reached a point which may be termed critical. The productive power of the country increases so much faster than its capacity for consumption that the demand of a population of 75,000,000 is no sooner felt than supplied. There is constant danger of overproduction, with all its attendant consequences. Under these circumstances, it is imperative for the farmers and manufacturers of the United States to seek an outlet for their products and goods in foreign markets. But whither shall they turn?

At first sight, Europe presents perhaps the most inviting field. Both blood and association point in this direction. But here the cottons of Lowell would have to compete with the fabrics of Manchester. The silk manufactures of Paterson would stand small chance of supplanting the finished products of Lyons. The sugar of Louisiana would encounter a formidable rival in the beet-sugar of Germany. England could probably better afford to sell her coal and iron cheaper than Pennsylvania, and Russia could supply European markets with wheat and petroleum as well as could Ohio and Indiana. Competition would be keen and destructive.

Central and South America have as yet too sparse a population for the immense territory they cover to meet the conditions of a market for American goods. Some decades must elapse before American farmers and manufacturers can look to that quarter for relief.

But on the other side of the Pacific lies the vast Empire of China, which in extent of territory and density of population exceeds the whole of Europe. To be more particular, the Province of Szechuen can muster more able-bodied men than the German Empire. The Province of Shantung can boast of as many native-born sons as France. Scatter all the inhabitants of Costa Rica or Nicaragua in Canton, and they would be completely lost in that

city's surging throngs. Transport all the people of Chile into China and they would fill only a city of the first class. Further comparisons are needless. Suffice it to say that China has her teeming millions to feed and to clothe. Many of the supplies come from outside. The share furnished by the United States was considerably larger last year than ever before, and might be greatly increased. According to the statistics published by the United States Government, China in 1899 took American goods to the value of $14,437,422, of which amount $9,844,565 was paid for cotton goods. All the European countries combined bought only $1,484,363 worth of American cotton manufactures during that same period. The amount of similar purchases made by the Central American States was $737,259, by all the South American countries $2,713,967. It thus appears that China is the largest buyer of American cotton goods. British America comes next in the list with purchases amounting to $2,759,164. Cotton cloth has a wide range of uses in all parts of the Chinese Empire, and it is almost impossible for the supply to equal the demand.

Up to the year 1898, cotton goods and kerosene were the only articles imported from the United States in large enough quantities to have a value of over $1,000,000. But I notice in the statistics published by the United States Government for the year 1899, that manufactures of iron and steel have also passed that mark. This is due to the fact that China has now begun in real earnest the work of building railroads. The demand for construction materials is great. The value of locomotives imported last year from the United States was $732,212.

Besides the articles mentioned, there are many others of American origin, which do not figure in the customs returns as such. These find their way into China through adjacent countries, especially Hongkong. At least three-fourths of the imports of Hongkong, notably wheat, flour and canned goods, are destined for consumption in the Chinese mainland.

Such is the present condition of trade between the United States and China. That trade can be greatly extended. Let the products of American farms, mills, and workshops once catch the Chinese fancy, and America need look no farther for a market. The present popularity of American kerosene illustrates the readiness of the Chinese to accept any article that fills a long-felt want.

They have recognized in kerosene a cheap and good illuminant, much superior to their own nut-oil, and it has consequently found its way into distant and outlying parts of the Empire where the very name of America is unknown. Stores in the interior now send their agents to the treaty ports for it. In the same way, foreign made candles, because cheaper than those of home make, are selling easily in China. I would suggest that American farmers and manufacturers might find it to their advantage to study the wants and habits of the Chinese and the conditions of trade in China.

Thus we see that China can give the United States a much-needed market. What, on the other hand, can the United States do for China? Let us consider China's stock of the three requisites for the production of wealth—land, labor and capital.

The Chinese Empire embraces a continuous territory which stretches over sixty degrees of longitude and thirty-four degrees of latitude. Nature has endowed this immense region with every variety of soil and climate, but has, however, scattered her bounties over it with an uneven hand. That portion which comprises the eighteen provinces of China Proper, extending from the Great Wall to the China Sea, and from the Tibetan plateau to the Pacific Ocean, is more highly favored than the rest. Whenever China is mentioned, it is generally this particular portion of the empire that is meant. On this land hundreds of generations of men have lived and died without exhausting its richness and fertility. There remains for generations to come untold wealth of nature lying hidden within the bowels of the earth. The mines of Yunnan, though they have for centuries supplied the government mints with copper for the coining of those pieces of money commonly known as cash, only await the introduction of modern methods of extraction to yield an annual output as large as that of the famous Calumet and Hecla mines. The sands of the Yangtsze, washed down from the highlands of Tibet, contain so much gold that that part of its course as it enters the Province of Szechuen is called the River of Golden Sand. Much more important than these, however, are the deposits of coal which underlie the surface formation of every province. All varieties of coal are found, from the softest lignite to the hardest anthracite, and in such quantities that, according to the careful estimate of Baron Richtofen, the famous German traveler and geologist, the Province of Shansi

alone can supply the whole world at the present rate of consumption, for 3,000 years. In most cases, beds of iron ore lie in close proximity to those of coal and can hence be easily worked and smelted. In short, the natural resources of China, both in variety and quantity, are so great that she stands second to no other nation in potential wealth. To reduce this potentiality to actuality is for her the most important question of the hour. For this purpose, she has an almost unlimited supply of labor at her command.

Every village can count its thousands of laborers, every city its tens of thousands. Experience proves that the Chinese as all-round laborers can easily distance all competitors. They are industrious, intelligent, and orderly. They can work under conditions that would kill a man of a less hardy race; in heat that would suit a salamander or in cold that would please a polar bear, sustaining their energies through long hours of unremitting toil with only a few bowls of rice.

But have the Chinese sufficient capital to carry on their industrial operations? They are a nation of shopkeepers. What capital they have is usually invested in small business ventures. It is their instinct to avoid large enterprises. Thus, the capital in the country, though undoubtedly large, may be likened to a pile of sand on the beach. It has great extent, but is so utterly lacking in cohesion that out of it no lofty structure can be built. Before China can be really on the high road to prosperity, it must find means of fully utilizing every economic advantage that it has. Modern methods are its greatest need. Here is America's opportunity.

The Yankee is never seen to better advantage than when experimenting with a new idea on a colossal scale. To direct vast or novel enterprises is a perfectly new experience to the Chinaman. Give him a junk and he will with ease ride out the fiercest typhoon that ever lashed the seas. But give him an ocean leviathan of the present day, with its complicated engines, dynamos, compasses and other modern appliances for navigating a ship, and he will be truly "all at sea" in knowing how to handle it, even in a dead calm.

Of all public works, China has most pressing need of railroads. Only ten years ago it would have been difficult to convince one man in ten of the immediate necessity for the introduction of

railroads into all the provinces of the empire. To-day, at least nine out of every ten believe that railroads ought to be built as fast as possible. This complete change of public opinion within so short a time shows perhaps better than anything else how fast China is getting into the swing of the world's forward movement. There are at present only about 400 miles of railroad open to traffic throughout the whole country, and all the lines building and projected foot up to 5,000 or 6,000 miles more. China Proper covers about as many square miles as the States east of the Mississippi. Those States, with a population of 50,000,000, require 100,000 miles of railroad to do their business. China, with a population eight times as large, would naturally be supposed to need at least about an equal mileage of roads for her purposes. It would not be strange if the activity in railroad construction in the United States soon after the Civil War should find a parallel in China in coming years.

The building of railroads in China does not partake of the speculative character which attended the building of some of the American roads. There are no wild regions to be opened up for settlement, no new towns to be built along the route. Here is a case of the railroad following the population, and not that of the population following the railroad. A road built through populous cities and famous marts has not long to wait for traffic. It would pay from the very beginning.

The first railroad in China was built for the transportation of coal from the Kaiping mines to the port of Taku. I was chiefly instrumental in securing its construction. The line, though in an out-of-the-way corner of the empire, proved so profitable from the very start that it was soon extended to Tientsin and Peking in one direction, and to Shanhaikwan, the eastern terminus of the Great Wall, in the other. Not long ago it was thought advisable to build a branch beyond Shanhaikwan to the treaty port of Newchwang. This branch has been completed and will soon be opened to traffic. Minister Conger, in a recent letter to the State Department, says that the road now pays a dividend of 14 per cent. on the whole capital invested, and that when the entire line is open a dividend of 30 per cent. is expected. The era of railroad building in China may be said to have just dawned. China desires nothing better than to have Americans lend a hand in this great work.

It gave me great pleasure two years ago to obtain for an American company a concession to build a railroad between Hankow, the great distributing center of Central China, and Canton, the great distributing center of South China. The line is to connect with the Lu-Han line on the north and with the Kowloon line on the south, and throughout its whole length of more than 900 miles will run through opulent cities, fertile valleys and cultivated plains. The construction of such a line by Americans through the heart of China cannot fail to bring the people of the two countries into closer relations.

Besides railroads, there are other public works which China must undertake sooner or later. Among them are river and harbor improvements, city water supplies, street lighting and street railways. Owing to the traditional friendship between the two countries, our people are well disposed toward Americans. They are willing to follow their lead in these new enterprises, where they might spurn the assistance of other people with whom they have been on less friendly terms in the past.

Such being the economic interdependence of China and the United States, what policy should each country pursue toward the other in order to gain the greatest good from that relationship? In my judgment, true reciprocity is impossible unless each country has perfect confidence in the other and displays on all occasions a desire for fair play and honest dealing.

Now, reciprocity demands the "open door." China long ago adopted that policy in her foreign intercourse. She has treaty relations with all the European Powers, together with the United States, Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Japan and Korea. All these are equally "favored nations" in every sense of the term. The Swede and the Dane enjoy the same rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions with respect to commerce, navigation, travel, and residence throughout the length and breadth of the Empire as are accorded to the Russian or the Englishman. Any favor that may be granted to Japan, for instance, at once inures to the benefit of the United States. Indeed, China in her treatment of strangers within her gates has in a great many respects gone even beyond what is required by international usage. According to the usual practice of nations, no country is expected to accord to foreigners rights which are not enjoyed by its own subjects or citizens. But China has been so long accustomed to indemnify foreigners who

have fallen victims to mob violence that she is looked upon in a sense as an insurer of the lives and property of all foreigners residing within her borders. To such an extent is this idea current among foreigners in China that some years ago an American missionary in the Province of Shantung, who happened to have some articles stolen from his house in the night, estimated his loss at $60, and actually sent the bill through the American Minister at Peking to the Foreign Office for payment. The Chinese tariff also favors foreigners resident in China much more than it does the Chinese themselves. Most articles imported for the use of foreigners are on the free list. Such is the treatment which Americans in common with the subjects and citizens of other foreign powers receive in China.

Justice would seem to demand equal consideration for the Chinese on the part of the United States. China does not ask for special favors. All she wants is enjoyment of the same privileges accorded other nationalities. Instead, she is singled out for discrimination and made the subject of hostile legislation. Her door is wide open to the people of the United States, but their door is slammed in the face of her people. I am not so biased as to advocate any policy that might be detrimental to the best interests of the people of the United States. If they think it desirable to keep out the objectionable class of Chinese, by all means let them do so. Let them make their immigration laws as strict as possible, but let them be applicable to all foreigners. Would it not be fairer to exclude the illiterate and degenerate classes of all nations rather than to make an arbitrary ruling against the Chinese alone? Would it not be wiser to set up some specific test of fitness, such as ability to read intelligently the American Constitution? That would give the Chinese a chance along with the rest of the world, and yet effectually restrict their immigration. Such a law would be practically prohibitory as far as all except the best educated Chinese are concerned, for the reason that the written language of the Chinese is so entirely different from the spoken tongue that few of the immigrants would be able to read with intelligence such a work as the American Constitution. Nevertheless, a law of that kind would be just in spirit and could not rouse resentment in the Chinese breast.

Since the law and the treaty forbid the coming of Chinese laborers, I must do all I can to restrict their immigration. I

should, however, like to call attention to the fact that the Chinese Exclusion Act, as enforced, scarcely accomplishes the purpose for which it was passed. It aimed to provide for the exclusion of Chinese laborers only, while freely admitting all others. As a matter of fact, the respectable merchant, who would be an irreproachable addition to the population of any country, has been frequently turned back, whereas the Chinese high-binders, the riff-raff and scum of the nation, fugitives from justice and adventurers of all types have too often effected an entrance without much difficulty. This is because the American officials at the entrance ports are ignorant of Chinese character and dialects and cannot always discriminate between the worthy and unworthy. Rascals succeed in deceiving them, while the respectable but guileless Chinese are often unjustly suspected, inconveniently detained, or even sent back to China. A number of such cases have been brought to my attention. It must not be supposed, however, that I blame any official. In view of their limited knowledge of Chinese affairs, it is not strange that the officials sometimes make mistakes. The Americans judge us wrongly, just as we often misjudge them. This unpleasant state of things is to be deplored, and I would suggest that difficulties might be avoided, if the regular officials, in passing on immigrant Chinamen, could have the assistance of Chinese consuls, or people fitted by training and experience in China for the discharge of such duties.

Great misunderstanding exists in the United States in regard to Chinese questions. There is a current fear that if all restrictions on Chinese immigration were removed, the United States would be flooded with my countrymen. Inasmuch as China contains some 400,000,000 inhabitants, a wholesale emigration would certainly be a serious matter for the people of the country to which they removed. But there is no danger of such a calamity befalling the United States. Those who view it with alarm only show how profoundly ignorant they are of Chinese character. One of the most striking features of the conservatism of the Chinese is their absolute horror of travel, especially by sea. They regard any necessity for it as an unmitigated evil. They do not often visit neighboring towns, much less adjoining provinces or foreign countries. So pronounced is their prejudice against travel that, until they could be educated into a different view, Chinese railroads would for the first few years have to depend for

their profits on freight rates rather than passenger fares. To the American or Englishman, who proceeds to go abroad as soon as he has accumulated a little money, their state of mind may seem incomprehensible, but it is nevertheless a fact that must be taken into account.

How, then, is the presence of so many Chinese in America explained? By the fact that some forty years ago, when the Pacific Railway was building, there was great scarcity of laborers. Agents went to China and induced a considerable number of Chinese to come to this country and assist in the construction of the railroad. After their work was done most of them returned home, taking their earnings with them. They told their relatives of the exceptional opportunities for making money in this country and they in turn decided to seek their fortunes here. Were it not for this circumstance, there would be no more Chinese in this country than there are in Europe, where wages are also much higher than in China. As it is, all who are in the United States are from the Province of Canton, and they come from two or three places only of that one province.

It has been said that the rules of international intercourse as observed by Western nations among themselves are not applicable to intercourse with Eastern nations. True it is that the people of the East speak different languages and have different customs, manners, religions, and ways of thinking from the people of the West. But the rule of contraries is by no means a safe guide through the intricacies of social observances. By disregarding the common civilities of life, which are considered very important in China, and by assuming a lofty air of superiority, foreigners frequently make themselves unpopular in China. Americans have the reputation there of being abrupt, English dictatorial. In recent years, competition in trade with people of other nationalities has reduced their profits and forced them, for the sake of obtaining custom, to be more suave in their manners. Foreigners are sometimes guilty, also, of practising all sorts of tricks upon the unsuspecting natives. It should be remembered that the Chinese standard of business honesty is very high. The "yea, yea" of a Chinese merchant is as good as gold. Not a scrap of paper is necessary to bind him to his word. Friendly feeling between the people of China and those of the United States would be greatly promoted if the Americans would always remember,

in whatever dealings they may have with the Chinese, that "Honesty is the best policy."

I believe that the Western nations want to treat the people of the Orient fairly. It is gratifying to see that Japan has been able to revise her ex-territorial treaties, and it speaks well for the fairmindedness of England and other countries that they have thrown no obstacles in her way. I hope that the day will soon come when China may follow in her footsteps.

In the meantime, China observes with interest that the planting of the Stars and Stripes in the Philippine Islands will make the United States her neighbor in the future, as she has been her friend in the past. It is her earnest hope that the United States will make no attempt to bar Asiatics from her new shores, but that she will seize this opportunity to strengthen friendly relations of mutual helpfulness between the two countries. No other nation has a stronger claim to the confidence of China than has the United States. The very first article of the first treaty concluded between the two nations provides that there shall be peace and friendship between them and between their people. Through a half century of intercourse, no untoward circumstance has interrupted those amicable relations. More than once the United States Government has used its good offices to promote Chinese interests and welfare. Nations, like individuals, appreciate favors, and, like them also, resent indignities. The sentiment of good will entertained by the Government and people of China toward the Government and people of the United States is strong and profound because of the long, unblemished past, but underneath it all there is, I am sorry to say, a natural feeling of disappointment and irritation that the people of the United States deal now less liberally with the Chinese than with the rest of the world. If the best guarantee of friendship is self-interest, surely the friendship of a nation of 400,000,000 people ought to be worth cultivating. China does not ask for much. She has no thought of territorial aggrandizement, of self-glorification in any form. All she wants is gentle peace, sweet friendship, helpful exchange of benefits, and the generous application of that Golden Rule which people of all nations and all creeds should delight to follow.

WU TING-FANG.

THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORM IN CHINA.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

SIGNS are not wanting that we are on the eve of another political convulsion in China, a violent reaction from the masterly and masterful intervention of the Dowager-Empress. The forces which have been swaying China this way and that for the last generation are still actively at work; while time is surely if slowly wearing away the barrier which has kept the flowing tide in check.

Many writers, in a glow of controversial zeal, were led to represent the palace revolution as the visible evidence of an occult struggle between Russia and England for the sovereignty of the Far East; and, considering the forced retirement of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu a victory for the Russian party, they confidently predicted a speedy countercheck from Great Britain, and exulted over it in advance as a victory for progress, enterprise and a higher phase of civilization.

In reality, the revolution in Pekin had nothing whatever to do with either Russia or England. It happened that one of the chiefs on the side of the Dowager-Empress, the venerable Li Hung Chang, was a firm friend of Russia, and this gave color to the partisan view; but it might just as well have been the other way. The watershed of the Chinese movement, so to speak, is a question of internal policy alone.

There are, in fact, two parties in China, one extremely radical and the other extremely conservative. The former is the party of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu; the latter is the party of the Dowager-Empress Tshu-Chsi. The Conservatives, under the lead of this remarkable woman, aspire to keep China as far as possible a forbidden land, a second Tibet, governed on traditional and theocratic lines. The Radicals, on the other hand, desire to see

China follow the lead of Japan, and put on the whole armor of civilization, as we understand it in Europe and America.

But the Conservatives are in sympathy with Russia only to a very limited extent; it is, with them, a sympathy of tradition rather than of policy, for the relations between Russia and China go back to the Middle Ages. They regard Russia as a friendly Asiatic despotism, and hardly as a European country at all.

The Radicals, on the other hand, have no particular sympathy with England. It is, indeed, one of the elements of their policy to foster closer relations with Japan, in order that China and Japan together may be able to stand independently as a great Asiatic power, throwing off the yoke of European, and especially of English, interference.

In truth, the questions which divide these two parties in China are much more serious and profound than one would be led to believe from reading the accounts of the critics and chroniclers of our press. They have a way of leaping to conclusions, which shows a great deal of courage, it is true, but, on the other hand, a great ignorance of the Oriental world, and of the thoughts and feelings of Oriental peoples.

It is taken as axiomatic, for example, that a theocratic government is something wholly out of place in the modern world; an exploded superstition of a by-gone age; something quite out of keeping with modern ideas and modern life. But Germany, and indeed every monarchical country, is in principle a theocracy; for the kingship is founded on divine right; and the fact that the coronation is a religious ceremony shows that the divine sanction is still conceived as authorizing the Emperor to rule. Russia, where the Emperor himself sets the crown upon his head, is even more directly theocratic; the ruler draws his right direct from heaven, without the interposition of the Church. But every monarchy is in principle a theocracy, just as every aristocracy admits the principle of ancestor-worship.

So that there is nothing essentially incompatible with Western ideas in even the extreme ideals of the Chinese Conservatives. And, as far as they believe in adhering to the traditional and native forms of Chinese life, and, incidentally, of Chinese arts and handicrafts, there is much to be said for them, too; for these are the forms of life which they have developed for themselves during generations, and even now their arts and crafts are in

many things so superior to ours that we buy as ornaments things which they destined simply for common use. In Europe the very latest ideal in arts and crafts is the introduction of the personal and creative element in all workmanship as against machinery. But this was the ideal of China and Japan from the outset. Every Japanese and Chinese artisan is an artist, and in this they are a century ahead of their Western critics.

So that one may easily make out a very strong general case for the Conservatives in China. And, when this has been done, it becomes doubly interesting to apply the same process in detail, and to inquire what precisely were the innovations which the Emperor Kuang-Hsu sought to introduce, and why this attempt was so completely frustrated.

First, a word about the Emperor himself. Kuang-Hsu is an imperial title, meaning "Enduring Majesty;" the prince's personal name is Teai-Tsien. He is only twenty-seven years old, though he has borne the title of Emperor ever since the death of his cousin, the Emperor Chai-Chin, five and twenty years ago, and has been sole responsible ruler, in theory at least, for the last nine years. The Emperor Kuang-Hsu is slight and delicate, almost childish in appearance, of pale olive complexion, and with great, melancholy eyes. There is a gentleness in his expression that speaks rather of dreaming than of the power to turn dreams into acts. It is strange to find a personality so ethereal among the descendants of the Mongol hordes; yet the Emperor Kuang-Hsu might sit as a model for some Oriental saint on the threshold of the highest beatitude. Though it is eleven years since his marriage with Princess Eho-na-la, the Emperor is childless.

It is not so long since the nobles of our most civilized Western lands counted it a vice to write well, and slept on rushes in their torch-lit, wooden halls. Their ideals were war and hunting, with bows and arrows, for the most part, with legalized plundering of the agricultural population to renew their supplies of bread. In those days China was far more civilized than any European country; and, in the life of the Chinese Empire, that period is only as yesterday. The two things which have done most to change the relative positions of East and West are gunpowder and printing, yet both of these have been known in China for ages. So that any inherent superiority on the part of the West is rather a pleasing fiction; much might be said in the contrary sense. The

West is superior in combative and destructive elements—the very things which the religion of the West has been trying to eradicate for two thousand years; so that, even from a Western point of view, Europe's material victory is a moral defeat.

Yet it is none the less true that China has been overshadowed and left behind by the Western nations, and the recognition of this fact is the starting point of the Emperor's policy.

He conceives the remedy to be an infusion of new life into the education of the people; a supersession of the wonderful system of intellectual training, perfected centuries ago, which forms all minds alike on the great Chinese Classics, "the best that has been thought and said" in the Celestial Land. It is the battle of utility against culture fought out once more on Chinese lines. Chemistry and physics, engineering and military science are to take the place of essays and poems exquisitely fashioned after ancient models, now the sole test of talent throughout the Empire, and perfection in which is the royal road to fame and fortune.

It is hard to tell which we should most admire, the genuine enthusiasm of all China for literary culture, for familiarity with the highest thoughts and noblest words of the sages, or the marvellous ingenuity and precision with which this knowledge is tested by a system of examinations hardly equalled, and never surpassed, by any nation in the world—the vast halls, with their cloister-like divisions for ten thousand candidates; the seals set on the doors before the papers are given out; the counted sheets of stamped paper with name and number for the essays and poems of each candidate; the army of clerks copying the themes in red ink, lest any personal sign or mark should lead the examiner to recognize a favored pupil; the enthusiastic crowds gathering at the doors; the cannons and music which greet the candidates first to come forth; the literary chancellor ceremoniously presiding; the lists of the successful eagerly bought up in the streets; the chosen essays and poems sent to Court for the delectation of the Emperor; the gold-buttoned caps and blue silk gowns of the graduates; and, lastly, the almost pathetic provision that whoever continues without success to try for any degree until his eightieth year shall receive it free, from the Emperor himself, as a reward for faithful love of learning.

By the way, we should keep some of our admiration for the

more than human ingenuity with which the Chinese students sometimes evade even the strictest precautions: the tunnels dug beneath the examination halls, through which surreptitious knowledge is passed up to the candidates, written minutely on the finest paper; the offices where needy and brilliant essayists are hired to personate dull, wealthy scholars; the refinement of knavery that decrees that, while the rank of the examination to be compounded for rises in arithmetical progression, the bribe increases in geometrical ratio. All this but shows, by crooked ways, how highly learning is esteemed.

Yet all this, while it reminds us how foolish we are to think of Chinamen as uncivilized, is not enough to win the battles of the world. Therefore, the Emperor Kuang-Hsu deemed it necessary to decree reform and the introduction of the utilitarian spirit. Pekin is to have a University, as a rallying point for the modern spirit; and here a characteristic note of Chinese radicalism is struck; for the methods and standards of this first Chinese University are to be taken not directly from Europe, but mediately through Japan. It is conceived that Western ideals will then have undergone a process of partial assimilation and amelioration, making them more immediately suitable for the Chinese mind. In other words, it is held that the Japanese have already improved the culture they received from Europe, and that the Chinese, following in their steps, will improve it still further.

This drawing together of China and Japan is one of the keynotes of the radical programme of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu. "China and Japan," says a recent edict, "have a common language, they belong to the same race, they have all interests in common."

So a band of students are to set out from the Celestial Empire to the Flowery Land, as guests of the Japanese nation, there to absorb the light which they are presently to radiate, as teachers, in their own land. Two hundred are to go, as a beginning, and they are already being chosen among those who have some knowledge of Japanese. And before they return, if Kuang-Hsu's programme is carried out, Pekin will have, besides her University, a whole system of primary and intermediate schools, and this system, modelled on the best Western plans, will gradually be extended to every considerable city of the Empire.

The University of Tokio, which is held to be the high-water

mark of blended European and Japanese culture, is to serve as the model for the Pekin institution, and temporary quarters have been assigned to the teachers in the princely palaces of the capital, pending the erection of suitable University buildings. Meanwhile, the sum originally allotted to the Committee on Education has been increased threefold, by a special Imperial edict, and the sum set aside for the maintenance of the committee has been doubled.

The thoroughly practical spirit pervading this new educational movement in China is shown in an Imperial order recently dispatched to the coast provinces: the Viceroys, Governors, Prefects and District Magistrates—the four chief degrees in the executive hierarchy—are directed to furnish the Emperor with precise information as to possible means of increasing the naval schools and supplying new training-ships for the fleet. A further very practical move is the formation of a Committee on Railroads and Engineering, with orders to draft plans for the opening of schools of railroad engineering at a number of central points through the Empire, from which, it is hoped, railroads will soon radiate to every considerable town, and through all the provinces.

Close on the heels of this follows another Committee on Agriculture, Manufactures and Trade. To the President and Vice-President of this committee are specifically reserved the right of free access to the Emperor at all times, on the business of their departments; and when we remember the divinity that hedges in the Son of Heaven we shall better understand how much he is in earnest, and how clearly he shows it by sacrificing his ceremonial prerogatives. A School of Agriculture is to be formed, with branches in each district of every province of the Empire, and these branch schools are to procure the latest agricultural machinery, and to exhibit its advantages to the mass of cultivators in the rural districts. It is hoped that a decade will not pass before the whole agriculture of China is transformed by the use of tilling and harvesting machines.

Another innovation, which seems to have been borrowed from India, was suggested by last year's famine in the three provinces of Hu-pé, Shan-Si and Shan-tung, all not very far from the capital. The Emperor had discovered that the system of distributing free rations among the starving populations was not a success—or, perhaps we should say, the system of allotting considerable sums to that end. For there is the old tale of peculation and dis-

honest officials, a Chinese version of the charges more than once brought against the American Government in its relations with the Red Indians. The Emperor proposes to adopt the British Indian expedient of relief-works, and further intends to improve the occasion by employing the men at these works in the various new industries which he is seeking to introduce throughout the provinces. This would include the building of railroads, the establishment of agricultural machinery, the extension of irrigation and the introduction of new manufactures. So that a famine will come as a blessing in disguise.

Another very important reform touches the procedure in civil cases. It is said that the Chinese courts have a bad eminence in civil law's delays, keeping a good fat process on the files for months and years, and even decades, to the end that many bribes may be taken; and after a judge has taken many bribes from both sides it becomes very embarrassing to decide the case at all. The traditional solution in India is to put the final decision up to auction. Before we pass too heavy a sentence on this form of corruption and brand it as the mark of an inferior race, we should remember that Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, whom Shelley wrongly called "Lord Bacon," and whom Mr. Gladstone even more wrongly called "Francis, Lord Bacon," was degraded for selling the decisions of the highest court in the England of his day. Experience makes it probable that this reform will be one of the hardest to enforce, since its success depends largely on the good-will of the very judges to be reformed.

Yet another measure shows a daring spirit of innovation: the foundation of a new Medical College at Pekin, for the express purpose of introducing the methods of modern Europe. A license for this College has already been granted; but it has dark days before it, for it strikes a blow at vested interests of the most extensive character, founded on most venerable traditions. It is as though the Federal Government were to organize and endow a College for Mental Healing. One could predict stormy days for it, whatever opinion one held as to the Efficacy of Faith. It is true that Kuang-Hsu throws a sop to Cerberus by including in the course the traditional medical practice of China side by side with the new methods of the West. But it seems to me that this is a false move; for what battles there may be between the rival professors! Homeopathy and allopathy will be nothing to it.

But the next reform on the Emperor's list admits of no healing balm. It is a decree for the suspension of the famous Six Boards, a series of venerable sinecures, supposed to look after the education of the heir apparent, the royal stables, the due performance of bowings and kneelings, the imperial banquets, and so forth. Every European Court has half a dozen departments equally ornamental. These interesting survivals—and the salaries—are to become a thing of the past, their nominal duties are to be passed on to Committees of the Senate, and the buildings they occupied are to be turned over to the new Medical College and the Pekin University.

From a tactical point of view, this seems the Emperor's first grave mistake, for it sets the whole of the permanent Civil Service against the reform programme. Like many another bringer of glad tidings, his course might have been smoother if he could only have been persuaded to leave the Scribes and Pharisees alone. And the whole army of bureaucrats and lesser officials has evidently taken alarm, for we find a recent edict of the Emperor speaking in the following terms:

"The Government of the Chinese Empire, striving to elevate the various departments of the administration, and with the sole design of conferring benefits on the people, wishes to employ to this end the methods of the nations of the West, since what is common to the Western nations and the Chinese, has been brought to greater excellence by the former, and may, therefore, serve for our advancement.

"At the same time, the bureaucrats and scholars of this Empire, whose views of foreign nations are characterized by the greatest ignorance, pretend that Western nations are totally devoid of order and enlightenment, not knowing that among the Western nations there are many forms of political science which have as their sole aim the moral elevation of the people, and their material well-being, and which, from their high development, are able to heap benefits on mankind, and to prolong the span of human life. In the West, all efforts are directed to procuring the blessings which mankind is entitled to.

"In our ceaseless efforts to reform various departments of the administration, we are by no means prompted by a mere desire for novelty, but by a sincere aspiration for the well-being of the Empire entrusted to us by Providence, and handed down to us by our ancestors. We shall not have fulfilled our duty, if we fail to secure to all our people, the blessings of peace and prosperity.

"And we are not less grieved at the slights which China has had to submit to, at the hands of foreign governments. But so long as we do not possess the knowledge and science of other peoples, we shall not be able to defend ourselves against them.

"At the same time, our subjects evidently fail to understand the

true purpose of our unsleeping endeavors and exertions. The reason of this is that the lower classes of officials and the bureaucrats devoted to routine [the Scribes and Pharisees] not only do not make our intentions clear, but on the contrary, intentionally confuse the people with vain and unseemly speeches. Grieved and vexed that a true understanding of our intentions has not reached our subjects, we inform all China, by the present decree, of the true purpose of our doings. This is in order that our enlightened intentions may be known to the whole people, and that the people may know that trust is to be reposed in their Ruler, who, with the help of all, will mould the Government according to new principles, for the strengthening and elevation of the Chinese Empire.

"To this end we order the Viceroys and Governors to print these our decrees, and to exhibit them on notice-boards, and we order the Prefects and District Magistrates, and all school masters, to explain these decrees to the people. And likewise, we command the Treasurers, Provincial Judges, District Inspectors, Prefects, heads of districts and sub-districts, to lay before us, without fear, statements of their views on all imperial questions. And these statements are to be forwarded to us sealed, and must on no account be kept back by Viceroys and Governors. Finally, we order the present decree to be exhibited in a prominent place, in the offices of all Viceroys and Governors."

This is a most important document, and the key to much that will happen in the natural course of events in the Chinese Empire during the next few years. It is the personal confession of faith of the despotic Ruler of four hundred millions, more than a quarter of the whole human race. To carry out a programme like this Kuang-Hsu had need to be endowed with an uncommonly strong will, and, further, with unerring insight into the character of his helpers. Very much of future history depends on his possession of these two gifts.

Another projected reform is intended to cut at the root of what is certainly the greatest evil in the system of Chinese Government —the malversation of the revenues, made possible by the very loose system of accounts in vogue in the Treasury Department. An autocrat has been defined as one whose budget is not audited; if this be so, the Chinese Empire is suffering from an epidemic of autocrats. This time the trouble lies not so much with the Scribes and Pharisees, as with their friends, the Publicans and Sinners—the farmers of taxes, who bid so much for the right to extort what they can from a long-suffering public. The result of this malversation is such that while the taxable capacity of China is simply enormous, the system of peculation is so thorough and so much sticks to the fingers of the collectors that the Government is almost chronically bankrupt. The estimated revenue of the

Chinese Empire amounts to about twenty cents a year for each inhabitant. This is about one-fiftieth of the rate for most European countries, and less than one-hundredth of that of some. So that if the revenues of China were raised to about the same level per head as, say, those of Belgium or Austria-Hungary, China would have a sum of from four to eight thousand million dollars a year to apply to imperial and administrative purposes. And should the innovations contemplated by Kuang-Hsu really be introduced, there is not the faintest doubt that China could bear as heavy taxes as Belgium or Austria-Hungary, and in that case what a formidable vista is opened up in the direction of allotments for the Chinese Army and Navy to be turned out of the new and modernized schools. Further, what sums could be spent on bounties to enable any and every manufacture to compete with European rival products, not only in China, but in all the markets of the world. The open door is one of those beautiful rules that may work both ways. Supposing the door should be found to open outwards as well as inwards, and supposing the first thing to come forth were a flood of subsidized screw-nails, sufficient to drive Mr. Chamberlain out of the market, would there not be a sort of poetic justice in that?

As far as the revenue is concerned, Kuang-Hsu's avowed purpose does not go beyond a stricter system of accounts, a stoppage of some of the innumerable leaks in the aqueducts which deprive the imperial reservoirs of their supplies. But even a slight measure of success in this direction will raise the revenue of China to a formidable amount, and, further, would increase her borrowing power practically without limit.

And here we approach a very important matter from an international standpoint. To carry out these schemes requires an army of trained and honest administrators; it also requires considerable material resources to keep things going while the changes are being introduced. But, while there are doubtless many strong and honest men in China, the Emperor does not seem as yet to have laid his hand on them; and, as an alternative, he suggests, or adopts the suggestion of, a very remarkable measure. It is nothing less than an appeal to Japan to lend China a band of trained administrators, such as England has lent to Egypt and India. Only, in the case of China, the initiative comes from the borrower, not from the lender. And in the light of this idea the recent

Japanese mission to Pekin, under Marquis Ito, acquires a new significance.

An excellent statement of this side of the question appeared in a recent number of one of the Pekin radical papers. It is worth quoting at some length.

The writer begins by citing instances from the early history of China, and the story of Peter the Great, to show that reforms may best be carried out by foreign agents. He then urges the Emperor to seek the assistance of Marquis Ito in the task of regenerating China, asserting that only by a Japanese alliance can China take a firm attitude toward foreign powers and keep back the horrors of a general war. He continues:

"If Your Majesty could only persuade Marquis Ito to become confidential adviser of China, the reforms which you have undertaken would be promptly carried out, and the international bond between China and Japan would be greatly reinforced; while without Japan's help, the early realization of these reforms is impossible. Even granting that, among the Chinese who have recently entered the arena of public life, a few may be found endowed with the necessary strength of will, they are certain to meet with numberless hindrances, caused by the envy and fear of the enemies of progress. They will spend their energies and lose their reputations in vain efforts, and the ills of the body politic will remain uncured. On the other hand, Marquis Ito, as the experienced minister of a foreign government, who possesses Your Majesty's fullest confidence, and who is well known to fame, could have nothing to fear from intrigues in the task of introducing reforms. And foreign powers, in their international relations with China, would begin to treat our country in a very different manner. Their schemes of aggrandizement at our expense would instantly relax, and this would be the beginning of the transformation of China from a poor and weak country, surrounded with dangers, into a land full of wealth and strength, and rejoicing in the blessings of assured peace. This is the first reason why we must borrow talent from other nations.

"The fundamental principles of Chinese policy are isolation and separation, whilst among Western nations the principles of government are the very opposite of these, namely, intercourse and union; principles which serve to bring about the development of moral and material resources, while isolation and exclusion lead to the very opposite result. To these two principles, intercourse and union, the nations of the West are indebted for their greatness and civilization.

"From the geographical point of view, nations inhabiting the same continent should first unite among themselves. From the point of view of race and language, it is best for kindred peoples to be joined. The peoples of Europe and America do not inhabit the same continent as ourselves; they belong to another race, and speak other tongues. Therefore, in view of these natural obstacles, they cannot be closely united with China. It is quite otherwise with Japan. Although, carried away by her extremely rapid progress, and

that unexpected development which roused the apprehensions of both Europe and America, Japan made war on China, yet, when confronted by Russia, Japan was helpless. It is true that, in order to counterbalance Russia, Japan is making friends with England; but experienced men of affairs are convinced that war between them cannot be averted in the future. Whichever side wins, there will be great changes in the balance of power in Asia. England approached Japan solely because of Russia; England is foreign to us in race; she is foreign to us therefore in spirit also. What if England, whose sole motive is profit, should find it profitable to change sides and enter into an alliance with Russia? Then Japan, standing alone, would certainly perish. Therefore Japan's natural ally is China. If the Celestial Empire, with its vast natural resources, its huge area, its enormous population, should really enter into an alliance with Japan, borrowing from Japan new methods for the development of China's resources, and for the education of competent men, then Japan and China together, in firm union and alliance, could easily withstand either Russia or England, and assure a general peace. This would secure the integrity of the Chinese Emperor's hereditary dominions, and put an end to foreign encroachment. The designs of foreign nations can only be withstood by the material might of China, acting under the moral and intellectual guidance of Japan. Russia cherishes designs of encroachment on the north; as regards England, which is striving to maintain peace and gain its own ends, its demands make Russian policy necessary, but in reality England's designs are wholly commercial and selfish. If an alliance existed between China and Japan, Russia could doubtless carry out her design of a Congress in the interests of universal peace, and could enter into enduring and peaceable relations with the other nations of Europe. This is not only very desirable for China and Japan, but it is an object worthy of the sincere aspiration of the whole human race."

At this point a temporary stop was put to the Chinese dream of regeneration by the interposition of the Conservative party, under the leadership of the Dowager-Empress Tshu-Chsi. This very remarkable woman is the widow of the Emperor I-Tshu, and was co-ruler with the Emperor Chai-Chun from 1861 to 1875, when Kuang-Hsu nominally ascended the throne, being then three years old. As a result of her interposition, the *Imperial Gazette* announced, as we all remember, that the Emperor found it impossible to deal unaided with the vast mass of administrative affairs in the present critical condition of the Empire, "and requested Her Majesty, the Dowager-Empress, who had twice directed the affairs of China with marked success, to lend him her guidance in the conduct of imperial business." Then came three edicts: First, the quite credible announcement that the young Emperor "was very sick;" then, that several reforms were postponed, the famous Six Boards being reinstated; and, lastly, a

series of vigorous measures directed against the young Emperor's advisers. Finally it was declared that, as of yore, the Empire would be governed according to the principles of the sage Confucius.

One of the principles of this sage is obedience to parents; and we must take into account the enormous moral weight this obligation has in China before too hastily accusing the young Emperor of cowardice and supineness. But time is on his side.

It is always a delicate matter to speak of a lady's age, especially if that lady be an Empress; but the masterful Dowager is not far from the patriarchal three score years and ten, while her right-hand man, the hardly less masterful Li Hung Chang, is seventy-five. These two are certainly among the twenty most considerable personalities in the world at this moment, a sufficient evidence that the Chinese race is not effete. But mortality will claim its own, and then will come the turn of young Kuang-Hsu. If it comes even four or five years hence, he will be only about thirty, and his character will have matured in the meantime. I have quoted two Chinese documents at length, in order to show that, if we are counting on the moral and intellectual inferiority of the Chinese, we are suffering from a dangerous illusion. Therefore the success of the young Emperor's plans is quite a probable event; and that success will mean a huge revenue for China; a vast army and fleet on the most modern models, with skilled officers, probably Japanese; a quite unlimited power to subsidize Chinese manufacture against all the world's competition, with a working class of hundreds of millions ready to accept marvellously low wages and quick to master the cheapest and best methods. In a word, it would mean the possible swamping of Western lands, in a military as well as a commercial sense. So that the policy of the door which may open outwards is about the most dangerous for the West that could well be conceived.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

BY POULTNEY BIGELOW.

THE two most interesting missionaries in China, on the occasion of my first visit, were Professor Wells Williams, who subsequently enriched Yale University by accepting a professorship there, and Father Palladius, an Archimandrite of the Greek Church who had charge of the Russian mission at Pekin. Williams's book on China is still standard authority, and the contributions of Palladius to his government are no less important, though unfortunately they are accessible only to those who read either Russian or German. Both men are now dead, but they represent, each in his sphere, two different sets of ideas in the missionary field.

When I first met him, the Greek Archimandrite had been forty years in Pekin, and had never been anywhere else, excepting for two caravan journeys to Russia. He was an elderly gentleman, with a smile like Benjamin Franklin's, and was famed at the Chinese capital for keeping the best wines and the best tobacco. He was a bachelor, and to-day I recall him when I try to fancy Epicurus in the body. He wore the Chinese pigtail and clothes to match, and people said he could give Chinese mandarins points on etiquette. He gave me, at least, many happy hours, for he talked with a frankness and facility rarely united in a Russian, least of all an Archimandrite. One day, for instance, I asked him bluntly how many converts he had made. He answered that he thought he had made one, but he did not wish to be taken as stating this positively. When I returned to China after an interval of twenty-one years, all my inquiries led me to respect the honesty of this Russian. He said, furthermore: "I have been here forty years, and perhaps I have converted one Chinaman. When missionaries tell you that they have done more than that, do not believe them."

Father Palladius seemed to me not merely an epicure, but a trifle cynical in the things of his own profession. He seemed devoid of that happy enthusiasm which enables some people to delight in illusion. For instance, the present Admiral Holland told me he had a boatswain who was a noble Christian Chinaman. That Christian boatswain was quoted in missionary circles all about Hong Kong and up the Yangtsze River. The mouth of the scoffer was closed by that one convert for many months. The authority exercised by Admiral Holland over the mind of every white man, both merchant and missionary, was such that from Singapore to Hakodadi the work of evangelization received a perceptible boom through this one alleged convert. Every missionary in China owed him a handsome present—at least for a time. But Admiral Holland has returned to England, and the Chinese boatswain has turned out to be no more Christian than the sacred tooth of Buddha.

It is dreadfully baffling to ask questions about missionaries from one end of China to another, and then try to form any coherent conclusions. One might almost as well invite opinions about the Jews as a class. And, strange to say, this divergence of opinion is to be found exactly amongst those whose long residence amongst the Chinese entitles them to be regarded as respectable witnesses. To get thoroughly warmed up in the cause of converting John Chinaman, one must go to Temple Hill, near Chefoo, and talk with Dr. Corbett. He has worked in China almost as long as had Father Palladius when I first knew him. Dr. Corbett is a splendid type of American, dressed exactly as though in his native New England. He wears a long beard, looks about six feet in height, and his eyes sparkle with humor. His wife has been trained in the hospital service and helps him on the medical side of his mission. He welcomed me to a home equipped for family happiness on the Anglo-American plan, not the least important item being the prattle of his children. One must have been alone in China to understand the gratitude of a white man unexpectedly rescued from the depressing surroundings of Chinese travel, and permitted to sit down in a homelike family circle. Dr. Corbett told me that China was being rapidly prepared for a grand Christian awakening; that he and his colleagues had made a large number of converts, but that there were still more who were restrained from avowing their faith because

they feared evil consequences from a social and political point of view. This was told me in the autumn of 1898, and I had heard the same thing at the same place in 1876. Now, Dr. Corbett is a practical worker and had cultivated this field for thirty-six years. He assured me that in that time he had noticed a great improvement in Shantung; that the natives had laid aside much of the hostility which they formerly showed toward strangers. For instance, in his early days such was the hatred of the foreigner that inn-keepers barred their gates when they saw a white man approaching. "To secure a night's lodging," said Dr. Corbett, "I would have to send my baggage and servants ahead, and only appear myself when these had been installed and my room practically engaged."

It is not often that we find the Chinaman outwitted by the white man, least of all by the missionary. "Now," said Dr. Corbett, "I travel up and down Shantung, visiting our different stations, and am received like any other traveller."

He took me over the schools of the mission, and enlarged with satisfaction upon the numbers who went forth to spread the light of the white man's civilization, if not Bible doctrine. Dr. Corbett believes that the Chinese who come to him do so from a pure love of religion. For my own part, I am inclined to think that Dr. Corbett's success is due mainly to his own persuasive personality; to his thorough knowledge of Chinese custom; and, above all, to the fact that in his schools the alleged converts receive an education which is of great practical value to them as merchants or mechanics. It is impossible to suppose that any Chinaman, after receiving the material benefits conferred by the missionary school, should go back to his fellows unmodified. A course in mechanics, arithmetic, history and philosophy, coupled with some practical demonstrations in the field of chemistry, must leave its impression on the mind even of a Celestial. But those who know the devious mind of that strange yellow creature consider him capable of pretending Christianity to the missionaries just as long as he can draw a profit therefrom.

At Chefoo, I had the pleasure of meeting several Protestant missionaries, amongst them Miss Downing, whom I had known in the same place and at the same work twenty-two years before. There are about a hundred and sixty American missionaries in Shantung, and to judge by those at Chefoo, their work is earnest

and animated by an enthusiastic belief in the ultimate evangelization of China. One afternoon I was invited to address a prayer-meeting, where a large roomful of English and American missionaries of both sexes were gathered together, a few in Chinese garb. I felt horribly out of place; but yet I was enormously impressed by the courage and devotion to a lofty ideal stamped upon the faces about me. There are all sorts of missionaries in China, and of them all those typified by Dr. Corbett have the most spiritual vitality. His is the religion of the Puritan who preaches the Saviour crucified, and moves the human heart by truth and truth alone. The men of his mission will preach to Chinamen as to a New England audience, or as our Saviour preached by the Sea of Galilee. A blessing goes with such brave efforts, whether the reward be success or death at the hands of a Chinese mob.

My old friend Palladius called the American missionaries at Chefoo enthusiastic babies. My American friends regarded the Russian Archimandrite as a cynical fox.

Of course, I visited the Jesuit mission at Zickawei to see what changes a quarter of a century had wrought in that place. There were some new faces, but the spirit was unchanged. Chinese orphans, or rather foundlings, were being brought up to useful trades in this vast, missionary machine shop. Beautiful altar-pieces, representing Christian saints, were being chiselled by Chinese boys, who would probably soon be burning Joss-sticks to their favorite idols. The good Father pointed out some charred remains of church furniture, and told me the story of how the Chinese mob had set fire to their church, after killing and maiming some of the congregation. In China one becomes accustomed to this chronicle of murder, which is a symptom of the chronic war between mandarin and missionary. I have forgotten the name of the place where this particular massacre happened, nor can I remember the dozens like it. It would surprise the abstract Chinaman, however, to learn that these fragments of charred saints, so far from discouraging further missionary effort, only heighten the zeal of those volunteering for a like risk.

The Jesuit fathers were mainly French, though I had chats with one or two from Bavaria and the Rhine. They wore the Chinese queue and long robes, such as the local men of learning affect. The Jesuits have from the very beginning of their missionary efforts adopted the policy of beating the Chinaman on his

own ground; challenging his respect by a show of learning, not merely in the sciences of Europe, but also in the classics of Confucius. Dr. Corbett, on the contrary, and with him most Evangelical workers, are opposed to imitating the Chinese in their dress or in anything which implies a lowering of the missionary to their level. The Bible Christian will make no pact with heathen philosophy, whereas the disciple of Loyola will conclude any bargain by which he may gain ever so small an advance upon the enemy.

On the occasion of my first visit to Zickawei, I was in company with the French minister at Pekin, and the priests entertained us with food and wine which rivalled those of Father Palladius. Standing at the window, I looked out upon a flat landscape emphasized by a small elevation on the horizon. I asked the priest what that was. He answered that it was the shrine of a saint, and that the Chinese Christians made pilgrimages thither once a year. When I pressed him to tell how he managed to get Christian saints at this place, he shrugged his shoulders, smiled pleasantly, and remarked that, as the Chinese enjoyed gatherings and gongs and banners and such tom-foolery, the missionaries had been compelled to create this pilgrimage or discourage Christianity. Hence this shrine.

In the courtyard he showed me a beautiful statue of the Virgin Mary, with two Chinese in native garb kneeling below. The Virgin was not in Chinese dress, but I suppose that will come in time.

This missionary institution has a school of architecture, where designs are made for Catholic buildings throughout China. Large numbers of books are printed here, all the work being done by Chinese foundlings, under the superintendence of the white priests. Wood-cutting and lithography are taught, also printing in color. Some lurid posters were shown to me, which were destined to hang up in Chinese Christian chapels. Their purpose was to discourage the bad Chinamen and stimulate the good ones. One poster represented the death-bed of the bad Chinaman, whose wickedness was attested by the opium pipe and the gaming dice at his bedside. A black devil, with horns, tail and wings, had fastened an iron collar around his neck, to which was linked a long iron chain. Dragons were rising from a hole in the ground, likewise monstrous flames. The black devil was pro-

ceeding to drag the screaming and resisting wicked Chinaman to the flaming hole in the floor, while his wife and children looked on in distress. At the top of the picture was seated our Saviour, with Chinese slippers on his feet, and an expression on his face that was enough like that of a mandarin to please the average convert. Some angels with Chinese slippers were flitting about, chasing devils.

The pendant to this was the death of a good Chinaman, where the devil looked very much discouraged as he disappeared down a flaming trapdoor in the foreground. An angel in Chinese slippers was watching by the bedside, and above was represented a Chinaman in full official dress, kneeling on clouds before some Christian figures, whom I took to represent Saint Joseph, the Virgin Mary, and our Saviour.

Two of these pious posters were devoted respectively to Heaven and Hell. To a Chinaman, Hell is a pretty simple conception, which is refreshed every day in his daily walks about his native town, and whenever a criminal court is in session. The hell-poster, therefore, merely outdid Dante in the matter of snakes and devils tormenting wretches already crazy with suffering. The poster of Heaven was more subtle. There was a choir of slanting-eyed angels, beating gongs, tom-toms and many other instruments vaguely hinted at. In the background were enthroned the Creator and our Saviour, though the chief object of adoration appeared to be the Virgin Mary. In the foreground were a dozen or so happy faces of saints, amongst which were emperors, kings, popes, bishops, and—more conspicuous than any—two Chinamen. For the sake of local prejudice, the women were bunched separate from the men.

These posters were doing duty in 1876 and are so popular to-day that they are constantly reproduced at the mission.

The foundlings I saw were mostly scrofulous. Father Beck, a Bavarian, told me this was a common complaint all over China.

The Jesuits were the pioneer missionaries in China, and to-day do a great work. But now, as then, their success lies not in preaching things spiritual, so much as in demonstrating the power of the white man as compared to the yellow. Every sailor-man in the Far East has gratitude toward the Jesuits of Zickawei, because they tell him when to expect bad weather. The Fathers have a well-equipped observatory connected by wire with many

stations in the Eastern Seas, and thus they can foretell the arrival of typhoons. It is a Jesuit priest who observes the sun, and at exactly twelve o'clock touches an electric button to move the time-ball by which Shanghai Harbor corrects her ships' chronometers.

I was shown a transit instrument made in New York, and a full line of reports of the Smithsonian Institute, the United States Weather Bureau, and other scientific bodies. On the walls were portraits of famous Jesuit missionaries, amongst them Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest, all in the gaudy dress of Chinese grandees. In the adjoining room a Chinese convert was working out typhoon probabilities, while in the yard below sore-headed foundlings were playing about the feet of the Virgin Mary. It was a weird picture this—the co-operation of science and Roman Catholicism for the overthrow of Buddha and Confucius.

The Bavarian priest was a jolly man all round. Like his brethren, he had come here, under vows of poverty and celibacy, to spend his whole life in the service of people who wished him ill in his work. He talked merrily about the relative merits of Munich beer while expecting at any moment an order to proceed to a station where life was highly insecure.

The Jesuit has, of course, only contempt for evangelical methods. He regards the Chinaman as a creature essentially different from the white man, and consequently as one whose senses and emotions must be differently awakened. The idea of a Christian revival in China, on the plan of the Methodist camp-meeting, is regarded by him as absurd. He proposes not to revolutionize, but merely to modify what already exists. As the early Christian Church absorbed amongst the Romans many heathen names and customs, so, in China, the Jesuits, from the days of Ricci to our own, have sought, not so much to expel the local religions as to Romanize them, if not Christianize them. The Jesuit finds much that is admirable in Buddha and Confucius; nor does he deny the possibility of a Chinaman's being a valuable convert and yet burning Joss-sticks at the graves of his ancestors. The Jesuit tells the learned Chinaman that Confucius was practically a Christian so far as his moral philosophy is concerned, and that Buddhism has many good points; but that the Roman Catholic is the religion which embodies what is good in every system, with the additional advantage of having expelled what was idolatrous.

In the days of the early Jesuits this line of argument was fairly successful, but nowadays so strong has the feeling against foreigners become that the Chinaman is inclined to stick to his own gods merely because they are Chinese, and to distrust the gods of other nations merely because they are of the foreigner.

The American missionaries have the hardest time of any, because they are so much at the mercy of their Consul. Our Consul in the Far East represents to the American merchant and missionary the whole round of governmental functions, civil, military, and even ecclesiastical. Mr. Fowler, of Chefoo, told me that he was the only one out of eleven American Consuls in China who had been in that position more than a year. If a missionary wishes to make a will, to do any legal act, to obtain redress at law, the American Consul is his judge. If a missionary desires to marry, as often happens, he has to come to the Consulate. This is sometimes embarrassing, for missionaries are not rich, as a rule, and travelling in China is apt to be injurious to health, if not dangerous to personal safety. Imagine an American lady, perhaps a thousand miles from an American Consulate, compelled to travel under the horrible conditions prevailing in China in order to be declared legally married. We in America naturally ask, why another missionary, an ordained clergyman, could not marry them. United States law has, in China, at least, been construed in the manner most likely to swell the fees of the Consul.

The Rev. Dr. Sims, while I was in China, protested against being compelled to make long and dangerous journeys through China for matrimonial purposes. He stated that Dr. King, at Tai-an-foo, when engaged to Miss Knight of the same city, had been required to go to Chinkiang, under their protest, to be married. On their return up the Grand Canal, she took small-pox and died within one week after reaching home.

In another instance, equally well authenticated, the Rev. Dr. Royall and Miss Sullivan were married by a fellow-missionary, after having obtained the consent of the Consul-General at Shanghai. Some time after the marriage, however, this same Consul coolly informed them that he had been mistaken, and that they must come to the Consulate at Shanghai and go through the ceremony over again.

Please imagine the feelings of Miss Sullivan, thus charged by the highest legal tribunal with having lived with a man who was

not her husband! This so affected the young lady that her life at one time was deemed in danger.

The Rev. Mr. Blaylock and Miss Humphries, who were married at Tai-an-foo by a brother missionary before about eighteen English and American witnesses, were subsequently informed that they were illegally united, and must proceed to do the thing over again before our Consul in Shanghai. They did so at great cost and personal risk. In returning up the Grand Canal, so said the Rev. Dr. Sims, Mr. Blaylock was taken seriously ill, was kept a year in bed at Chin-an-foo, and managed to reach home with extreme difficulty. He is now in America, a physical wreck.

The Rev. Mr. Hudson had gone with his betrothed to Chin-kiang. On their return Mr. Hudson was attacked by robbers, and narrowly escaped with his life.

The history of evangelical mission-work in China is a painful chronicle of persecution, nobly sustained by a large body of devoted men and women frequently poorly equipped for their work, and always inadequately organized. If all Christian missionaries could unite under one head and proceed upon some coherent plan of operations, the result would no doubt be better. At present, the Chinese marvel at the lack of unity amongst Christians, particularly when a Catholic chapel opens its doors close to a Baptist meeting-house, and the ministers of each tell the Chinese that their particular faith only is efficacious.

The missionary has in China to combat a vast volume of inherited conceit and prejudice. He has to deal with Orientals conscious of a historic sequence longer than that of any white dynasty, full of triumphs in the domain of science, and rich in philosophy. The Chinese stood at the head of civilization when Europe was but a barbarous province. Hundreds of inventions are claimed by the Chinese at a period when the learning of Europe was monopolized by a handful of monks. The Chinaman despises the profession of arms, and so far he knows of Europe little beyond her power as manifested in a military manner. He shuns intercourse with the outer barbarian, for the customs of his ancestors are sacred in his eyes, and he considers the future of China bound up with devotion to the existing order of things. A highly cultivated missionary who can confer with learned Chinese scholars can do much to remove unfounded prejudice in the small circle of his acquaintance, and this I be-

lieve he does. The Chinaman who sees daily the good work done by a white man, if he does not himself become a Christian, at least lays aside the desire to murder him.

It is worth noting that where the white man in China is seen most frequently, there, little by little, he has awakened the most tolerance amongst the natives. How, then, can we account for the strange massacres that have taken place at short intervals, not merely in the interior, but at treaty ports like the one at Tientsin in 1870? A study of the different assaults upon foreigners in China forces us reluctantly to the conclusion that in almost every case these have been instigated and carried out, if not by Government agents, at least with their consent and approval. The public is officially informed, in every case, that such and such a mission station was destroyed by the mob, and that the Chinese Government could not possibly prevent such outbreaks. The Chinese Government, however, has always succeeded in punishing severely any disobedience against its own orders. It is only when the victim is a white man that the mandarins prove powerless to interfere. Even when ringleaders have been indicated, these have always found Chinese protection; and, in short, China from top to bottom has given abundant evidence that she does not desire to maintain her share in treaties which encourage white people to reside in the Celestial Empire.

The German Emperor, when he avenged the death of his missionaries by seizing Kiao Chao, acted in a manner strange to our rules of international law, but under the circumstances he gave China a lesson that she sadly required. It is a lesson which should be repeated on every fitting occasion; for, in the last three centuries, it is the only one by which she has ever profited in her intercourse with the white man.

In 1647, the East India Company commenced British trade with China by sending to the Canton River the four good ships "Dragon," "Sun," "Catherine," and "Anne." They anchored off the Bogue Forts, and at the request of the mandarins waited for the promised trade facilities. They waited four days, at the end of which time the Chinese forts opened fire upon them with "forty-six of iron-caste ordnance, each piece between six and seven hundredweight." The ancient chronicler then remarks: "Herewith the whole fleet, being instantly incensed, did on a sudden display the bloody ensign." The result of it was a landing party,

the capture of the Fort, and an excellent understanding with the mandarins. From Canton River, in 1647, to Kiao Chao Bay, in 1897, no better method of dealing with official China has yet been devised. It has always been the same old story of official mendacity and treachery, followed by an explosion of wrath and violence from the white man's side, after which has ensued a period of good understanding and trade expansion.

Up to the time when Queen Victoria ascended the throne of England, Anglo-Saxon traders were tolerated at Canton much as infected emigrants are treated in New York harbor. They were the victims of official insolence and interference; forbidden to have their wives and families with them; forbidden to go into the country; forbidden to enter the Chinese city. No Chinaman was allowed to give them instruction, and their intercourse was strictly limited to officials specially selected. No changes have been effected during the many years that have passed, save such as have been wrung from an unwilling government by threats of bombardment. The white man has had no serious war with China, speaking in a European sense. The Opium War, the Lorcha Arrow War, the Anglo-French Expedition of 1860—these and similar smaller enterprises were all undertaken to avenge gross breaches of the law of nations. The history of England's intercourse with China shows but too clearly that, so far from having misused her strength in bullying a weaker nation, she has, to an extraordinary extent, submitted to official insult and violation of treaty rights rather than have recourse to force.

When Commodore Perry anchored his fleet in Yeddo Bay, less than half a century ago, he awakened a people artificially hampered by mediæval custom, but whose bodies and brains pulsated to the calls of the nineteenth century. Japan arose as one man, and to-day honors the name of Perry with a fervor only second to that which we have for Christopher Columbus. Europe has been thundering at the gates of China for three hundred years, but this thunder has started no more echo than moist firecrackers. One city of China may be smashed to pieces, but the next takes no interest in it. A whole province may be overrun by the enemy without calling forth any help from its neighbors. Through generation after generation of officialism, ignorant, retrograde and corrupt, the great body of China has become torpid, and will remain so for just so long as the white man permits the

present administration to persist. The vast official body of China has, or believes that it has, a direct pecuniary interest in the repression, or at least the discouragement, of foreign intercourse. The official ring of China covers that country to a degree not far removed from that to which Tammany Hall controls New York. The mandarin has large vested interests which are all threatened by intercourse with people of our education; consequently the rulers of cities encourage their people to believe that dirty streets are good, and that pestilence must be combated by backsheesh to the priests. The white man forms a settlement wherein the streets are cleaned, lighted and policed; where hospitals care for the sick; where courts of justice are open to all. Such things as these are an abomination to the orthodox Chinese official, to the same degree that the late Colonel Waring, who first cleaned the streets of New York, was an eyesore to professional politicians.

Chinese officialdom is at war with the white man's civilization, and it fights with the weapons it deems most effective. Gunboats and battalions are not to its taste. So it makes a treaty every paragraph of which it proceeds to nullify the moment the ink is dry. It instigates murder, and then explains officially that it was the mob that was responsible.

In 1858 there was signed the famous treaty of Tientsin. The eighth article of this treaty is regarded as something of a Magna Charta, at least by the missionary. It reads:

> "The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it, or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with."

So far as paper and ink are concerned, the white man in China has secured as much official protection as he needs for carrying on trade or conducting missionary enterprise. But, side by side with these generous treaty concessions, the Chinese Government has tolerated the systematic incitement of the mob to every act calculated to make treaties of no avail. So far back as 1754, foreign residents complained that "injurious posters were annually put up by the government, accusing foreigners of horrible crimes, and intended to expose them to the contempt of the populace."

Even then, the accusations were made that missionaries gouged out the eyes of foundlings and mutilated women in a vile manner—charges which have been persisted in to our day. When vigorously addressed by a combination of foreign powers, the Pekin government has always officially repudiated the authors of these posters; but at the same time it has given private intimation that this propaganda was pleasing to the Emperor. Indeed, those who publish the filthy posters invoke official sanction by printing, as preface, the *Sacred Edict*—a sort of paternal address from the throne promulgated by the joint efforts of two canonized emperors some two centuries ago. Dr. Williams, in his "Middle Kingdom," says that this document is regarded as a most sacred command, which is proclaimed throughout the Empire by the local officers on the 1st and 15th days of every month.

As a pendant of the Tientsin Treaty it is worth preserving. It reads thus:

"With respect to heterodox books not in accordance with the teachings of the sages, and those tending to excite and disturb the people, to give rise to differences and irregularities, and to undermine the foundations of all things; all such teach corrupt and dangerous doctrines which must be suppressed and exterminated. . . . From ancient times, the three religions have been propagated together. Besides Confucianism, which holds the pre-eminence, we have Buddhism and Taoism. . . . There is, however, a class of vagabond adventurers (Christian) who under the pretext of teaching these systems (Buddhism, etc.), bring them into the greatest disrepute, making false parade of what is propitious and unpropitious, and of future rewards and punishments, for the purpose of giving currency to their foolish and unfounded stories. Their object in the beginning is to make a living. By degrees they collect men and women into promiscuous gatherings for the purpose of burning incense. . . . The worst of all is that there lurk within these assemblies treacherous, depraved and designing persons, who form dangerous combinations and pledge themselves to each other by oaths. They meet in darkness and disperse at dawn. They imperil their lives, sin against righteousness, and deceive and entrap the people. . . . Such is the religion of the West, which reveres the Lord of heaven. It also is not to be regarded as orthodox. Because its teachers (the early Jesuits) were well versed in mathematics, our government made use of them. Of this you must not be ignorant. As to unauthorized doctrines which deceive the people, our laws cannot tolerate them. For false and corrupt teachers our government has fixed punishments."

Thus with one hand the Chinese Government promises the white man legal protection, and with the other pledges his favor to the mob when it guts the missionary compound and murders the unorthodox inmates.

The public misrepresentations of the spirit and aims of the Christian religion and of the objects which animate Christian missionaries in their work are almost incredible. I have before me a specimen of the posters which are from time to time exhibited throughout the country with a view to bring indignation and contempt upon the foreigner. It represents our Saviour in the shape of a hog. He is being worshipped by two "foreign devils," the one marked "teacher," the other "disciple." These two are branded with the most insulting epithets known to Chinese vocabulary, notably those indicating lack of sexual virtue. One inscription reads: "This is the beast which the foreign devils follow. The hog's skin and bristles are still upon him."

Down the left-hand side of the picture and in the middle of the poster are inscriptions which are absolutely too obscene for publication.

The interest of this poster lies not in its indecency and quaint exhibition of ignorance, but in the fact that it has been distributed with official connivance throughout China; that it has been exposed in public places alongside of imperial edicts forbidding the publication of such posters; and that whenever massacres have taken place the mob has been first inflamed by teaching of this nature.

In 1870, on the 21st of June, the mob at Tientsin attacked the French mission, murdering ten Sisters of Mercy, amongst others. This massacre was followed by a trial which even the most careful students of things Chinese regarded as a fraud. A dozen or so of innocent coolies were decapitated, but the real authors were rewarded, because they were high in office. In the midst of the Franco-German War this horrible massacre was little noticed in Europe; and, after all, it differed only in degree from a dozen others, all instigated by the official organization which prepared the filthy posters to which I have referred.

The Tientsin massacres were preceded by a flood of posters teaching the mob that missionary establishments abducted native women and children for purposes of mutilation.

Every diabolical practice is attributed to missionaries, not merely for religious purposes, but for the mere greed of money.

The Chinaman is taught to think that they extract the eyes of his dead countrymen in order to use them in the manufacture of precious metals. Some recent cartoons even accuse Christians

of gouging Chinese eyes out before death. One cartoon exhibits to the mob two murderous missionaries in the act of taking out eyes, while a couple of blind Chinamen are groping about in misery. This cartoon is headed: "The Hog Sect gouging out the eyes." A popular pamphlet distributed by officials for the purpose of inciting hatred of the foreigner makes this statement:

"In case of funerals, the religious teachers eject all the relatives and friends from the house, and the corpse is put into the coffin with closed doors. Both eyes are secretly taken out, and the orifices sealed up with plaster. This is what is called 'sealing the eyes for the Western journey.' . . . The reason for extracting the eyes is this: From one hundred pounds of Chinese lead eight pounds of silver can be extracted, and the remaining ninety-two pounds of lead can be sold at the original cost, but the only way to obtain this silver is by compounding the lead with the eyes of Chinamen. The eyes of foreigners are of no use for this purpose, hence they do not take out the eyes of their own people, but only those of the Chinese. The method by which the silver is obtained has never been discovered by any of the native Christians, during the long period in which this religion has been propagated here."

No trash is too silly so long as it charges cruelty, lewdness, and money-greed to the white man in general, and to the missionary in particular. At a distance of ten thousand miles, we can afford to smile at these infantile productions and pity the perpetrators, as did John Huss those who reviled him. But to the white man on the spot these are more than the squibs of mischievous children. They are the programme of a government too weak to establish sound administration, but strong enough to obstruct the white man in his efforts at reform.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

A REPUBLICAN VIEW OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

BY GENERAL CHARLES HENRY GROSVENOR.

If any one supposes that the Republican party will inaugurate the campaign of 1900 by a defensive platform or by defensive policies, he will learn a lesson in politics which will be valuable to him in the future. A party which has enjoyed two years of power, with the executive and both branches of the legislative body in unison with its purposes, ought to have so conducted its action as to justify an aggressive campaign against the enemy, rather than an apologetic campaign in defense of itself. The Republican party this year stands in that position. There is not one act of the administration of William McKinley that challenges, requires or will have at the hands of his intelligent friends a defense or apology. Such a course would be unnecessary. The achievements in every branch of governmental effort have been without parallel in the history of political administration in this country; and the arrows of criticism, which may be hurled against it for partisan purposes, will fail of effect and fall splintered and ineffective at the feet of the Republican administration. A distinguished representative in Congress, wise, sagacious and clear-headed, has formulated a platform which, while it is not, perhaps, a model of political phrasing, covers more ground than any like number of words probably have ever covered, and which would be a proper, complete and exhaustive platform for the Republicans of 1900. It is as follows:

"Resolved, That the transition from deficits in peace to surpluses in war; from bond issuing to bond paying; from hopeless farmers to happy farmers; from men hunting jobs to jobs hunting men; from soup houses to banquet tables; from poverty to prosperity; is not the result of accident or chance, or famines in India, but is the result of having a party in power that knows how to run the country and command its confidence."

The Republican party came into power in 1897 in the executive department of the government, and in the House of Representatives, and with a public sentiment so potential and irresistible in its effect that it practically carried into co-operation with it a Democratic-Populistic majority in the Senate. It may be said in a few words, for it needs no elaboration and no statistical tables, that the condition in this country on the election-day of 1896 was more deplorable than at any other period following the American Revolution. These are strong words. They are true words. There may have been a greater percentage of poverty in the colonies, when they had just become States, during the period of confederation and before the adoption of the Constitution; but there never was such a condition of horror and doubt and uncertainty and fear as there was on the day when Mr. McKinley was elected President of the United States.

Let us summarize it briefly. There was more idle labor than ever had been known before. There were more idle spindles, mills, factories and shops than had been known before. Foreign trade was falling off. Home markets had been destroyed. Confidence was to be found nowhere. Hunger, nakedness, fear, disaster, trouble were to be encountered everywhere.

I cannot so well indicate the nature of the situation which existed then as by inserting here an extract from the great speech of Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, in assuming the chair at the temporary organization of the National Convention. I feel under obligations to him for the authority he has given me to use this extract, and I point to it as a most wonderfully condensed description of this deplorable era in our country's history.

"In the four years preceding Mr. Cleveland's Administration we had paid $260,000,000 of the national debt; he added $230,000,000 to its burdens. He found a tariff act, bearing the name of his successor and our President, fitted to meet the requirements of our necessary expenditures, to furnish the needed protection to our farmers and manufacturers, and to insure the steady and remunerative employment of those who labor. Instead of permitting manufacture and commerce that repose and stability of law which are essential for working out economic conditions, he at once recommended violent and radical changes in revenue and tariff provisions, recommendations which his party in Congress proceeded partially and disastrously to execute. The appalling result of his policy is still fresh in the memory of millions who suffered from it. In four years the country witnessed some 60,000 commercial failures, with liabilities aggregating more than $900,000,000. One hundred and seventy-seven railroads, with a mileage of

45,000 miles, or twice the circle of the globe, and with securities amounting to nearly $3,000,000,000, were unable to meet their interest charges and passed into the hands of Receivers. More than 170 national banks closed their doors, with liabilities reaching $70,000,000; wool and all farm products which tariffs could affect, lost tens of millions in value; farm mortgages were foreclosed by thousands throughout the Great West; our agricultural exports shrunk in value; the balance of trade which had been in our favor turned ruinously against us; the National Treasury was depleted of its gold reserve; our Government bonds were sold to syndicates at far below their market value before or since, and our steadily declining revenues were insufficient to meet the necessary expenses of conducting the Government. If capital alone had suffered, the loss would have been great, but not irremediable. Unfortunately those who rely upon their daily labor for their sustenance, and their families dependent upon them, constituting the great mass of the American people, were made to feel heaviest this burden of disaster. Nearly one-third of the laboring population of the United States were thrown out of employment, and men by thousands, able and willing to labor, walked the highways of the land clamoring for work or food.

"Four years of commercial misfortune enabled our industries to meet, in a measure, these changed and depressed conditions, but when President McKinley was inaugurated the country was in a state more deplorable than had existed for a generation."

During the last ten days of the contest of 1896, the Democratic party, through its leader, its candidate, its press, its stump orators, appealed to the lowest, worst element of the people of the country in a direction calculated, if not intended, to stimulate riot, bloodshed and revolution; and the sun went down, on the night before the election, upon a country whose hope for the future hung trembling in the balance of the ballot box. Every time the Chairman of the Democratic Committee in Chicago announced the probability of Mr. Bryan's election, the value of the property of the country fell by an amount greater than the whole cost of the Spanish war, including the conquest of the Philippines. This was due not alone to the financial features of the Democratic platform, nor to the threatened falling of prices and idleness of labor; it was not less due to the spirit of revolution that was fostered by the words spoken from the rear end of the "special" that traveled through the labor districts of the Middle West.

The laboring men of the country were told that they were being oppressed and downtrodden, and that money and plutocracy were weighing them down. Strange that the present Populist nominee should again invoke the word "Plutocrat!" They were

informed that the courts were revolutionary and oppressive in their character and decisions, and resistance to them was suggested. They were appealed to in language that would cost the men who uttered it imprisonment if spoken in public in many of the countries of the world. It was an appeal to the hungry; it was an appeal to the desperate; it was an appeal to the vicious; and the defeat of Mr. Bryan possibly alone saved the country from worse results than mere poverty. The farmer was told that the forty-five cents a bushel he was getting for his wheat would never be higher until silver was coined, at the ratio of 16 to 1, free in the mints of the country. They were told that money would never again be so plenty as it was then until free coinage was adopted as the remedy for the ills under which we labored. This was a seductive cry to the farmer upon whose farm rested a mortgage, which, with its accumulated interest, forbade the hope of payment. It was a seductive suggestion to the men who had struggled against the conditions that were surrounding them, and who saw no hope anywhere except through the operation of this fallacy which was paraded as a truth.

Out of this chaos of horror has come prosperity. Out of this hell of threatened revolution have come peace and order. Out of uncertainty have come security and confidence. It would be idle to waste the time of the reader in going into figures to show precisely what all this has resulted in. There is no transition recorded in the financial and industrial career of any nation that compares with it. Out of disaster has come daylight. Out of depression, expansion. The business interests of the country stand in a better attitude to-day than ever before in the history of the United States or than do those of any other country in the world. What has worked this miracle?

And now comes the issue of the campaign. We will charge that the troubles of 1896 came from the proposition of the Democratic party to destroy the integrity of the currency of the country. We will charge, and everybody will believe, that the substantial free-trade act of 1894 halted, blighted, overthrew and destroyed the industrial prosperity of the country. There can be no answer to these charges. The Democratic party must show that the deplorable condition of the country in 1896 can be accounted for in some other way before they can expect the support of the country.

We passed in 1892 from a condition which the President at that date, in December of that year, described to Congress as one of the most prosperous in all the history of America, and we plunged headlong into despair and darkness. This was the outcome of the Democratic administration. It was the result of Democratic politics. The substantial interests of the United States were then beggared by Democratic policy and purpose, for that dark period was the first time in the third of a century that followed 1861 when the Democratic party had control in all the branches of the government. The menace came with their election to power. The fruition of disaster followed quickly. If this were an old matter, statistics would be available and desirable. It is fresh in the memory of all, and does not need to be bolstered up by figures. The rising sun, shining forth in its glory, does not more quickly affect the surrounding conditions of frost or dew or mist than did the dawning of the McKinley administration, even three months before it came into power, affect the malign conditions which had resulted from Democratic administration. It was felt in the very atmosphere that better times were coming. Hope took the place of despair; enterprise took the place of apathy; and times began to recuperate slowly, very slowly, but as it now appears, certainly and surely.

Congress met on the 15th of March, and proceeded to redeem every pledge of the platform of 1896, and every promise that William McKinley had made. It passed the Dingley tariff law; and when that measure was under final consideration, and when an hour had been assigned to Mr. Bailey, of Texas, for the closing speech of the opposition, that distinguished young statesman, full of faith in his own party and in its policy, standing in his place upon the floor of the House of Representatives, conscious of his duty and responsibility as the leader of the Democratic minority, said, in effect, to the Republican majority: "Pass this bill, as you will. If it brings prosperity to the country, as you predict, there will be no occasion for us to nominate a candidate for President in 1900; but if you pass it and fail, and good times do not come, you need not nominate a candidate in 1900, for it will be a waste of time and effort."

Conscious that the financial affairs of the government were in an unsatisfactory condition, which had grown out of the easy methods of the Democratic majority which might have destroyed

the credit of the government, the House of Representatives promptly took up the financial question. A caucus committee of the Republicans of the fifty-fifth Congress who had been elected to the fifty-sixth Congress was appointed to prepare and present a bill to secure forever, while Republicanism dominated the country, a scheme of finance that would establish the gold standard intelligently and completely.

The tariff bill was passed and went into effect on the 24th of July, 1897. The financial bill followed in the early days of the next Congress, and the effect upon the country has been magical. It is too conspicuous to require elaboration in description. It is known and appreciated by everybody, and all the old Democratic ideas of a stone wall around the country, which would exclude foreign trade and limit us to a provincial market, have all been dissipated under a condition which will give to the American people in this fiscal year, now approaching its end, more than five hundred million dollars of a balance of trade in favor of the United States.

To-day the strongest argument, apparently, that can be made in favor of the election of the Democratic ticket, now already nominated by the Populists and doubtless to be indorsed by the Democrats, is that the Republican party by its wise legislation has put it beyond the power of the Democratic party to do any harm with the finances of the country, even though the candidate of the Populists should be elected. This is a strange suggestion. It is that the teeth of the viper have been drawn so that he can no longer be injurious, and that a party radically wrong in politics, unsound in every dogma, may now be safely trusted with political power, because the intelligence and patriotism of its opponents have deprived it of the power to destroy the interests of the country. This is the argument that is being cheerfully put forward by the Democratic press and by their allies of the independent persuasion, and that is heard on every hand.

The election of Mr. Bryan, as the situation stands to-day, would insure the election of a large Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. Drunk with success, and maddened by former defeats, this majority would at once deadlock the processes of the government, until their pet foibles could be put into operation. More than that, a sweeping victory for Mr. Bryan would insure Democratic control of the Senate not later than

the second half of his first term, and he, intrenched in power by one victory by this sort of argument, would be in a position to secure his re-election to a second term, and, with it, the control of both branches of Congress. Nor is this all. We have seen the dangers to the commercial interests of the country which were involved in the mere threat of Democratic success; and the very moment that Mr. Bryan and his school of politics should be elected to the executive branch, and a Democratic majority sent to the House, uncertainty, stagnation and trouble would come. Having "scotched" the snake, the people of the United States must see to it that, until his whole nature is changed, he must be kept out of power. Defeat Mr. Bryan and his Populistic party this year and there will grow up in this country a real Democratic party. The dogma of the free and unlimited coinage of silver would be forever buried out of sight. The Populistic branch of the Bryan party would be dissolved forever, and American politics would resume the position they occupied in former times.

The people of the United States make party platforms. A convention assembles and puts on paper an expression of the sentiment of the delegates; but, long before the frost of November, the people decide what it is they are interested in, and the single great issue comes to the front. In the present instance, the brief platform which has been placed at the head of this article will be the platform about which the people will be talking, and about which they will be voting. They understand this. They have felt the operation of the other doctrine, and they want no more of it.

Many years ago, the Prime Minister of England, when consulted by the King as to the probability of the Government's being repudiated at the elections, said to him: "Sire, the people of England will never repudiate the government, while wheat is a dollar a bushel." These words have come down to us through a long line of tradition, and it is probable that the words "dollar" and "bushel" were not used, but equivalent terms were doubtless the basis of the response of the Prime Minister.

The people of the United States, with the scars of 1892 and 1896 still fresh and bleeding, will not go back and place the party in power that did all that has been here so faintly described, while the present conditions remain and the present generation lives. Let the Democratic orators eliminate from their *répertoire*

all the small politics of imperialism and canteen and pension legislation, and all the little things that have come bubbling up out of the chaotic mind of the Democratic party, and let them train themselves from the start to answer two or three questions which will here be put.

First. What was it that precipitated this country from the high pinnacle of the commercial, industrial and financial prosperity of 1892 down into the pit in which we wallowed for four years?

Why was it that, out of the prosperous condition of 1892, we so soon found ourselves struggling in the mazes of doubt, uncertainty, and despair?

Again, why was it that the mere election of Mr. McKinley and a Republican Congress turned the tide the other way, and kept it rising, until the very mountain tops of the prosperity of 1892 are submerged in the oceans of prosperity of 1900?

Why was it that wages advanced, even before McKinley took his seat; and why was it that, from that day to this, there has been a steady growth of industrial, financial, and commercial prosperity throughout this land?

Answer these questions. Who did it? What did it? How was it done? What policy changed the conditions? What was it that restored confidence to the people? Answer these questions, and then you have satisfactorily answered the questions which the people of this country will put to the Democratic managers of 1900. The failure of the Democratic party to make successful answer will mark the coming final defeat of their whole organization.

But Mr. Bryan says that "money, trusts and imperialism" are to be the three great issues of the campaign of 1900. Imperialism! What a humbug! What an assault upon common sense! What a reflection upon the intelligence of the people of the United States, to talk about imperialism and militarism! Why, we are within less than a year of the time when we shall have only twenty-seven thousand soldiers of all arms, with a population of possibly eighty millions of people. Imperialism, in a government like this! Imperialism, in a government that has done more in the last two years to disseminate, among the fallen and the suffering, the blessings of liberty and justice and democracy, than has been done by all the other countries of the world

for a quarter of a century! Imperialism, by a political party that has established a democracy in the Sandwich Islands and given to those people a government liberal, free and stable! Imperialism, charged at the door of a party that has established a free government, with educational accompaniments and all the blessings of law and liberty, in the Island of Porto Rico, and that has taken out of the Treasury of the United States and handed over to that people a sum of money munificent in comparison with anything that they ever before enjoyed! Imperialism, charged against a government whose administration stands ready to-day to confer the blessings of free government upon the millions in the Philippine Islands, if they will only accept it in the spirit with which it is being tendered!

All these troubles and controversies have grown out of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands by the American people. At the close of the war with Spain, owing to the conditions of the Treaty of Paris, we entered upon a new field of operations. Nobody will deny this. We entered upon this field with fear and uncertainty. We entered upon it with all parties divided upon the great question of the wisdom of acquiring territory abroad and beyond our borders. There was doubt and misgiving in the minds of Republicans, whether it was the true policy of the American Government to acquire sovereignty over Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines; and the whole question was submitted, under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, to the representatives in the Senate of the American States for their determination. The treaty was brought into the Senate. The question before the Senate was the plain, straightforward question of ratification or non-ratification. The time for arresting the acquisition of foreign territory was then, and the hour when "imperialism" might have been forever eliminated out of American politics was then. It was a fair question, fairly submitted. Every Senator had the right and was charged with the duty to vote as he saw fit, and there was grave doubt and uncertainty as to what the result would be. About that time, some peculiar coincidences occurred in this country. One was an order from the War Department for a Nebraska regiment to proceed to Cuba and aid in the military operations there. Another was the sudden and at the time unexplained resignation of the distinguished colonel of this regiment; and the third was the pres-

ence of that colonel in the City of Washington, using his mighty influence and great eloquence to persuade the Senate of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Paris. And let it not be forgotten that his presence accomplished the work, and that but for him it would have failed. It will not be forgotten by the American people that, when the doors of the Senate were closed to all the people of the United States except the Senators, and they entered upon the solemn duty of voting to ratify or reject the treaty, William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, ex-colonel of a Nebraska regiment, appealed to those in the Senate with whom his personal influence would be the strongest to vote for ratification. One of the men was a Senator from his own State, who had been theretofore counted as against the treaty, and who suddenly turned over and voted for its ratification, and caused its ratification by the bare majority his vote secured. So the party whose great leader did this cannot afford, in 1900, to condemn the administration of the Republican party for having entered upon this new field in its foreign policy. At the door of the present Populist candidate for President, William J. Bryan, lies more of the sin, if it be a sin, more of the honor, if it be an honor, more of the glory, if it be a glory, of having secured the ratification of the Treaty of Paris and the assimilation of the Philippines and Porto Rico into the property and territory of the United States than lies at the door of any other one living man.

But this same Populist candidate for the Presidency says that the trusts will be an issue; and, among other things in his article in the June number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, he says:

> "The Democratic party is better able to undertake this work (the overthrow of the trusts) now than it was a few years ago, because all the trust magnates have left the party. The Republican party is less able than ever before to make a successful war against the trusts, because it numbers among its membership all the trust magnates it ever had, and in addition it has all the Democratic party formerly had."

Presumably, this eloquent paragraph was written before it was suddenly discovered that some of the great "magnates" of Tammany Hall, including the Mayor of the City of New York, were members of the Ice Trust of New York City. Doubtless, if the Populist candidate for President had this paragraph to rewrite, he would add at the end of it in parenthesis, "excepting New York City and New York State."

In this connection, it may be proper to refer to the fact that Mr. Bryan has reproduced a line of argument which has been exhausted heretofore many times, tending to show that the tariff is the promoter of trusts, and he states that "the high tariff has been a bulwark to the trusts." I presume that, if any intelligent American citizen should be called upon for an illustration of the most successful and most dominating combination of capital in the United States, he would select the Standard Oil Trust or Company, as the case may be. Then, in studying the tariff laws of the country, it would be discovered that there is no such thing as a tariff on the product out of which this enormous corporation has grown rich. Now, whether Mr. Bryan, the Populist candidate, when he said that "the high tariff has been a bulwark to the trusts," labored under the impression that there is a tariff on ice, of course we shall never know; but the two illustrations, the Standard Oil and the Ice Trust, operate as complete refutations to the whole of the absurd theory promulgated by him.

A few words on the subject of trusts. There is not a more efficient statute on the statute books of the United States than the Sherman anti-trust law, which was placed there by a Republican Congress, signed by a Republican President, and, after having lain dormant during an entire four years of Democratic administration under Mr. Cleveland, was put into active force by a Republican Attorney General and a Republican administration. Under its operations, the great combinations and railroad interests, East and West, were broken up and destroyed; and under it the doctrine was established by the Supreme Court of the United States that substantially makes it impossible for trusts to manufacture goods in this country for interstate commerce without violating the law of Congress. It will be noticed that the Democratic arguments of denunciation against trusts are usually unaccompanied by any suggestion of a remedy, and the most that is suggested in this article to which I have referred so often is that Congress should be authorized to control, modify, limit, and, if necessary, destroy the industrial corporations created by State authority. A provision of this character was brought into Congress at the recent session, in the form of a constitutional amendment, and practically in the very form and essence of Mr. Bryan's proposition; and it was defeated by almost the solid vote of the Democrats on the floor of the House. So far from the Republi-

can party being unfitted to deal with the trust question, it is the only party that has ever done anything toward the limitation and destruction of injurious trusts. It was the Republican party that enacted the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which was sneered at by the Democrats. It was a Democratic Attorney-General who pronounced the law ineffective and refused to prosecute under it. It was a Republican Administration that took up the law, and made it so effective as to break up two of the greatest trust combinations ever formed on this continent; and by a recent decision of the Supreme Court that law, thus condemned by the Democrats, has been held to be effective even in the matter of the manufacture by trusts of commodities for interstate commerce. But the Republican party has never lost its head upon the subject of trusts. These mighty industries, which to-day are making this country powerful in all the markets of the world, have grown up out of conditions that are inherent and natural to the progress, development and evolution of trade and commerce. No frantic appeal of the demagogue can drive the Republican party to the insanity of overthrowing the industrial institutions of this country, in consideration for any temporary gain that might come to it from such a course. The interests of the people of this country in this matter of trusts are safely confided to the Republican party. The intense loyalty of the Republican party to the people of the country and its record hitherto, justify that confidence.

One of the issues of the coming campaign which will be presented by the Republicans is the issue of the re-election of William McKinley. He was elected President of the United States in a campaign, the issues of which were purely domestic, and of common knowledge and common discussion. The tariff, the financial condition of the country, and the minor suggestions of the platform were all subjects about which we had had discussion from time immemorial. The great prominence of Mr. McKinley in tariff debate and tariff legislation pointed him out conclusively as the proper candidate; but there were very few people in the United States who understood the size of the man and the capabilities of the man, when they elected him President. More than three years of his Administration have passed. During that time questions of greater moment have arisen than were ever presented to any Administration of our government hitherto. He has ap-

pointed more men to office, civil and military, far more, than did any predecessor of his; and to-day, notwithstanding the new conditions and new offices that have been filled, it would puzzle the most virulent Democrat to point to five bad appointments that he has made. He has filled many of the great judicial offices of the country, and he has sent abroad an army of office holders. Who can criticise justly the character of those appointments? Little did the people of the United States think, when McKinley took his seat as President, that we would shortly be plunged into a great war; and yet we were and we found ourselves substantially without army or munitions. We raised an army of a quarter of a million, and equipped it with the best of every kind of war material and sent it into the field, organized and commanded by a corps of officers equal to those of any other nation in the world; and, inside of one hundred and ten days, we had conquered Spain on land and sea, had destroyed her navy, and she was on her knees begging for quarter.

New issues have arisen, more trying and more novel and more difficult of solution than ever before confronted a President of the United States. Abraham Lincoln was confronted with the single question of his duty to overthrow rebellion and save the Union; but here have thronged upon the Administration innumerable questions—questions of constitutional construction, questions of the power of the President at home and abroad, questions of the relation of the annexed islands to the United States. All these questions have been met by the Administration and practically solved in the interest of our country and of the countries thus being assimilated. No such power was ever in the hands of a human being, within the two past centuries, as has been placed in the hands of William McKinley. Not only has it been his duty, under the Constitution, to enforce the laws of Congress and of the country at home, but he has found himself possessed of power without limitation. He has found himself making decisions regarding questions of enormous import where there was no court of appeal, and yet it may be stated with absolute confidence that there has been no act of his that savored of tyranny, oppression, wrong or indifference to duty or failure to do justice to all. He has been governed and controlled in his actions and decisions by the spirit of the Constitution and the suggestions of our civilization. To him it has not been important whether

the Constitution goes to the islands *ex proprio vigore,* or not, so far as his action has been concerned. Every guaranty of the Constitution in favor of liberty, justice, fair play, equal rights has been the guiding star of his Administration. No man has been wronged in his rights of property, of liberty or the enjoyment of any of the things and qualities guaranteed to the American citizen by the Constitution, though he may have been the resident of a distant island and been, in fact, a savage unlearned, and incapable of defending his own rights.

This is one of the issues of the campaign, the re-election of William McKinley. Will the people of the United States, crossing this mighty river of constitutional construction and constitutional application, "swap horses," to use a homely illustration of Abraham Lincoln? The Republican party will insist that this man, who has been tried and never found wanting, shall be continued in the Presidential office, while the country is passing through the trials and difficulties which will beset us during the next four years.

CHARLES HENRY GROSVENOR.

NOTES ON SPENCER, BUCKLE, AND COMTE.

BY LÉON GAMBETTA.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY ON "GAMBETTA'S METHODS OF STUDY," BY JOSEPH REINACH, HIS FORMER PRIVATE SECRETARY.

GAMBETTA'S METHODS OF STUDY.

BY JOSEPH REINACH.

GAMBETTA read a great deal, and he read at once rapidly and thoroughly. As his curiosity was general, he devoured with the same avidity works on history and novels, poetry and treatises on philosophy, the magazines and the newspapers. In the days, now long past, when he was chief of the Cabinet and I his private secretary, it was my duty to take to him every morning a résumé of the contents of the newspapers. It was a useless labor. He had already read everything.

Gambetta loved to read aloud, and it was a treat to hear him declaim Rabelais, who was his favorite author, in a voice warm and unctuous, or "The Princess of Clèves," the romance of his choice, in a voice which he suppressed to a more limpid quality.

He had a remarkable memory, and retained nearly all of his prodigious reading. He knew by heart long tirades from Racine, entire chapters from the "Châtiments," and I have known him to recite from beginning to end that remarkable poem from "La Légende des Siècles," "Le Satyre."

For a great while, he always took notes when reading. Later, absorbed in his manifold occupations, he was forced to renounce that excellent practice which doubles the value of reading. But he preserved in one of his portfolios a great number of his notes. They were the ideas which had the most deeply impressed him;

a careful array of facts for some work he was preparing; detailed analysis of some important question, either historical, philosophical, or political.

Napoleon, in his laborious youth, had employed the same method of study. The Laurentian Library possesses four manuscript volumes of the young Napoleon's notes, as student at Brienne and as sub-lieutenant of artillery. These papers, which came from the Libri collections, were acquired by the Italian Government at the Ashburnham sale. They contain extensive summaries of history, natural history, and geography. The world is familiar with one or two of these notes—for example, the description of the colonial possessions of Great Britain, which ends with the mention, since become tragic, of "St. Hélène, little island." In glancing over these Napoleonic manuscripts at Florence, some months ago, I could not help thinking of Gambetta's notes.

Naturally, there are in Gambetta's notes many reflections on Oratory. From his reading of Cicero's *"De Oratore"* he preserved many extracts. He notes from that book that Zeno compared eloquence to the "open hand," and dialectics "to the firm closed fist"; and that Isocrates was accustomed to repeat, "I know all the roads I ought to travel."

Books on history naturally furnished him with copious material. The veteran Greek scholar Haas had a strong liking for Gambetta, and talked with him of the great writers of Grecian antiquity, and initiated him in Demosthenes. There is many a page among Gambetta's notes which, it is easy to suppose, was inspired by Haas or by one of his lectures.

There are four closely written pages on Greek and Roman history. Here is Gambetta's definition of Thermopylæ: "Passage in the mountains, where, according to Napoleon, Leonidas allowed himself to be mouse-trapped." The episode of the history of the Gracchi appears to have particularly interested him.

I copy a few of his notes on history:

"The countenance of Pitt in the last years of his life was hideous. 'It was his Austerlitz face,' says Wilberforce."

"The Revolution did not create the European alliance against France—that was the bitterest fruit of the imperial policy."

" 'The flames of Moscow and Saragossa were the dawn of Liberty for the world' (Benjamin Constant)."

It is evident that Gambetta only copied, or at least most often

copied, the thoughts that, corresponding to his own, seemed to him wise and true.

From an article by Prévost-Paradol on Armand Baschet's "History of Venetian Diplomacy" Gambetta copied many pages.

Concerning Mirabeau, Gambetta wrote:

"Mirabeau was so deeply convinced that the Revolution was irrevocable that, as early as 1790, he wrote these words, which to-day seem like an historical prophecy of the Restoration of 1814-15:

" 'I look on all the consequences of the Revolution, and on all that survived the Constitution, as victories so irrevocable that no convulsion—unless the Empire were dismembered—can efface them. I do not even exempt an armed counter-revolution. The realm may be reconquered, but it will always be necessary for the victor to consider public opinion; to assure the welfare of the people; to insure the abolition of abuses; to permit the people to administer the laws and allow them to choose their administrators—that is to say, even after a civil war it will be found necessary to return to a policy which can be administered without agitation.' "

Mirabeau is one of the historical figures whom Gambetta admired most, and, indeed, one who exerted a veritable fascination over him. Long ago, the marked resemblance was pointed out between the great man of the first revolution and the great man of the Third Republic. They had the same oratorical gifts, the same general conception of government, at once sound and liberal, the same taste for diplomacy, and the same views on what a statesman's rôle ought to be in a democracy.

Gambetta's notes on Finance are copious. He had studied Finance and the question of Credit with deep attention during his years of political apprenticeship. We know with what skill and authority he presided over the Budget Committee. That knowledge was not extemporaneous.

He already firmly believed that the financial methods of an absolute monarchy could not be adopted by a constitutional monarchy or republic; that the financing of a republic should be republican in the same sense that all its other institutions are. He copied the entire first chapter of the forty-second book of Montesquieu's "Spirit of the Laws."

There are long notes on Taine. One of the most brilliant chapters in his "History of English Literature" is that in which Taine, approaching the modern era, draws the picture of the changes which the French Revolution wrought in human intelligence: "At the approach of the nineteenth century commences

in Europe the great modern revolution. The thinking public, the human intelligence undergo a change, and of the two shocks is born a new literature."

There are some interesting notes from an article in the *"Revue des Deux Mondes"* by Auguste Laugel (February 15th, 1864) on Herbert Spencer's "First Principles." Aided by the clear analysis of the French writer, Gambetta penetrated with his fine intelligence into the English philosopher's theory. He extracted the pith from it.

On March 15th, 1868, Louis Etienne published in the *"Revue des Deux Mondes"* an analysis of Thomas Buckle's "History of Civilization in England." This analysis of a masterly work made a deep impression on the young lawyer who later was to defend Delescluze at the Baudin trial. As was the case with the Laugel article, he read that of Etienne pen in hand.

We now come to his notes on the Positive Philosophy.

The world knows with what an outburst Gambetta made his profession of Positivism. Invited, as president of the Chamber, to the fête commemorative of the fiftieth anniversary of the Polytechnical Association, he delivered, in the great amphitheatre of the Sorbonne, one of his most brilliant discourses, in which he hailed Auguste Comte as "the deepest thinker of his century" (December 12th, 1880). He there defined him as "that mind solely occupied with freeing the human brain from gloom and unreality, in order to render thought a pure ingot of gold."

Some years earlier, at a dinner which had been given to Littré, on the occasion of the completion of his dictionary, Gambetta had first declared himself for Positive Philosophy (January 5th, 1873). "There will surely come a day," he had said, "when politics restored to its true rôle—ceasing to be the refuge of the cunning and of intriguers, renouncing treacherous and perfidious trickery, freed from the spirit of corruption, and from all the strategy of double dealing and subterfuges—will become what it ought to be: a moral science, expressive of a complete harmony of interests, of affairs, of morals, imposing itself alike on the conscience and on the mind, and dictating the laws of justice to human society. On that day your name*—ours—will conquer, and your name will be honored among men."

Indeed, I have found among Gambetta's notes a concise ana-

*That of Littré.

lysis of Auguste Comte's theory, as well as the exceptions taken to it by Stuart Mill* in his book on Positivism. Had Gambetta at that time read or glanced through the treatise of Auguste Comte? I am inclined to think so. Proof is, however, lacking, and the following notes on Comte's system were manifestly written in course of his perusal of Littré's article in the *"Revue des Deux Mondes"* of August 15th, 1866. He followed there, step by step, Littré's refutation, copying, analyzing, and condensing it.† He liked to keep in touch with all subjects, but he lacked the time to pursue them to their original sources. His keen intelligence supplied, however, what was lacking in the necessarily incomplete documentation of the middle man.

JOSEPH REINACH.

NOTES ON SPENCER, BUCKLE, AND COMTE.

BY LÉON GAMBETTA.

I.

Spencer compares the struggle between science and faith to that of the two cavaliers who disputed over the color of a shield, of which each had seen but one side.

The Deist derives creation from a Creator; but how chances it that there was a Creator before creation? If he possesses an individual and independent existence, as the Atheists claim for matter, the two theories lead us to a common conclusion: existence without commencement.

According to Spencer, neither life nor spiritual force can escape from the control of the universal law of the persistence of force. He collects, in support of this theory, all the facts with which biology can furnish him, in order to establish a connection between those forces which we classify as "vital forces" and those which we call "physical." For some time, physiologists have been asking themselves if these two forces may not be identical. One says "yes," the other "no." On either side they are half convinced that these forces, without being absolutely the same, are but different forms of the same thing.

*"Auguste Comte and Positivism," translated into French by Clémenceau (1868).

†Article entitled "Auguste Comte and Stuart Mill, The Positive Philosophy."

By this theory life would merely be derived from those forces which we already know outside of animated life, its causes—heat, electricity, magnetism, and chemical affinity.

Thought, or rather mental energy, is only another form of vital force. Thus, thought becomes only a movement, more complicated and more mysterious, doubtless, than the other movements that we have known, but allied nevertheless to those movements, as the satellite is allied to the planet or the acid to its base.

The law of evolution is a perpetual eddy.

II.

Buckle's starting point is that the actions of men, however independent or whimsical they may appear, are the result of absolute laws, which, in a certain sense, impel them toward the end to which they irresistibly and blindly tend. To discover what this impulse, in appearance so mysterious, is; to explain this irresistible tendency, is Buckle's aim.

The social progress of England is not due to its religion; on the contrary, the one is in an inverse ratio to the other, a maximum of knowledge corresponding to a minimum of faith.

Buckle dates English civilization from the birth of scepticism in that country.

Scepticism has special characteristics in Protestant countries. It is naturally theological, and one must study its progress in the books of theologians. It was born on the same day with individual intelligence, the first form of free thought. It commenced in the reign of Elizabeth with the struggle between the priests and the Bible.

In the reign of Charles I., theology attacked the Councils. Proofs were demanded. However, the Bible and rationalism disputed at that time with equal confidence.

In the eighteenth century, rationalism rejected everything except the Bible, and distinguished between that which is divine and that which is mortal; between faith and morality; between religion and politics. Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, wrote a book on the spiritual life independent of revelation.

The results of this move were visible in civilization. With the lessening of faith in the sixteenth century awoke a tolerance of principle, otherwise truth. The concessions which were early

made to individual intelligence promoted the movement of Free Thought. Literature and philosophy advanced rapidly toward maturity in the seventeenth century—Shakespeare and Bacon, Milton, Newton, Locke—and finally came the Royal Scientific Society, that stronghold of the new thought.

In the eighteenth century came Hume and Gibbon. The new thought broke out everywhere, in newspapers and clubs. In proportion as knowledge spread, belief became more rare.

Self-reliance, a habit of depending on one's self, is the first basis of self-government. Self-government plays the same part in the civilization of England that Buckle attributes to scepticism.

In the present state of knowledge, politics, far from being a science, is the most backward of the arts, and the only line of conduct safe for law-makers is to recognize that the secret of their profession is to make timely concessions to the needs of their epoch. Their duty is to follow their century, not to attempt to lead it.

Positivism in England differs from that of Comte and his disciples chiefly because of its contempt for governmental interference.

Atheists, Secularists, or Idealists, whose ideals are not those of their century, flourish.

III.

Auguste Comte wished to create a philosophy. He called it Positive. Mill denies that he has succeeded, for two reasons: (1.) because Sociology is lacking in it; (2.) because Psychology is omitted from it.

Littré insists (1.) that Sociology is included in it, which is what Philosophy demands; (2.) that Psychology is missing from it without injury to the argument, and that the affinity between Positive Philosophy and Psychology is not what Mill's criticism supposes.

First question: What is Positive Philosophy? It is the conception of the Cosmos which results from a systematic study of the exact sciences. Philosophy itself is the study of the Cosmos, or, in scholastic terms, of the objective world; and in that world man finds his place both as a being and as a social atom.

If, after a broad generalization, one wishes to regard life as an objective whole, man must not be made the central figure of a philosophical system, for that manifestly gives him a false po-

sition; while, if one argues from a purely psychological standpoint, making man a central point constitutes a false philosophical method.

Philosophy is real, a conception of real things. Logic is formal, a scheme for explaining things.

This is precisely the reason why one cannot arrive at a Positive Philosophy by way of Psychology. It is the actual explanation of life, not the theoretic; the objective, not the subjective; with which Philosophical history concerns itself. Before the formulating of the Positive Philosophy, man's mind had, in the course of its development, evolved two philosophies, the theological and the metaphysical.

In that fact is manifest the folly of considering a philosophy as anything other than a philosophical idea of the world and life, whether it is concerned with the study of man or with the history and theory of logic.

First period: Examples, all religions. Dogma is a real branch of philosophy. The theological conceptions of philosophy are the most ancient forms of broad speculative thought. The theological impulse of intelligence was to believe that the universe was controlled by some divine will.

Second period: Metaphysical Philosophy is also a conception of the world, but it differs from theological both in its origin and its results. It was born of another intellectual movement. The metaphysical tendency of mental development was to believe that all which appeared to be logically true must necessarily be so.

Third period: Positive Philosophy, a new conception of the Cosmos, in which natural laws and not divine will controlled everything. This new system naturally rejected all the theories which had been a part of the old philosophy, and in it everything began and ended in experiment.

This great achievement, which is the work of M. Comte, had always been looked on as impossible, and it was no light task to succeed in it—to divide the world into two parts: that which we know and to which our intelligence is directed by experiment; that which we do not know, and which is closed to our speculation; in short, the knowable and the unknowable. Hence, Theological Philosophy is a system of reasoning in which man acknowledges the control of a divine will over all things. Metaphysical Philosophy is a system of reasoning which sees in the Universe the

strict materialization of logic. Positive Philosophy is a system of reasoning which interprets the Universe through the Mind.

The essential characteristic of the especial theory of M. Comte consists in his having conceived and built up a philosophy, by selecting from the schemes of different sciences and from the works of deep, scientific thinkers, groups of truths to which he could apply his system. Two operations: (1.) Selection of general facts from each fundamental science; (2.) grouping and arranging these facts: ten fundamental sciences. As the philosophy of a particular science is the arranging of the general facts of that science, it follows that a complete philosophy is the arranging of the different groups obtained by the first operation. This arrangement was determined by the extent of the multiplication of the phenomena, according to the order which Nature herself offers in physical, chemical and biological facts.

This arrangement rests jointly upon the historic order which is consistent with the stages of multiplication, and upon the didactic order by which the mind passes through one stage in order to reach another. Positive Philosophy is based on Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Sociology. Therefore, to determine the superlative facts of human knowledge, to arrange them according to a reasonable method, to deduct from them a rational explanation of the Universe, to formulate a theory sufficiently exact to accord with scientific elements, and general enough to entitle it to a place and value in the whole scheme, that is Positive Philosophy, the achievement of Comte.

Mill's points of attack are Sociology and Psychology. Has M. Comte established a Sociology or not? Mill denies that he has succeeded. That is an important point in the Comte system. Littré insists that Comte has sufficiently shaped a philosophy of that special fundamental science called Sociology, to use it with the same rights as Biology, Chemistry and the other sciences in the construction of Positive Philosophy.

Static Mode, Dynamic Mode: The essential characteristic of the Dynamic Mode is that it springs from an instinctive and primary connection, and is a general and not an individual attribute. It is by it that one distinguishes between the superorganic and the organic. Take note of this, for it is the essential difference between Sociology and Biology. It is the Dynamic Mode alone which opens a new field to science; the Static Mode

would not suffice, for, being elementary, it would fall back into Biology; complicated and an important part of Sociology, it is subordinated to the historical development.

The historical development belongs to what I have named "the residue"—residue of which the subordinate science (here it is Biology) does not take account, but which forms the base of superlative science when a genius awakes to utilize it. M. Comte was that genius for the science of Sociology.

History is the first part of Sociology. Statics is only a secondary part. Political economy is but one part of Statics.

The historical theory of doubt consists of three degrees of social development: the theological stage, the metaphysical stage, and the positive stage.

Sociology proves that the faculty of believing according to a fashion is inherent in Society, although up to that time it had been attributed to other causes than society itself. Sociologically, and in the order of the branches of science, the dynamic mode has the advantage over the static, in that it determines the changes from which Sociology is born, and which are studied in that science. Philosophically, then, it is not important that the secondary part (Political Economy) be elaborated, but that the first part be so organized as to establish a Positive Philosophy, which is the scheme in hand.

Therefore, Mill was wrong to reproach Comte with having neglected Political Economy and overlooked the constitution of the science of Sociology.

To sum up: Littré has pointed out three flaws in Mill's criticism—(1.) that he did not recognize the inequality between the dynamic mode and the static, which implies that he did not see the organization of Sociology clearly; (2.) that he sought in Comte for sociological physiology, rather than for the first cause to which sociological physiology is subordinated; (3.) that he lost sight of M. Comte's purpose, in which the constitution of sociology is only a means of arriving at the constitution of Positive Philosophy, which is the end at which he aimed.

LÉON GAMBETTA.

LORD PLAYFAIR.

BY M. W. HAZELTINE.

If any man in our time has satisfied the Emersonian definition of genius, "a capacity for hard work," it was Lyon Playfair, and if any Englishman has earned a peerage by services, not less important because pacific, it was he. That is a conviction planted in all those who have been in a position to follow his career, and it will be shared by the readers of the memoir of Lord Playfair which has been recently compiled by Mr. Wemyss Reid, and published by the Harpers. The biographer, however, not only sets forth the story of a great worker who labored for unselfish ends, but also enables us to realize the fact that the subject of the narrative was a man of rare social and personal gifts, before whose address and tact difficulties that to others might have proved insurmountable, seemed to melt away. His was a useful and distinguished life, not only in its scientific, but also in its political and international aspects, and from the latter view-points his high character, his genial temperament and his social attractiveness no doubt counted for much, but his successes as a member of Parliament, as a Minister and as an unofficial diplomatist ought not to obscure the specific quality of his intellect, or the prevailing trend of the achievements by which he will be longest remembered. He was, primarily, a student of science, and especially those branches of applied science which deal with the economic conditions of life. That is why Playfair's name is inseparably associated with the vast sanitary improvements which have taken place in England during the last thirty years, and with the evolution of the whole system of scientific and technical instruction. His is an unchallenged place of honor in the history of the social and economical progress of his country.

It is the fashion for biographers to devote considerable space to

an account of their subject's ancestry; more space, perhaps, than Dr. Weismann would approve of. Representatives of the Playfair family have more than once reached eminence in the course of the last three centuries. In 1596, Thomas Playfair was made D.D. and Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Professor Playfair, of Edinburgh University, was one of the most famous of English mathematicians in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the present century. Professor Playfair was remembered in the United States down to our own day. In 1877, Lord Playfair, being at a house on the Hudson which possessed a telephone, used the instrument to communicate with the Professor of Mathematics at West Point. The latter desired to know who was addressing him, and, receiving the answer, "Playfair," rejoined, "Oh, I know all about you! I learned my first mathematics out of your 'Euclid.'" Lord Playfair disclaimed, with modesty, the authorship of the book, explaining that it had appeared in the last century. His unknown conversationalist replied, "Your voice is so squeaky, I thought you must be a hundred years old!" Lord Playfair's grandfather was appointed Principal of the University of St. Andrews in 1800. His wife's maiden name was Lyon; she belonged to the Lyons of Glen Ogle, who form a collateral branch of the Lyons of Glamis, now possessing the title of Earl of Strathmore. Principal Playfair's eldest son, the father of the subject of Mr. Reid's biography, became a physician, entered the service of the East India Company, and rose to the highest medical position in it, that of member of the Medical Board in Calcutta. He had, we are told, all the simplicity and kindness of Colonel Newcome, in Thackeray's novel, and his son could never think of him without this association in his mind. Dr. Playfair had married a daughter of John Ross, Esq., of Edinburgh. She was a woman of uncommon abilities, which were cultivated by extensive reading; her son testifies that to her he owes much more of the early knowledge he acquired than he was able to gain from the grammar or classical school to which he was eventually sent.

I.

Lyon Playfair was born at Chunar, Bengal, May 21, 1818. As early as 1820 he seems to have been sent with an elder brother from India to St. Andrews, there to remain under the care of an

aunt. Six years later, his mother returned from India to superintend the education of her family. In this task she was assisted by a governess who had a strong Scotch pronunciation, and who not infrequently put her accents on the wrong syllables. Lord Playfair notes in an autobiographical sketch that, throughout his life, he would sometimes astonish an audience by a distinctly false quantity. At the age of six, the boy Lyon had been sent to an excellent parish school, from which, unfortunately, he was removed too soon to the old grammar school of the City of St. Andrews. Of the latter institution he says: "I know that I lost much of my former knowledge, and that my Latin, when I entered the university, was of the most miserable description." When, at the age of fourteen, he was enrolled as a "Bejant," or first year's student, in the University of St. Andrews, he scarcely knew the Greek alphabet, and he tells us that, "I never learned sufficient to make Greek authors a pleasure to me in their own language." Mathematics, on the other hand, pleased him greatly, and, whenever he could do so, he listened to the lectures in the class of chemistry and natural philosophy. After leaving St. Andrews, he entered upon a course of study for medicine in the Andersonian College, Glasgow, and, presently, carried off the first prize in the chemistry class. Among his fellow students at this college were Livingstone, the great African traveller, and James Young, the founder of the paraffin and paraffin oil industry. After spending two years in Glasgow, young Playfair went to complete his studies in the University of Edinburgh, but became ill, was ordered to discontinue his professional work, and to look to India for a career. He reached Calcutta and entered a mercantile house, but several of the scientific men in the Bengal capital, whose acquaintance he gradually made, wrote to his father, urging him to send the young man back to Europe to complete his chemical studies. In compliance with their advice, his father, who was then in the Upper Provinces, sent his son back to London to join the distinguished chemist, Professor Graham, who had been at Glasgow, but was now at University College in the British metropolis. After remaining with Graham for about a year, Playfair went to Giessen in Germany to study under Liebig, the founder of organic chemistry, who, at that time, had the best laboratory in Europe. At Giessen, where he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the young Englishman made several notable discoveries, and was in-

vited by Liebig to translate into English his great book on agricultural chemistry. There is no doubt that his association with Liebig was a turning point in Playfair's life; it brought him, while still a youth, into contact with the first chemist of his day, and gave him a position in the scientific world which his own work and abilities, remarkable though both were, could not have secured for him so quickly. Returning to England in 1841, he became chemical manager of a large print works near Clitheroe, and, while thus engaged, he was made Honorary Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Institution of Manchester. In 1842, the Professorship of Chemistry in the University of Toronto was offered to him, but he was dissuaded from accepting it by no less a man than Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister, who took the unusual step of promising to provide for him in England. The incident demonstrates that Playfair, although only twenty-four years old, was already regarded by many leading scientists as the most promising among the younger students of his day. The first Government appointment which Playfair received in pursuance of the promise mentioned was the post of member of the Royal Commission to inquire into the health of towns. The work of this memorable commission, upon which he entered with great energy in 1843, marked the real beginning of sanitary science in the United Kingdom. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, when this commission commenced operations, every English town was but little better than a vast cess-pool, while, before its recommendations had been fully carried out, the towns in England had become practically what they are to-day. From 1843 until the end of his life, Lyon Playfair was absorbed in the question of sanitary improvement, and, before long, he was the recognized leader of national enterprises for the amelioration of the public health. The duties undertaken by Playfair in connection with the Royal Commission did not, however, prevent him from prosecuting chemical inquiries in a laboratory connected with the Museum of Economic Geology at Craig's Court, an institution with which he was long associated. In 1845, Playfair visited Ireland at Sir Robert Peel's request, and made a report to the Prime Minister on the potato rot and the imminence of famine. His prediction that the population of Ireland would be more than decimated unless all the ports were opened for the admission of grain at a small duty, was sadly fulfilled.

II.

From 1847 to 1849, Playfair's life was that of a Professor in the Royal School of Mines, though, even in these years, the Government required his services on Royal Commissions. In 1848, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. We may mention that, at this period, he eked out a small income by writing leaders for various newspapers, particularly the *Daily News,* the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Athenaeum.* It was in 1850 that he entered definitely upon what was to be the chief employment of his life. Up to this point, his labors were principally confined to his own special branch of study, and it was as a man of science only that he was known to the public. In the year just named, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition, who have been described as the "good fairies" that secured for English industry and English art the position which they now hold in the world. From 1850 down to 1895, Playfair was constantly associated with the labors inaugurated by this important body. More than almost any other man, he represented its spirit and forwarded its aims. The work accomplished by him in the development of the national institutions for practical teaching, which have revolutionized the English system of technical instruction, may be regarded as, upon the whole, the most useful of all the tasks to which Playfair devoted his superabundant energy and unique talent. In his new position as a member of the Commission for the Exhibition, he was brought into close contact with the Prince Consort, with Lord Granville, then President of the Board of Trade, and with many eminent politicians of both parties. He emerged, in short, from the relative obscurity of a man of science occupied in the details of a public department, and came into the full blaze of light that beats upon men actively engaged in national affairs of the widest interest. It is well known that the Great Exhibition of 1851 was a pecuniary success, and that the surplus was about £180,000. The sum, which, by the Prince Consort's advice, was wisely invested in land in South Kensington, has increased enormously in value. This land was vested in the Commissioners, who had carried out the Exhibition, and they allotted sites upon it to numerous public buildings. Upon the land in question are built large galleries for museums and pictures, and, conspicuously, such well-known institutions as the South Kensington

Museum, the Natural History Museum, the Government Schools of Science and Art, the Royal Albert Hall, the Royal College of Music, the Imperial Institute, the Alexandra Home for Female Students, the City and Guilds of London Institute and the School of Art Needlework. When the Exhibition closed, the Government offered Dr. Playfair a knighthood, or the Companionship of the Bath. He selected the latter. The French Government offered to make him Officer of the Legion of Honor, but this distinction he at the time declined as being in the employment of the English Government. On the other hand, he accepted the office of Gentleman Usher in the Prince Consort's household, a post which brought him into intimate association with Prince Albert in many works undertaken for the promotion of education, science and art. Especially did the organization of the Royal College of Science fall heavily upon Playfair's shoulders. Under the Prince Consort, he may be said to have been the father of the Science Department, and to have thus given form and substance to that part of the new educational scheme which was specially related to the establishment of a national scheme of scientific instruction. It was Playfair's happy lot not only to continue his connection with the Royal College of Science for more than forty years, but, at a date long subsequent to the date of its foundation, to rescue the college from the state of depression into which it had fallen, and thus to save it from a crisis which threatened its existence. It was while he was occupied in the preliminary labors of the Exhibition Commissioners that Dr. Playfair was unanimously elected a member of the Athenæum Club.

III.

In the year 1858, Playfair entered his fortieth year. Nearly half his days had been spent in England, and he had compressed into that comparatively short period an amount of work which it is given to comparatively few men to accomplish in a life-time. He had advanced from obscurity to fame, and had become the personal friend and trusted adviser of many of the greatest in the land. He had secured most of the honors which are recognized in Great Britain as the rewards of scientific eminence, and he had been the instrument by which the great revolution in the British sanitary system had been achieved. He had gained, moreover, a niche of his own in the cosmopolitan society of London. Everybody, who

knew him at all, knew that a dinner table was made the brighter by the presence of a man who bore a vast load of learning lightly as a flower, and who not only possessed a great store of knowledge, but had the art of imparting it in the easiest and pleasantest fashion. It seemed to his friends that his place in life was now definitely fixed, and that he would remain upon the great metropolitan stage a distinguished public servant, whose talents and energies would continue to be devoted to that branch of national work which lies outside the range of party politics. As a matter of fact, Lyon Playfair's original passion for scientific research had never left him. He looked back with yearning to the days when he had been a student in the laboratory at Edinburgh, and had made the original investigations which first secured for him the good will of Liebig. Thus it came to pass that, in the year 1858, he returned to the Scotland which he had left as a boy, in order to accept the post of Professor of Chemistry in Edinburgh University. Although, however, for some years ensuing, he pursued a quiet academic life in Edinburgh, the Government did not forget his capacity for public usefulness. He was appointed, for instance, President of a Royal Commission to report on the herring fishery, and, in 1862, he was invited to take charge of the administration of awards at the Second International Exhibition, and to appoint the jurors. At the close of the Exhibition, he received various honors from foreign sovereigns; from Austria, the decoration of Commander of Francis Joseph; from Sweden, that of the Polar Star; from Portugal, the Order of the Conception; and from Würtemberg, another decoration. In 1865, he served on a Royal Commission appointed for the purpose of devising means for arresting the cattle plague, and, although his recommendations provoked, at first, a good deal of odium, they were subsequently adopted. It was while the Prince of Wales was living in Edinburgh, as Playfair's pupil in the application of science to industry, that an interesting incident occurred. The two were standing near a cauldron containing lead which was boiling at white heat. "Has your Royal Highness," asked Playfair, "any faith in science?" "Certainly," was the reply. Playfair then carefully washed the Prince's hands with ammonia to get rid of any grease that might be on them. "Will you now place your hand in this boiling metal and ladle out a portion of it?" said Playfair. "Do you tell me to do this?" asked the

Prince. "I do," was the answer. The Prince instantly put his hand into the cauldron and ladled out some of the boiling lead without sustaining any injury. It is a well-known scientific fact that the human hand, if perfectly cleaned, may be placed uninjured in lead boiling at white heat, the moisture of the skin protecting it, under these conditions, from any injury. Should the lead be at a temperature perceptibly lower, the effect would be, of course, very different.

IV.

When Playfair became Professor of Chemistry at Edinburgh, it was in the belief that the remainder of his days would be given to scientific work. In 1868, however, he entered upon a new career. He was, at this time, anxious that the second Reform bill, then passing through Parliament, should provide for the representation of the Scotch universities, and his wishes were gratified. The new Reform act allotted two members to the Scotch universities; one to Edinburgh and St. Andrews united, and the other to Glasgow and Aberdeen. It was suggested to Playfair that he should become a candidate for Edinburgh and St. Andrews; after some hesitation, he consented, and he was elected. For many years thereafter he continued, although himself a convinced Liberal, to represent a constituency essentially Conservative. He was to be chiefly known, however, to the House of Commons and to the world in connection with questions of social reform, and was but little involved in partisan controversies. In his reminiscences he explains to how large an extent he long stood aside from party politics in Parliament, but, in justice to him, it should be noted that he was far too honest to conceal his political opinions. Playfair's first speech in the House of Commons was in favor of the abolition of religious tests in the English universities. In 1870, he urged the adoption of open halfpenny letters, now known as post cards, and in the same year he vigorously supported W. E. Forster's great measure for a national system of education in England. In 1873, he became Postmaster-General, and held the office until the accession of Mr. Disraeli to power in the following year. By the new Government he was appointed President of a Civil Service Commission which framed a system since officially known as the "Playfair Scheme." About the same time, he introduced a bill to regulate experiments on living

animals, so that no operation involving pain should be made without an anæsthetic. The Disraeli Government adopted the proposal with slight modifications, and it became law. In 1876 Playfair was a member of the Royal Commission issued to recommend reforms in the Scotch universities. He was largely instrumental in the foundation of the Chair of Geology at Edinburgh.

In the autumn of 1877, Dr. Playfair visited for the first time the United States. This visit marked the beginning of a new epoch in his personal life. Not only did it lead to his marriage with Miss Edith Russell, who survives him, but it opened up for him a host of pleasant friendships on the western side of the Atlantic, and secured for him a position of influence in the United States enjoyed by few of his contemporaries among English public men. During his later years, his visits to America became annual events, and he quickly learned to appreciate American institutions, without losing, however, any of his patriotic devotion to his native land. To the study of American politics he brought a close and sympathetic attention, and, in due time, as we shall see, it was his lot to render a great service to both Great Britain and the United States under circumstances of exceptional gravity. We should here observe that Playfair's marriage to Miss Russell provided him with a companion who shared all his enthusiasms, and who not only encouraged but aided him in his public ambition. From this time forth, he went out more into society, entertained more largely in his own house, and, while as unremitting as ever in his devotion to public work, became gradually more and more of a figure in the social, as well as the political and scientific, life of London.

When Mr. Gladstone resumed office in 1880, he expressed a wish that Dr. Playfair should become Patronage Secretary of the Treasury, an office the duties of which are better known by the conventional phrase of "First Whip." Not deeming himself adapted to discharge the functions of this post, Dr. Playfair declined it, and accepted, instead, the office of "Chairman and Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons," who presides technically over "Ways and Means," but also over the whole House, after a bill has passed the second reading and goes into the committee stage. The repressive measures which, in the capacity of Chairman, he was constrained to take against the obstruction offered by Mr. Parnell's friends were so disagreeable to Dr. Playfair that,

early in 1883, he resigned the office. It was at this time that the Queen appointed him a Knight Commander of the Bath. It was at his suggestion that the same mark of honor was conferred on Professor Richard Owen in 1884.

V.

When, in 1886, Mr. Gladstone, breaking away from the policy of a lifetime, resolved to attempt to settle the great question of Ireland in the interests of the United Kingdom as a whole, he drew with him on his perilous path many men of eminence and high principle, though he had to part from some of those who had been his most faithful colleagues. Playfair was one of the men who, in that grave crisis, stood by the veteran Prime Minister. Having retired from the representation of Edinburgh, he stood forth in 1885 as the Liberal candidate for South Leeds, a most Radical constituency, and achieved a brilliant victory. Upon the formation of Mr. Gladstone's penultimate Ministry, Playfair accepted the post of Vice-President of the Council, an office in reality equivalent to that of Minister of Education. During his six months' tenure of office, only one important bill became law, that, namely, for the organization of the medical profession which Playfair contrived to carry. At the next general election in July, 1886, Playfair was again returned for South Leeds, though by a somewhat diminished majority. The year 1887, that of the Queen's first Jubilee, put a load of labor upon him in his position of Deputy Chairman of the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition, and he was, at the same time, employed on a Royal Commission which had been appointed to inquire into the state of the endowed schools. Although nearly seventy years of age, he was still active as ever in promoting the cause of scientific and technical education in different parts of Great Britain. On October 31 in the same year, Playfair, at the head of a deputation of members of Parliament, presented to President Cleveland a memorial in favor of a treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States. We should next observe that when, in 1892, Mr. Gladstone returned for the last time to office, Playfair felt relieved to learn that, on account of his advanced age, he would not be called upon to undergo the fatigue inseparable from the work of a Cabinet Minister. He accepted a peerage, however, selecting the title of "Baron Playfair, of St. Andrews." In that ancient city, his

ancestors had lived for several generations, and his father, mother and uncles, as well as his grandparents, are buried in the churchyard of the ruined cathedral. The authorities of the city and University expressed their satisfaction that Lord Playfair had associated St. Andrews with his barony.

It was in January, 1896, when he was in his seventy-eighth year, that Lord Playfair was able to render a last important service to his country. We refer to the part he played at the time when President Cleveland's message with regard to Venezuela brought Great Britain and the United States into dangerous antagonism. It was Lord Playfair, who, after a conversation with the Colonial Secretary, handed to the American Ambassador a memorandum which might furnish the basis of an equitable agreement between the two countries. The memorandum outlined the settlement which was eventually reached, though some time elapsed before negotiations culminated in the agreement to submit the Venezuela boundary to arbitration. No man who had any part in averting the catastrophe, which for a time was threatened, could fail to feel proud of his share in the work, and Lord Playfair during the brief remainder of his life was glad to know that his own efforts had in this respect been useful, not only to his fellow countrymen, but to the people of a country with which he had become connected by an endearing tie.

A close student of the branch of science which deals with the economic conditions of life, Playfair was a watchful observer of the startling developments which these conditions underwent. To the new order of things he sought to apply the old economic truths, and it was repeatedly his good fortune to draw the right economic lessons from the new conditions of human life with which he was brought in contact. Few men of our time have done more than he did to show the bearing of new industrial facts and of fresh scientific discoveries upon the old laws of supply and demand. A philosopher among politicians, and a politician among philosophers, he was to achieve more than one memorable success in applied science and in politics, and he was to attain, at last, the honor of being one of the few men who, at a moment when the two branches of the English-speaking race seemed drifting toward ruinous collision, were able to intervene and avert a disaster that might have wrecked the cause of human liberty.

M. W. HAZELTINE.

OCEAN TRANSPORTATION TO EASTERN ASIA.

BY EUGENE T. CHAMBERLAIN, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF NAVIGATION.

The commercial aspirations of the United States, in so far as they have any geographical bent, are unquestionably turned to-day across the Pacific to the markets of the temperate zone of Eastern Asia. The more far-sighted of our public leaders, including the great projectors of industrial and transportation enterprises quite as much as the leaders of parties, and the most intelligent of our newspapers, for several years sought to impress upon our people the fact that a commercial struggle, not without its political phases, was in progress for the control of, or for a large participation in, the new markets of the ancient Empire of China, and that we could not afford to be indifferent to it. These efforts had possibly made some headway, though the evidence of progress certainly did not appear on the surface of American thought. What was needed was an awakening of sentiment such as would make the coast of Asia a real thing to the American mechanic, farmer and miner, a thing, that is to say, in which he had an immediate interest; and that was effected by our naval victory at Manila. The map of Asia and of the Pacific has been studied nowhere else so carefully during the past year, by the millions to whom in all civilized countries industrial and commercial growth means livelihood and comfort, as on the farms and in the factories and stores and offices of the United States.

The relative accessibility of the markets of Asia from the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of Europe and from the Pacific coast of the United States depends, of course, as much on facilities of transportation as on distance. What the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 did for Europe in improving transportation facilities to the East is familiar to every one; in a word, it permitted

economical communication by steamships. We are not all, perhaps, so familiar with the possibilities which the employment of steel in the construction of the hulls of merchant steamships, begun in 1879, has opened to the United States in its trans-Pacific trade.

The distance by way of the Suez Canal from Marseilles to Hongkong is 7,903 nautical miles, to Manila 7,906 miles, to Shanghai 8,758 miles, and to Yokohama 9,476 miles. The direct distance from San Francisco to Hongkong is 6,086 miles, to Manila 6,254 miles, to Shanghai 5,550 miles, and to Yokohama 4,564 miles. The advantage of our Pacific coast ports, in respect of distance, over Mediterranean ports is evident. The advantage, of course, increases in contrast with the Atlantic ports of Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands. Distance, however, is not alone to be considered. To make that difference in distance tell in their favor, steamships from our Pacific coast must carry coal for the entire voyage across the Pacific, with a corresponding increase in expense and reduction in the space which can be devoted to earning freight money, while the Suez route offers several opportunities for re-coaling, and in consequence permits the employment of more space for freight-earning cargo. A digression from the direct route to Honolulu means a loss of from 400 to 1,000 miles to the steamship bound from San Francisco to Eastern Asia.

The use of steel in the construction of hulls has made it possible to build steamships so large that they can carry the 3,000 tons of coal, or thereabouts, necessary to traverse at full speed the 6,000 miles which separate our coasts from China. (The great importance of the triple expansion engine in reducing coal consumption is not overlooked, but its relations to the Pacific problem do not call for remark here.) The great inventors of modern steel processes have thus done as much for the trans-Pacific commerce of the United States as de Lesseps did for Europe's trade with the Orient.

The increase in the speed of ocean steamships during the past decade has not been so great as to excite well-founded wonder; it has not been very generally distributed, and at best it is not of prime commercial importance. The real marvel of the past ten years, and the substantial contribution which shipbuilding has recently made to the world's commerce, has been the increase in the

size of ships. In 1892, Lloyd's Register recorded 173 steel vessels and 93 iron vessels, 266 in all, of 4,000 gross tons or upwards. Lloyd's Register for 1900 shows 69 iron vessels and 743 steel vessels, 812 in all, of 4,000 gross tons or upwards. Eight steel steamships of over 8,000 gross tons were recorded in 1892, while for this year 64 such steamships are named. A steamship of less than 4,000 gross tons will soon prove a commercial impracticability for our trans-Pacific trade.

The appearance of large steel steamships in the trade directly across the Pacific will in time revolutionize the relations of the commercial, manufacturing and agricultural world to the uncounted millions of Asia. If the opportunity is promptly seized by the United States, the changed conditions may be made almost immediately the source of enormous addition to our national wealth. In the competition between the Suez route and the direct route across the Pacific, Europe will be handicapped by the canal tolls, which average over one dollar and a half per net ton (Moorsom)—equivalent to nearly a dollar a ton of cargo, both going and coming, in the case of a full-laden ship, and more, of course, if the vessel is laden only in part. To offset this extra charge levied on freight, Europe, however, enjoys the advantages of cheaper ships and lower cost of operation for its merchant fleets. These two considerations are disputed occasionally by those who have not taken the slight trouble required to ascertain the facts, but the facts are not equivocal or ambiguous. The appearance of large steamships on the Pacific opens the way also for fast steamships; and here, too, because of the shorter distances of the direct route, the United States have the advantage of nations which must use the Suez Canal.

The commercial importance of the new conditions of ocean transportation to Eastern Asia seems to have been more fully and more quickly realized by foreign countries than by the United States, which in all its interests ought to be the greatest beneficiary of the new order of things. While we are, many of us, chopping over academic theories and discarded or inopportune policies, other nations are contriving to make the best for themselves out of the situation. The German cabinet report which announced to the Reichstag the purchase of the Carolines and the Ladrones (except Guam) was accompanied by a chart showing the new lines by which the North German Lloyd Steamship Com-

pany proposed to bind these islands, whose purchase at that time had not been ratified, to other German possessions in Asia! On the other hand, while we have held the Philippines for many months, while for months Europe and Asia have been guessing about our commercial policy, here at home some men are still debating whether it will be "worth while" to establish American transportation lines to the East!

The first nation to make practical use of the new conditions on the Pacific was Japan, which for some time has had in operation to the United States seventeen-knot steamships of 6,000 gross tons, the largest and fastest vessels now employed on the Pacific Ocean, exceeding in size and speed the Canadian Pacific's "Empress" steamships, which Great Britain, in anticipation of the future, now become present, began to subsidize in 1892.

The beginnings only have been made in actual development of the direct Pacific route to Asia, with the Pacific coast of North America as a basis. Europe has been preparing, however, for the competition for several years. In 1895, France renewed and extended her subsidies to the Messageries Maritimes Steamship Company; in 1897, Great Britain renewed her subsidies to the Peninsular & Oriental Steamship Company; and, in 1898, Germany renewed and extended her subsidies to the North German Lloyd Steamship Company. The nature of these subsidies has been entirely changed by the considerations hastily noted. They are no longer contracts for the quickest performance of a public service, the transmission of the mails, because the quickest route to Eastern Asia from London, Paris, Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Rome, Trieste, Vienna and Marseilles is not now by the Suez Canal, but across the Atlantic, across the North American Continent by rail, and thence across the Pacific to Yokohama, Shanghai, Kiaochao, Hongkong and Manila. The best time now possible from the capitals of Europe to Shanghai by the Suez route is thirty-two days. The Berlin mails reach New York in nine days, the Paris mails in eight, and the London mails in about seven. The New York mails reach San Francisco in four days and three hours. Seventeen-knot steamships can cross from San Francisco to Shanghai in sixteen days, allowing for the change of time in mid-Pacific, which is a loss for westward but a corresponding gain for eastward mails. The ocean mail and passenger lines to Asia, which Europe now subsidizes with about $4,500,000

a year, are slower on the average, taking voyages both ways, by five days, than the lines which the United States must within two or three years establish across the Pacific. They are slower than connections to-day possible, though not established, through Japanese steamships, also subsidized, which now enter our Pacific coast ports. These foreign mail contracts have thus become national agencies for the promotion of commerce, as they always were, though to a much less degree; and where they are coupled, as they always are by implication, if not in direct terms, with the requirement that the steamships filling the contracts shall be built by the nation which grants the subsidy, they are also agencies to promote national shipbuilding and national navigation.

A legislative proposition which has for one of its principal objects the establishment, as soon as practicable, of the best and greatest facilities for transportation between the United States and Asia is entitled to the careful consideration of every American. It is of as much importance to the cotton States of the South and the wheat and corn belts of the Northwest as it is to our seaboard constituencies. The mining regions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and the Great Lakes, and the factories of New York, New Jersey, New England and the Central States are as directly concerned in it as are the commercial exchanges of our large cities.

Of the 5,390 clearances of steamships from this country for Europe in 1899, only 39 were under the American flag. Too much intelligence, industry and money have been expended by foreign companies and governments in establishing their shipping interests in the North Atlantic to render possible a speedy recovery by the United States of its former rank in that branch of ocean carrying. But the trade of the Pacific is relatively undeveloped. During 1899, there were only 185 clearances of merchant steamships from this country for all of Asia, of which, however, only 24, two a month, were American. There must be an increase in our transportation facilities very soon, as, for more than a year, the complaint has been made, all along the Pacific coast, that there is a lack of tonnage to carry cargoes of cotton, flour and lumber to China and Japan, and that in consequence our exports have been handicapped by heavy freight charges. Is this lack of tonnage on the Pacific to be supplied by American vessels, or do we purpose at the outset voluntarily to abandon the carrying trade of the Pacific to our foreign rivals, who have already acquired

control of the trans-Atlantic trade? The ocean-carrying trade of a nation is as much a national industry as any manufacturing process. It has a higher claim to national consideration than any other industry. To Great Britain it brings yearly an addition to national wealth estimated by her best statisticians at $380,000,000. The carrying trade of the United States at this time is worth about $175,000,000 to those who conduct it. What the Pacific carrying trade will be worth to the United States ten years hence is purely conjectural. Our exports and imports to and from Japan and China alone, for 1897, were valued at $70,000,000. In ocean freights and passenger fares the carrying of this trade, as indicated by the report of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, was valued at about $8,000,000. The total exports and imports of China and Japan, in 1899, were in round numbers $475,000,000, of which the share of the United States was $77,000,000. One is at liberty to make his own guess as to what the carrying of that trade brought to ocean vessels two years ago, and what, with its certain increase, it will bring in ten years hence to the nations whose ships transport it.

It is no disparagement of the ultimate utility of the Nicaragua Canal to assert that, to the present generations of Americans, the improvement of trans-Pacific transportation facilities is of much greater importance, and that the enduring interests at least of the grain-growing sections of the Northwest are more closely identified with the latter than with the former undertaking. The Nicaragua Canal undoubtedly should and will be constructed as an American enterprise, but it cannot thereby lose its international character. While our political interest in it will, from the beginning, doubtless be supreme, our commercial interests, at least for many years to come, from the very nature of things, will not be appreciably greater than those of Great Britain, to-day the world's ocean carrier. The construction of the Canal by the Government of the United States will be a material gift to all mankind, worthy of a great republic. The creation of an American mercantile marine on the Pacific is essentially a national proposition, involving the development of American strength, industrial, political and naval.

EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN.

THE PROJECTED CABLE-LINE TO THE PHILIPPINES.

BY CHANDLER HALE.

For the last thirty years Congress has from time to time had under consideration the establishment of a trans-Pacific submarine cable. Until recently this plan has never been more than in embryo. But with the rebirth of an Isthmian Canal, as essential to communication between the East and the West, owing to the expansion of commerce, together with our recent acquisition of the Philippines, the Hawaiian group and other islands in the Pacific, the establishment of such a cable in the near future is now rendered imperative. The only questions in doubt are whether the cable should be owned by the Government or by a private company, and whether the route should be by Hawaii, Midway and Guam to Dingala Bay, or by Alaska, Japan, the Loo-Choo Islands and Luzon.

From a technical and engineering point of view, the practicability of a trans-Pacific submarine cable is assured, the Government survey of the route which would connect California and the Philippines, by the Hawaiian Islands, Midway and Guam, showing no obstacles which may not be avoided in laying the cable. More than thirty years ago the idea of a trans-Pacific cable was broached by Cyrus W. Field, but it came to nothing, as the need of such a cable was not then felt. Ocean cabling being in its infancy, and business with the East being at that time limited, the magnitude and cost of the enterprise, together with the grave doubt that was felt as to the probability of successfully laying the cable, frightened capital away from the enterprise. Now, however, after thirty-four years of experience, the practicability of deep-sea cable laying is well established.

The first Atlantic cable, laid in 1858, proved a failure, but in 1866 the attempt was again made and proved successful. Since then sixteen cables have been laid across the Atlantic, four of which are now abandoned. The cable rates in 1866 were ten dollars per word, but this has gradually been reduced to the present rate of twenty-five cents.

The advantages accruing to international commerce from a submarine telegraphic service have been incalculable. In fact, there could be no greater blow to the business of the country than the sudden interruption of all such communication between the United States and Europe.

Such being the case, and since our Government has recently acquired, either by annexation or conquest, new possessions in the Pacific, it seems necessary to create means of communicating with these colonies in the quickest, most direct and most certain manner.

As at present situated, the Government at Washington can communicate with Manila only in the most roundabout way, and its communications are at any point subject to foreign interference. The existing route of cablegrams from Washington to Manila is as follows: To New York by land; to Valentia, Ireland, by cable; to Brighton, England, by cable and land; to Havre, France, by cable; to Marseilles, by land; to Alexandria, Egypt, by cable; to Suez, Egypt, by land; to Aden, Arabia, by cable; to Bombay, India, by cable; to Madras, by land; to Singapore, Malayan Peninsula, by cable; to Saigon, Cochin China, by cable; to Hongkong, by cable; to Manila, Philippine Islands, by cable—the distance being 14,000 miles and the number of transmissions fourteen. And for this communication the Government is now paying about $400,000 annually for its own messages.

It seems assured that we are henceforth to be permanently and vitally associated with the East; and it would be foolish for us, therefore, to rest satisfied with the means of communication with that part of the world which we are now compelled to employ, when better are at hand, only waiting to be developed. An American cable, whether of Government or private ownership, is now an absolute necessity. The latter would be preferable, though in time of war it should be subject to Government control; as, in general, commercial undertakings should be carried out whenever possible by private enterprise. Cable ownership by the Govern-

ment works out in theory far better than in practice. A cable owned by a Government is necessarily restricted to that Government's possessions, as no Government would permit cables belonging to a foreign Government to land on its shores; otherwise, in time of war, serious international complications might and would arise. All concessions granted by a Government to foreigners involving permission to land upon its shores and do business within its domain make it a *sine qua non* that such foreigners in availing themselves of that privilege shall submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the country which grants the concession.

Take the proposed southern route from San Francisco to Manila, by way of Honolulu, Midway Island and Guam. If it should be owned by the Government, no branch line from Guam to Japan would be possible, because Japan as a nation would not consent to the United States as a nation establishing a cable on the Japanese coast. Nor would such a cable secure any of the business west of Manila. The private cable lines from that point onward could well arrange rates so as to retain all their present business, leaving for the Government line nothing but the business of the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands, which annually would not amount to more than $150,000.

The following estimate shows that the cost of such a duplicate trans-Pacific cable system to Manila and to Japan would be at least $25,000,000:

COST.

9,285 knots cable, including 10 per cent. slack	$11,583,030
500 knots spare cable	623,750
2 cable ships ($300,000 each)	600,000
2 sets cable gear	250,000
6 stations	180,000
Duplex instruments, battery, etc	60,000
Spare instruments	30,000
Travelling expenses, freight, etc	100,000
Contingent fund	250,000
Duplicate cable	11,583,030
Total	$25,259,810

ANNUAL EXPENSE.

Interest at 3 per cent. on $25,259,810	$757,794
Maintenance and coal supply of two ships	250,000
Operating and travelling expenses	175,000
Repair and renewal fund	400,000
Total	$1,582,794

Without the branch line from Guam to Japan, the cost would be about four million dollars less, or $21,259,810.

On this great investment the receipts of the Government would probably only amount to $550,000—that is, the saving of the

$400,000 which is being paid at present in cabling to Manila, and $150,000 which is estimated to be the commercial cable business of the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands. Thus, from the above estimate of annual expenses and receipts, it will be seen that the Government deficit each year upon its line would exceed double the present cost of its communications to the East.

Hence, the branch line from Guam to Japan, which would largely increase the business of the whole line, by entering into competition with the Indian cables, is necessary from a business point of view to a profitable American line on this route. And this branch line, as already shown, could secure permission from the Japanese Government to land on Japanese territory only if it were established and conducted by private enterprise.

There is a sufficient number of responsible individuals and companies willing and even anxious to secure the permission to establish this entire cable to assure its completion within a reasonable time; they would only ask of the Government in return a subsidy of $400,000, or rather a guarantee that they would receive that amount annually for the transmission of all Government messages.

Having discussed the feasibility of a trans-Pacific cable owned by the Government, it is worth while to turn to the consideration of the more northern, or Alaskan, route (which has been also surveyed, though not by the Government), as compared with the southern course.

The northern cable route divides itself naturally into six links, of about 800 miles each, a fact which is of very great moment from a constructive point of view, as it would render one type of cable available for all the links, so that any link might be replaced with one reserve cable. The stations proposed on this route are: (1.) Sitka, the capital of Alaska, 803 miles; (2.) Kadiak Island, the farthest station north, in the latitude of Aberdeen, Scotland, 682 miles; (3.) Dutch Harbor, the greatest northern port for the immense Bering Sea gold travel, 770 miles; (4.) Attu, the western end of North America, 810 miles; (5.) the Japanese-Russian border, 858 miles; (6.) northern Japan, 810 miles, whence there are many wires overland, as well as cables to within 200 miles of the Philippines.

Primarily, a cable by way of Alaska to the Philippines, and in addition thereto a separate line from California to Hawaii,

could be laid for about $12,000,000, as is indicated in the following table:

Route.	Single. Miles.	Single. Cost.	Duplicated. Miles.	Duplicated. Cost.
International cable, U. S. to Asia	4,883	$4,000,000	8,876	$6,000,000
Same, with cable to Hawaii	7,283	6,500,000	12,276	9,200,000
American, northern, to Philippines, via Alaska, with branches to Japan and separate cable to Hawaii	9,335	9,000,000	12,735	12,000,000
American, southern, via Hawaii and Guam	7,750	13,500,000	14,250	25,000,000

This surprising difference in cost is largely due to the difference in length of the links. The greater the stretch, the heavier and more costly the cable, with also slight chance of repair in case of interruption. So true is this, that Great Britain has been deterred from connecting Canada and Australia, as the first link from Vancouver to Fanning Islands would exceed 3,500 miles in length.

The arguments against such a route are to be found in the great natural difficulties to be encountered—fog, ice and great depths. The North Pacific is not as stormy, cold and foggy as the North Atlantic. The worst fogs lie immediately south of the Aleutian Islands, but the cable would not be laid there. It would pass to the north of these islands, where there is much less fog. A cable on the northern route could be repaired at any time of the year on any link, except during temporary storms, and the cable-ship could always find a harbor within one hundred miles of any break.

By the northern route, the different stretches vary but slightly in distance, and are all comparatively short, none exceeding 850 miles; so that, in case of a break, one cable-ship, if it were found impossible to make repairs, could easily relay one entire stretch, the cost of which would not amount to more than $600,000.

Not so on the southern route, with its four great stretches of 2,286, 1,254, 2,593 and 1,496 miles. With these the cost of a break in a great depth, in case repair were possible, would probably amount to several hundred thousand dollars, with the likelihood also of a necessity for the renewal of an entire stretch, which would cost from two to three millions. So far, the maximum depth from which a cable has been raised for repair is 2,700 fathoms, a depth which on the southern route is far exceeded in many spots. The greater the depth, the greater the pressure and strain upon the cable, and the greatest depths would be the spots where breakage would probably occur.

That interruptions (breaks) are frequent is shown by the following table:

LIST OF INTERRUPTIONS.

1887	2 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 5.
1888	2 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 5.
1889	3 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 4.
1890	2 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 5.
1891	3 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 4.
1892	2 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 5.
1893	3 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 4.
1894	4 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 3.
1895	3 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 4.

The Anglo-American cable, laid in 1869, lived only 24 years. In that time there were 20 interruptions, of which the longest was of ten months' duration, and, roughly speaking, the cable was interrupted five and one-half years out of the twenty-four, the repairs costing over £300,000, or $1,500,000.

The three Atlantic cables of the Commercial Company's system, the first of which was laid in 1884, have been interrupted 78 times.

If we now return to the so-called Arctic route, its most northern station on the direct line is Kadiak, in the latitude of Aberdeen, Scotland. The lowest temperature there recorded in twenty years' observations was five degrees above zero. Florida has had the mercury lower than that within the past five years. The average winter temperature of Kadiak is as high as that of the District of Columbia. The climate of the other stations is similar. Dutch Harbor lies in the latitude of Liverpool; Sitka in the latitude of Glasgow and between the same isothermals; Attu is as warm as the other stations. Dutch Harbor was once inclosed by ice for a few days in the spring of 1864. The Asiatic coast is colder than Alaska, but at Petropavlovsk, which is 120 miles north of the first Asiatic station, the harbor is never blocked by ice. These few facts present a far milder picture than any that might be drawn of the Newfoundland Banks and the northern Atlantic, where sixteen cables have been laid.

The northern cable would be laid along a gradually shelving coast. Any depth desired could be picked out, from 500 fathoms to 2,000. It is proposed to keep between 500 and 1,500, so that the average would not exceed 1,000. The opportunity for this choice of depths continues from Cape Flattery to Dutch Harbor. Beyond Dutch Harbor, on the north of the Aleutian Islands, the depth averages 2,000 fathoms. From Attu to the Asiatic main-

land is the deepest stretch on this course, reaching 2,200 fathoms. To avoid exceeding this depth the route has to run north of the Commander Islands (Russian), and this involves an increase in the distance (which is allowed for in the estimates); but the line thus keeps clear of a deep ocean hole which lies southwest of Attu. Southward to Japan, the mean depth is 800 fathoms, and nowhere does the depth exceed 1,500 fathoms.

On the southern route, no choice of depths is possible. There is no sloping shelf. Between San Francisco and Hawaii the mean depth is 2,500 fathoms, with a maximum of 3,073; between Hawaii and Midway Island the mean depth is 2,000, the maximum 3,026; from Midway Island to Guam the mean depth is 2,600, with a maximum of 4,900, and with sudden and great fluctuations; from Guam to Luzon the average depth is 2,200, the maximum 3,400.

It is argued that by the northern route several landings would be necessary on Japanese territory before reaching Manila, and so the exclusively American character of the cable could not be maintained. This is true, but the same difficulty would be met with on the southern line, because of the branch from Guam to Japan, which, as has been shown, would be necessary from a financial point of view, the cable business of the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands being so limited.

The only objection that can be made to the northern route is that it does not include the island of Guam. However, if Guam is considered of sufficient importance to require a cable of its own, $1,000,000 will lay a slow cable from the Philippines to it.

In distance, the southern exceeds the northern route by twenty-three per cent. On the former line there are no natural stations, and it runs through the greatest uninhabited waste of water on the globe.

From a strategic point of view, a comparison between Dutch Harbor and Hawaii gives significant results. Dutch Harbor is 2,000 miles nearer coal mines; it is 50 miles nearer San Francisco; it is 720 miles nearer the United States; it is 783 miles nearer the Philippines; it is as near to Guam; it is 2,500 miles nearer Japan; it is 900 miles nearer Yokohama; it is 1,020 nearer Shanghai; it is 600 nearer Hongkong; it is 1,260 nearer Vladivostok; it is 450 miles nearer Singapore; it is almost as near Australia, and it is a shorter route from Panama to Asia. These

are direct distances. By cable routes the comparison is still more favorable to Dutch Harbor.

A map with concentric distance circles will show that Dutch Harbor is the great central port of the north Pacific, and that Hawaii is the most out-of-the-way place in the northern hemisphere.

At Dutch Harbor there is a deep and commodious harbor, with coal mines not far away now being operated. Hawaii has no coal.

As we have entered upon a policy of annexation and colonization, which must lead to the widest competition with the other Great Powers, let us prepare for the future. If England owned Dutch Harbor she would make it a great stronghold. Our Government should do the same. By so doing, we should sandwich Great Britain between Puget Sound on the south and Dutch Harbor on the west, thus at any time controlling communication between Canada and the East. With a cable to Dutch Harbor and a fleet there, we should be half way to any place in the northern Pacific.

Our Government, as previously stated, is now paying for cable communication with the Philippines about $400,000 annually, or by the present roundabout route $2.25 per word. More than three-fourths of this amount is expended by the War Department, and is directly due to the state of war now existing there. With the suppression of the rebellion such expense will be greatly reduced, probably more than fifty per cent.; and yet a private company which should lay and own the southern route would insist upon a Government subsidy of $400,000 for twenty years, or rather upon a guarantee that it would receive that amount for transmitting all Government messages, even though the route would be much shorter than the one used at present, and would probably be operated in time of peace.

By the northern route, which would be 2,500 miles shorter from London to Yokohama than by the Indian cables, thus producing competition and lowering the rates, the Government could send its messages, not at so much per year, but at so much per word.

CHANDLER HALE.

FORECAST OF THE TWELFTH AMERICAN CENSUS.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

ACCORDING to official estimates, the population of the United States on June 1, 1898, reached 74,400,000, showing an increase of 3,100,000 in two years. At the same rate of progress, the census of 1900 ought to show 77,500,000 people, but there is good reason to anticipate that the result will fall short of that figure by more than a million souls. Whether we consider the number of school children in 1897, or the natural increase from surplus of births over deaths, the result for 1900 seems to be between 76,000,000 and 76,200,000, comparing with previous census returns thus:

	Population.	Increase of 10 years.
1870	38,560,000	7,120,000
1880	50,156,000	11,596,000
1890	62,622,000	12,466,000
1900	76,200,000	13,578,000

The above, of course, includes immigration, the increase from which cannot easily be ascertained, as many persons leave the country. The natural increase in four decades is shown approximately as follows:

	Annual average.		
	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
1860-70	11,600,000	6,300,000	5,300,000
1870-80	16,446,000	7,100,000	9,346,000
1880-90	17,856,000	9,590,000	8,266,000
1890-1900	22,568,000	11,450,000	11,118,000

The ordinary birth-rate appears to range from 31 to 33, the death-rate from 16 to 17 per 1,000 inhabitants. The death-rate was higher between 1860 and 1870 on account of the Civil War, and the birth-rate rose notably in the ensuing decade, as often

occurs after war; this was specially remarkable in England after Waterloo, and in Germany after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. The following table shows the medium population during the four decades under consideration and the probable rates for births and deaths:

Period.	Medium pop.	Rates yearly per 1,000. Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
1860-70	35,000,000	33.2	18.0	15.2
1870-80	44,400,000	37.0	16.0	21.0
1880-90	56,400,000	31.6	17.0	14.6
1890-1900	69,400,000	32.5	16.5	16.0

Dr. Billings, in his report on the census of 1880, estimated the birth-rate at 31.4, the death-rate at 15.0 per thousand yearly, but he seems to have put the death-rate too low. It is to be observed that certain States and cities of the Union, with an aggregate population of 19,600,000 in 1890, or 31 per cent. of the total population, showed a record in that year of 466,000 deaths, equal to 20.8 per thousand. Taking the death-rate of the rest of the Union at the very low rate of 14.0, this gives a rate for the whole Union of 17 per thousand, which shows that Dr. Billings's rate is much too low.

Comparing the above birth and death rates for the decade ending 1890 with those of other countries for the same period, we find as follows:

	Per 1,000 inhabitants yearly. Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
United States	31.6	17.0	14.6
Canada	28.5	14.5	14.0
Germany	36.2	23.2	13.0
France	22.4	22.1	0.3
Austria	37.7	27.6	10.1
Italy	36.2	25.5	10.7
Holland	33.0	19.2	13.8
England	30.3	18.2	12.1
New Zealand	27.7	17.5	10.2
Average	31.5	20.5	11.0

It is remarkable that the natural increase in the United States is the highest in the above list, showing that the climate is on the whole healthy and favorable to a rapid growth of population.

At first sight, it must appear strange to a casual observer that, in spite of the great influx of immigrants, the number of foreigners in the Union grows but slowly. Thus, the present decade will have seen 3,543,000 arrivals, and yet the census of 1900 will show an increase of less than a million. The following

table has been prepared in the hope that it may serve to explain the paradox:

Number of foreigners in 1860	4,140,000
Arrivals from 1860 to 1890	10,337,000
To be accounted for	14,477,000
Died in 30 years	3,030,000
Left the United States	2,197,000
Number of foreigners in 1890	9,250,000
Total accounted for	14,477,000

The above table, based on a uniform death-rate of 16 per thousand on the medium number of foreigners in each decade, shows that for 100 settlers who died in the United States during thirty years down to 1890, no fewer than 70 left the Union to return to Europe or go elsewhere—in other words, only three-fifths of settlers die in the Union. This is a very surprising fact, but none the less true, and hence the estimates for the current decade stand thus:

Number of foreigners in 1890	9,250,000
Arrivals from 1890 to 1900	3,543,000
To be accounted for	12,793,000
Deaths in 10 years	1,550,000
Left the United States	1,083,000
Number of foreigners in 1900	10,160,000
Total accounted for	12,793,000

Among the foreigners who come to the United States, some nationalities become so attached to the country that they really make it their home, especially Scandinavians, Germans and Irish; others, after residing a longer or shorter time, either return to Europe or go elsewhere, especially British. It is needless to say that the former are much to be preferred. The following table shows the deaths and departures of immigrants in thirty years, from 1860 to 1890:

	Germans.	Irish.	British.	Various.	Total.
Number in 1860	1,276,000	1,611,000	588,000	665,000	4,140,000
Arrivals, 30 years	3,026,000	1,540,000	1,906,000	3,865,000	10,337,000
Total	4,302,000	3,151,000	2,494,000	4,530,000	14,477,000
Died	911,000	870,000	417,000	832,000	3,030,000
Departed	606,000	409,000	826,000	356,000	2,197,000
Number in 1890	2,785,000	1,872,000	1,251,000	3,342,000	9,250,000
Total	4,302,000	3,151,000	2,494,000	4,530,000	14,477,000

The above table shows that in thirty years, 13 per cent. of the Irish, 14 per cent. of the Germans and 33 per cent. of the British left the country. In other words, the annual outflow from 10,000 settlers in the Union was 43 among the Irish, 47 among the Germans and 110 among the British, which shows that Irish and Germans have two and one-half times as much attachment to America as the British, and that in this respect the Irish even surpass the Germans.

Although the next census will show a rise of ten per cent. in the number of foreigners, it will be found that some nationalities have suffered a falling off. The figures for 1900 will probably compare with those for 1890 as follows:

	Number.		Ratio.	
	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.
Germans	2,785,000	2,610,000	30.1	25.7
Irish	1,872,000	1,780,000	20.2	17.5
British	1,251,000	1,245,000	13.5	12.2
Scandinavians	933,000	1,040,000	10.1	10.2
Russians and Poles	330,000	700,000	3.6	6.9
Austrians	304,000	670,000	3.3	6.6
Italians	183,000	665,000	2.0	6.6
French	113,000	120,000	1.2	1.2
Swiss	104,000	110,000	1.1	1.1
Chinese	107,000	110,000	1.1	1.1
Dutch	81,000	90,000	0.9	0.9
Canadians, etc.	1,187,000	1,020,000	12.9	10.0
Total	9,250,000	10,160,000	100.0	100.0

The census of 1900 will show that the foreign population constitutes a declining ratio, and that the decline is very marked as regards Germans and Irish, who, together, stood in 1890 for more than fifty per cent. of the foreign-born, whereas now they stand for no more than forty-three per cent., while promiscuous nationalities have risen from twenty-six to thirty-four per cent. This is to be regretted, since Germans and Irish are better suited than people of Slavonic or Latin races to the wants and utilities of the Union. The relative proportions of American-born and foreign-born show thus:

				Ratio.	
	Population.	American.	Foreign.	American.	Foreign.
1860	31,440,000	27,300,000	4,140,000	86.8	13.2
1870	38,560,000	32,993,000	5,567,000	85.6	14.4
1880	50,156,000	43,475,000	6,680,000	86.7	13.3
1890	62,622,000	53,372,000	9,250,000	85.2	14.8
1900	76,200,000	66,040,000	10,160,000	86.3	13.4

The decline of immigration is the most serious feature as re-

gards the future of the United States, without our pretending to foretell whether the results will be beneficial or the contrary. During ten years ending 1893, the average number of immigrants who landed was 490,000, and in five subsequent years, ending 1898, it fell to 280,000, a decline of forty-two per cent. The average for the last two years has been only 230,000, and hence it may be estimated that in the coming decade of 1900-1910 the number of arrivals will not exceed 2,500,000. In the meantime the mortality will have been 1,620,000, the probable efflux 1,080,000, together making 2,700,000, so that the census of 1910 will probably show only 10,000,000 foreigners in a total population of 91,000,000, or a ratio of eleven per cent. Thus, in the middle of the next century, the foreign element will form relatively only a small portion of the American people.

The next point to be considered is the colored population, which has been declining in ratio since 1880, viz.:

	Population.	Whites.	Colored.	Ratio. White.	Ratio. Colored.
1860	31,440,000	27,000,000	4,440,000	85.9	14.1
1870	38,560,000	33,678,000	4,882,000	87.3	12.7
1880	50,156,000	43,575,000	6,581,000	86.9	13.1
1890	62,622,000	55,152,000	7,470,000	88.1	11.9
1900	76,200,000	67,652,000	8,548,000	88.8	11.2

Dr. Billings has shown very clearly that the colored population has a higher birth-rate and death-rate than the whites, the mortality of children among the former being so great as to account for the fact that the natural increase of colored people bears a ratio much less than that of whites. The surplus of births over deaths in the decade ending 1890 was as follows:

	Medium population.	Surplus births.	Per cent.
Whites	49,370,000	7,377,000	14.9
Colored	7,030,000	889,000	12.6
Total	56,400,000	8,266,000	14.7

In order to make the population in 1900 reach the estimate already laid down of 76,200,000, it will be necessary to allow a higher ratio of natural increase both among whites and colored people in the current decade than in the above decade of 1881-90. The figures will stand thus for 1891-1900:

	Medium population.	Surplus births.	Per cent.
Whites	61,390,000	10,040,000	16.3
Colored	8,010,000	1,078,000	13.5
Total	69,400,000	11,118,000	16.0

It is hardly possible to suppose a higher natural increase for a period of ten years than sixteen per cent., and hence the estimate of 76,200,000 for 1900 may be regarded as a maximum.

Urban population increases much more rapidly than rural; thus, in thirty years ending 1890, urban population had risen 260, rural only 68 per cent., the former progressing four times as fast as the latter. In no decade was the urban increase less than 40 per cent., and, supposing this rate of increase in the present decade, the figures for 1900 will compare with previous ones as follows:

				Ratio.	
	Population.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.
1860	31,443,000	5,070,000	26,373,000	16.1	83.9
1870	38,558,000	8,070,000	30,488,000	21.0	79.0
1880	50,156,000	11,320,000	38,836,000	22.6	77.4
1890	62,622,000	18,284,000	44,338,000	29.2	70.8
1900	76,200,000	25,600,000	50,600,000	33.6	66.4

As a general rule, it may be said that a rapid increase of urban population indicates a corresponding growth of wealth, and this is specially true of the United States, England and Scotland; while those countries in which rural population maintains predominance, such as Ireland, Russia, Spain, Hungary and Italy, remain in poverty. This is simply a result of economic laws, by which manufactures and commerce are more lucrative than agricultural pursuits. But this increase of wealth by no means signifies a better social condition, since it is always attended by a deplorable amount of misery. Thus, London is the richest city in the world, and at the same time one-fifth of its population, as Professor Huxley says, lives in a state far worse than Hottentots. It would be better for the United States if agricultural population kept pace with urban, although wealth were not to increase so rapidly as it does.

In order more closely to study the progress of the United States in population, wealth, public schools, taxation, etc., it may be well to classify the various States under five sections, viz.:

New England.—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut.

Middle States.—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia.

The South.—Two Virginias, two Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas.

Prairie States.—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, two Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas.

Pacific States.—California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana.

The increase of population in the several sections from 1860 to 1900 is shown in the following table:

States.	1860.	1890.	1900.	Increase in 40 years.	Per cent.
New England	3,135,000	4,701,000	5,460,000	2,325,000	74
Middle	8,330,000	14,141,000	17,520,000	9,190,000	110
South	10,260,000	18,391,000	22,060,000	11,800,000	115
Prairie	9,095,000	22,361,000	26,280,000	17,185,000	189
Pacific	620,000	3,028,000	4,880,000	4,260,000	687
The Union	31,440,000	62,622,000	76,200,000	44,760,000	142

If we combine the Prairie States and the Pacific under one heading, as the West, and group all the others under the denomination of the East, the relative progress of the former will be found more than double that of the latter:

States.	1860.	1900.	Increase.	Per cent.
Eastern	21,725,000	45,040,000	23,315,000	107
Western	9,715,000	31,160,000	21,445,000	220

The extraordinary development of the Western States is apparently due to three principal causes; first, the influx, not only of foreign settlers, but also of Americans from the Eastern States; the Homestead Law and other facilities for obtaining land cheap; the spread of railways in latter years.

There are six States in the Union of special importance, whose population has advanced as follows, since 1860:

	1860.	1890.	1900.*	Increase.	Per ct.
New York	3,881,000	5,998,000	7,160,000	3,279,000	84
Pennsylvania	2,906,000	5,258,000	6,080,000	3,174,000	110
Illinois	1,712,000	3,826,000	4,940,000	3,228,000	188
Ohio	2,340,000	3,672,000	3,830,000	1,490,000	64
Texas	604,000	2,236,000	2,930,000	2,326,000	385
Massachusetts	1,231,000	2,239,000	2,790,000	1,559,000	127

As the general increase of the Union in forty years has been 142 per cent., none of the above States, except Illinois and Texas, has kept pace with the Republic at large. The average progress of the Eastern States having been 107 per cent., this ratio is surpassed by Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, while New York is much below it. It is remarkable that, while the Western

* Estimates based on school-children in 1897, compared with 1890.

States averaged 220 per cent., the growth of Ohio in forty years has been less than one-third of this ratio. Of the Southern States, none rivals Texas, which has seen her population quintupled since 1860.

II. WEALTH.

During the decade ending 1890, the annual increase of wealth averaged $377 per inhabitant. It is reasonable to suppose that this rate has been continued during the present decade, in which case the wealth of the United States in 1900 will be approximately as follows:

	Million dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.
New England	5,223	5,517	1,111	1,010
Middle States	17,818	22,648	1,260	1,294
The South	9,768	13,688	531	622
Prairie States	25,256	36,066	1,130	1,373
Pacific States	6,811	13,121	2,247	2,610
The Union	64,876	91,040	1,036	1,195

The growth of wealth in New England has apparently not even kept pace with population. In the Middle States, each inhabitant seems to have gained a slight increase. The Prairie States seem to show an advance of $243, the Pacific $363 per head. The general increase for the Union is apparently $155 per head. The more important States may be approximately set down in this way:

	Million dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.
New York	8,577	11,240	1,430	1,570
Pennsylvania	6,191	7,647	1,178	1,260
Illinois	5,067	7,205	1,325	1,455
Ohio	3,961	4,673	1,080	1,220
Texas	2,106	3,752	942	1,276
California	2,534	3,711	2,096	2,490
Missouri	2,398	3,278	895	1,096
Massachusetts	2,804	3,030	1,252	1,082

Wealth per inhabitant appears to have increased in all the above States except Massachusetts, where the ratio shows a decline. The greatest apparent increase is in the States of California and Texas.

III. PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The latest published returns of public schools are for the year 1897, and, if we suppose the same rate of progress for the remaining three years of the decade, the figures for 1900 will

compare with those of previous dates as follows. The heading "School Population" indicates the official estimates of persons of school age—that is, from five to eighteen years:

	School population.	Pupils on rolls.	Average attendance.	Expenditure, dollars.
1870	12,060,000	6,870,000	4,080,000	63,400,000
1880	15,070,000	9,870,000	6,140,000	78,100,000
1890	18,540,000	12,710,000	8,150,000	140,500,000
1897	21,080,000	14,720,000	10,090,000	187,300,000
1900	22,350,000	15,610,000	11,060,000	210,400,000

The average attendance daily of children at school is now 48 per cent. of the number of persons of school age, whereas in 1870 it was only 34 per cent. This shows that public instruction has made great strides in thirty years; in fact, the average school attendance has risen 175 per cent., while the population of school age has advanced only 85 per cent. In other words, the march of the schools has been twice as fast as that of population. If we compare the numbers of school children on the rolls in 1897 with those of 1890, in the chief divisions of the Union, we see the progress of seven years thus:

	On rolls.		Expenditure, dollars.		Dollars per child.	
	1890.	1897.	1890.	1897.	1890.	1897.
New England	817,000	905,000	14,100,000	20,600,000	17.2	22.7
Middle States	2,542,000	2,944,000	37,200,000	55,600,000	14.7	18.9
The South	3,828,000	4,559,000	16,500,000	20,700,000	4.3	4.6
Prairie	5,008,000	5,587,000	62,800,000	76,700,000	12.5	13.7
Pacific	515,000	725,000	9,900,000	13,700,000	19.2	18.8
The Union	12,710,000	14,720,000	140,500,000	187,300,000	11.1	12.7

New England has the most liberal expenditure, while the Southern schools stand so low in this respect as to give room to fear that they are not properly supported; the average expenditure per child is four times as much in the Middle States, five times as much in New England, as in the South. The States which are foremost as regards public schools stood in 1897 as follows:

	On rolls.	Expenditure, dollars.	Dollars per child.
New York	1,203,000	26,700,000	22.2
Pennsylvania	1,140,000	19,600,000	17.2
Illinois	778,000	16,300,000	20.9
Ohio	798,000	12,600,000	15.8
Massachusetts	439,000	12,400,000	28.2
California	258,000	5,800,000	22.5

The average attendance at school compared with persons of school age is 49 per cent. in New York and Pennsylvania, 55 per cent in Massachusetts, Ohio and California, and 60 per cent. in

Indiana, Oregon and Washington. The lowest ratio falls to Louisiana, where it is under 30 per cent. Expenditure, compared with population, averages $4 per inhabitant in New England, $3.40 in the Middle States, $1.05 in the South, $3.10 in the Prairie States, and $3.30 in the Pacific States. The general ratio for the whole Union is $2.60 per inhabitant, as compared with $1.64 in 1870.

IV. MINING.

The actual value* of all mining products in 1897 was 483 million dollars, against 452 millions in 1889; and, with a similar rate of progress, the output in 1900 will be 495 millions, being an advance of ten per cent. in eleven years. The values were:

	Million dollars.		
	1880.	1889.	1897.
Gold	36	33	57
Silver	33	46	31
Copper, etc	13	25	40
Coal	96	160	199
Petroleum	24	26	41
Stone	23	58	41
Sundries	45	104	74
Total	270	452	483

Mining is an industry of minor importance; it gave occupation in 1890 to 390,000 men, the product of whose labor gave an average of $1,130, whereas each hand engaged in manufactures stood for $2,050. The census of 1900 will probably show 430,000 men engaged in mining. It may be interesting to note that in 1897 coal stood for almost 42 per cent. of the total value, silver only for six and one-half per cent. From 1890 to 1897, coal mining increased 5,500,000 tons yearly, against 3,000,000 tons in Great Britain; at this rate the production in 1900 will reach 195 million tons, in Great Britain 208 millions; and in 1905 the production in the two countries will be equal, namely, 223 million tons.

V. MANUFACTURES.

The principal manufactures being those of hardware and textiles, we may arrive at an approximate value of this branch of industry at next census by assuming that the consumption of raw material in 1900 will be the same as it was in 1898. Thus the

* The official value was 632 millions, but this includes pig iron (instead of iron ore) and sets down silver at 133 cents per ounce, instead of 59 cents, the real value.

consumption of iron, steel, cotton, wool, flax, etc., at various dates compares as follows:

	Tons.					
	Iron.	Steel	Cotton.	Wool.	Flax, etc.	All fibre.
1860	900,000	400,000	170,000	70,000	20,000	260,000
1870	1,860,000	1,050,000	220,000	92,000	58,000	370,000
1880	3,500,000	1,600,000	423,000	136,000	111,000	670,000
1890	7,700,000	3,400,000	520,000	168,000	202,000	890,000
1898	11,600,000	7,100,000	835,000	180,000	255,000	1,270,000

The value of hardware and number of hands employed in 1880 and 1890 were as follows:

	Hands.		Output, million dollars.	
	1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.
Ironworks	141,000	153,000	297	431
Foundries	145,000	248,000	214	413
Implements, etc.	148,000	205,000	232	353
Sundries	121,000	204,000	232	463
All hardware	555,000	810,000	975	1,660

We have seen that the output of iron in 1898 was 50 per cent. over that of 1890, hence, we may infer that the census of 1900 will show hardware manufactures to the value of 2,490 million dollars, or 50 per cent. over the returns for 1890.

It has been shown, in a previous table, that the consumption of fibre for textile manufactures rose 90 per cent. between 1880 and 1898. The census returns of this branch of industry for 1890 compare with those of 1880 thus:

	Hands.		Output, million dollars.	
	1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.
Cottons	187,000	222,000	211	268
Woollens	126,000	154,000	227	263
Hosiery	29,000	61,000	29	67
Silks	31,000	51,000	41	87
Sundries	58,000	24,000	99	69
Clothing	252,000	439,000	307	607
Total	683,000	951,000	914	1,361

As the weight of fibre consumed in 1898 was 43 per cent. over that in 1890, we may infer that the value of textile manufactures in 1900 will be about 1,945 millions, or 43 per cent. over 1890. Supposing an advance of 40 per cent. on other manufactures, the output in 1900 will compare with 1890 as follows:

	Million dollars.		
	1890.	1900.	Increase.
Hardware	1,660	2,490	830
Textiles	1,361	1,945	584
Sundries	6,351	8,891	2,540
Total	9,372	13,326	3,954

The number of hands will probably increase in the same degree as the value of goods manufactured, hence the figures should be as follows:

	Hands employed		
	1890.	1900.	Increase.
Hardware	810,000	1,215,000	405,000
Textiles	951,000	1,360,000	409,000
Sundries	2,952,000	4,135,000	1,183,000
Total	4,713,000	6,710,000	1,997,000

The manufacturing hands in 1900 would thus be nine per cent. of the population, against seven and one-half per cent. in 1890. By the above is understood the number of hands employed in factories, without counting artisans and small tradesmen.

VI. AGRICULTURE.

Grain and cotton are the chief products, and, if the progress from 1897 to 1900 be similar to that from 1890 to 1897, the next census will compare with previous dates as follows:

	Acres.		
	Grain.	Cotton.	Total.
1880	121,000,000	15,500,000	136,500,000
1890	140,700,000	20,200,000	160,900,000
1897	150,400,000	24,300,000	174,700,000
1900	154,600,000	26,100,000	180,700,000

The above total is exclusive of potatoes, hay, tobacco, sugar, etc. Taking merely the grain and cotton areas, we find an increase of two million acres yearly since 1890, or twelve and one-half per cent. in ten years, while the increase of population has been twenty-two per cent. The value of all farm products in 1900 will probably be more or less the same as in 1898, the figures for which compare with previous dates thus:

	Million dollars.			
	Home use.	Exported.	Total.	Dollars per inhabitant.
1880	2,690	680	3,370	67.20
1886	3,245	485	3,730	64.80
1893	3,290	620	3,910	58.80
1898	3,685	855	4,540	61.00

Judged by the above table, agriculture does not keep pace with population, the value of agricultural products per inhabitant being now ten per cent. less than in 1880. The decline is in pastoral products, the live stock of the Union showing as follows:

	Horses.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.	Value, million dollars.
1880	12,900,000	33,300,000	40,800,000	34,000,000	1,577
1886	14,100,000	45,500,000	48,300,000	46,100,000	2,365
1893	18,500,000	52,400,000	47,300,000	46,100,000	2,484
1898	16,200,000	45,100,000	37,700,000	39,800,000	1,889

Land grants under the Homestead and other acts averaged ten and one-half million acres yearly from 1890 to 1898. The area under farms by the census of 1890 was 623 million acres, and the census of 1900 ought, therefore, to show an area of 728 million acres, or seventeen per cent. increase. If the number of hands increase in like ratio, the census of 1900 will show 10,540,000 persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, the product of whose labor, as shown above, will represent a value of 4,540 million dollars, say $430 per hand, against $2,050 for each hand employed in manufactures.

VII. RAILROADS.

The mileage length of railroads in operation in the principal sections of the Union is shown as follows:

	Miles.			
	1870.	1880.	1890.	1897.
New England	4,494	5,977	6,832	7,266
Middle States	10,577	15,181	20,088	22,124
The South	12,554	19,861	43,448	49,333
Prairie	22,747	44,203	75,426	81,285
Pacific	2,550	8,074	20,888	24,595
The Union	52,922	93,296	166,682	184,603

The average length of new lines constructed was 4,040 miles *per annum* in the decade ending 1880; it rose to 7,340 miles a year from 1880 to 1890, and fell to 2,560 miles yearly in the period from 1890 to 1897. If the increase of three ensuing years be in the same ratio, the mileage in 1900 will be as follows, compared with population and area:

	Miles.	Population.	Miles per 10,000 inhabitants.	Per 1,000 square miles.
New England	7,450	5,460,000	14	111
Middle States	22,990	17,520,000	13	198
The South	51,860	22,060,000	23	58
Prairie	83,810	26,280,000	32	109
Pacific	26,190	4,880,000	53	22
The Union	192,300	76,200,000	25	64

The construction of railways in the current decade has not kept pace with population, the total mileage in traffic being now only 25 miles per 10,000 inhabitants, against 27 miles in 1890.

Capital invested in the railroads of the United States, compared with population at various periods (with an estimate for 1900), shows as follows:

	Million dollars.	Population.	Dollars per inhabitant.
1870	2,665	38,560,000	70
1880	5,240	50,156,000	105
1890	9,646	62,622,000	154
1897	10,860	72,800,000	149
1900	11,380	76,200,000	149

At the census of 1890 railroads represented fifteen per cent. of the wealth of the nation, but in 1900 they will stand only for twelve and one-half per cent.

VIII. SUMMARY.

The census of 1900 may, therefore, be expected to compare with the two latest thus:

				Million dollars.		
	Population.	School pupils.	Farms, million acres.	Wealth.	Manufactures	Mining.
1880	50,156,000	9,870,000	536	43,642	5,370	270
1890	62,622,000	12,710,000	623	64,876	9,372	452
1900	76,200,000	15,610,000	728	91,040	13,326	495

In twenty years the population appears to have risen fifty-two per cent., but the increase under all other headings, except agriculture, has been much greater, as shown in the following table of comparison:

	Population.	Scholars.	Agriculture.	Wealth.	Manufactures.	Mining.
1880	100	100	100	100	100	100
1890	125	128	116	147	175	167
1900	152	158	136	209	249	183

The daily progress of the United States during the current decade is briefly shown thus: An increase of 4,000 in population, of 800 school children, of 29,000 acres under farms, of $7,500,000 in wealth, of $1,100,000 in manufactures. These figures are really stupendous, but there is motive for serious reflection in the fact that agriculture does not keep pace either with any other branch of industry or with population.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

THE PLAGUE AT OPORTO.

BY DR. ALBERT CALMETTE, DIRECTOR OF THE LILLE PASTEUR INSTITUTE.

DURING the past hundred and fifty years, Europe has been accustomed to regard the plague as a disease that might be expected to rest confined to the extreme eastern part of the Old World. Since the famous epidemic at Marseilles in 1720, the disease has made but rare incursions on European soil. Except for several epidemics, of a limited nature, confined to the borders of the Caspian Sea, European Turkey and the Balkan Peninsula, the plague has ceased visiting the large seaports of the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, where, for the three hundred years before the eighteenth century, it had made no inconsiderable ravages.

The recent appearance of this malady at Oporto has justly disturbed Europe; for one now perceives that the plague, contrary to what has hitherto been believed, is not incompatible with the progress of civilization and modern hygiene. An inquiry, as circumstantial as possible, has been made regarding the causes of the importation of the plague at Oporto; but it has been impossible to discover the source of infection.

Two hypotheses, equally plausible, have been advanced. According to one, the disease had spread among the small rodents, rats and mice, at Oporto, long before the first case of the plague had been reported. Since the recent investigations of Dr. Yersin and Dr. Simond in India, it is admitted, in fact, that rats and mice are most susceptible to the plague virus, and that in localities where this pestilence appears they succumb in great numbers.

Generally, the mortality among the small rodents precedes the appearance of the disease among human beings. This fact is well known to the natives of certain valleys of the Himalayas,

who, when they perceive the rats and mice dying in large numbers, abandon their villages to prevent the spreading of the disease in their homes. It would not be surprising if the plague virus had been brought to Oporto, several months before the outbreak, by the rats disembarked from a ship coming from Alexandria or India. The inhabitants of the quarter bordering on the Douro remarked, indeed, that the streets were overrun by swarms of rodents, and that the dead bodies of these animals were often found in the streams of the town.

The other hypothesis holds to the opinion that the plague was brought to Oporto by an English ship, the "City of Cork," coming from London, and making regular voyages between London and Oporto. On several occasions during the months of May and June, this ship unloaded Asiatic merchandise on the wharf of Oporto, especially rice from Rangoon and Burmah, tea from China and India, tapioca and cinnamon bark from Ceylon, and fibres from Bombay, Calcutta and the Island of Mauritius. This much is certain, that the earliest cases of the plague coincided with each unloading of this cargo, and those first stricken down were the men employed in discharging the cargo and the women who repaired the sacks used for unloading the grain.

One may well be surprised that this merchandise, as it came from London, had not infected the capital of the United Kingdom; but, on the other hand, it is quite possible that a ship on a direct or indirect course from India might have brought to the wharf of Oporto rats infected with the virus or contaminated clothing.

To satisfy oneself on this point, it need only be remembered that in 1896 two Portuguese cooks, who arrived by ship at London on September 27th, succumbed to the plague the following 3d of October at the Marine Hospital in that city; the ship which brought them having left Bombay on the 21st of the preceding August, and no other persons on the ship, either during the voyage or after landing, having been attacked by the disease. These cooks had taken no part in the unloading of the vessel, but they had brought in their boxes toilet articles, silk handkerchiefs, etc., bought at Bombay; from the London docks these were carried away in their trunks, and it was these articles which were evidently infected. The virulence of the plague-microbe evidently lasted for more than a month. One must then admit the reason-

ableness of the hypothesis of the indirect importation of the plague to Oporto by London.

The first properly proven cases appeared on the 5th of June, but the presence of the disease was not officially confirmed until the 13th of August. This long delay cannot be attributed to the neglect of the medical staff or of the Portuguese Government, for the diagnosis of the plague presents great difficulties, and, on the other hand, the importance of the question was such that the doctors were obliged to protect themselves by the most precise scientific tests before officially affirming to the authorities at Lisbon the true nature of the disease.

As I have just stated, the first cases of plague appeared among the unloaders and porters living in the squalid quarter on the right side of the Douro, near the Exchange. This district is composed of narrow lanes, from ninety centimetres* to one and a half metres† wide, in flights of steps, with houses of two or three stories high, in a notoriously insanitary condition. Each of these houses contained several families, and often a number of persons lived huddled together in the same room. In many cases the ground floor was occupied by both shops and stables, where human beings swarmed amidst pigs, goats and all kinds of animals.

This district was unprovided with sewers. Here and there one met with cesspools choked with refuse that had accumulated for centuries. Of course, these cesspools were infested by legions of rats, from which it was impossible to clear them completely.

The first three cases appeared in the Rue Ronte Taurina. This lane directly communicated with the harbor, and the epidemic was not long in spreading to the neighboring houses and streets. During June, July and August the cases were relatively few, not more than five or six a week being reported; but in reality there was a large number of cases of illness and of deaths not reported in the official statistics; many families concealed their sick to prevent the obligatory transportation to the hospital; and hardly any of the fatal cases had been visited by a physician. From the inquiry that I made on the spot, I estimate the true number of cases at this period as being at least three times as many as were declared.

On the other hand, the season of the greatest heat was not

* .9842 of a yard.
† 1.6204 yards.

favorable to the propagation of the epidemic; but, when the wet weather of mid-September arrived, the disease made great progress, and as many as four to six cases were then reported daily.

When the first cases of the plague were discovered, the Portuguese authorities commenced by ordering the isolation of the town by means of a sanitary cordon of troops. In the beginning of September, when the French Scientific Mission arrived at Oporto, we found the town absolutely deprived of all communication with the outer world; it was almost impossible to supply the place with fresh provisions, and the price of food had largely increased; all shops were closed, the streets deserted, and Oporto had the aspect of a city in mourning. More than forty thousand laborers were without work, the factories having closed their doors.

All the foreign doctors present agreed with us that this isolation was more dangerous than useful, and that the famine that would result among the people would certainly do more to propagate the plague than to restrict it.

We advised the Portuguese Government to abandon this antiquated method. Our advice was but partially followed; the Government decided to permit the entrance of necessary provisions and the departure of travellers from one of the stations in the town under the restriction that luggage should be disinfected, and that passengers and their goods going to any other town in Portugal should submit to sanitary surveillance for nine days after their arrival. Our previsions were entirely realized. The sanitary cordon neither diminished the intensity of the epidemic nor prevented it from spreading, since several places outside the cordon were attacked by the scourge.

Measures of isolation, such as those undertaken by the Portuguese Government, could not be efficacious in a densely populated country; they are admissible in certain localities, of Eastern Russia, for example, where the population is thinly distributed and where there exist large territories without inhabitants. But in an European city isolation by a cordon of troops is entirely useless, since the inhabitants are dependent on the surrounding country for subsistence. On the other hand, it is practically certain that the soldiers employed for the sanitary cordon will be infected and that the cordon itself will become a means for propagating the disease outside.

At the time when the French Scientific Mission was sent to

Oporto by the Pasteur Institute, the nature and exact virulence of the disease were not entirely decided; it was necessary to determine with exactitude if the microbe was identical with that studied by Yersin in India, and if, following the inception of the virus in the European race, its characteristics had not changed. It was also urgently necessary to take account of the value of the prophylactic and therapeutic means which the studies of the past three years of the Pasteur Institute had suggested for the defense of Europe against the plague.

We commenced, then, by investigating, by means of experiments on animals susceptible to the plague, the degree of virulence presented by the microbe at Oporto compared with that of India, and we were not long in deciding that the Oporto microbe was extremely virulent, even more so than the one isolated at Bombay. Although the cases among human beings were not numerous, the disease presented characteristics the gravity of which in nearly all cases was disquieting. It was very often a case of pestilent pneumonia, which, from the studies made in India by English and French doctors, seems to be almost always fatal. The disease appeared with variable characteristics, and we were enabled to observe all forms of plague which had hitherto been described by various authors during the course of serious preceding epidemics.

The most common form is incontestably the traditional bubonic plague, which reveals itself by the appearance of tumors, that is to say, by large glands in the groin and in the armpits, or in the neck on each side of the jaw. The appearance of these glands is accompanied by high fever, headache and lumbago; those stricken are seized by a sort of mad fright, which sometimes leads them to escape from their homes when the pain does not oblige them to take to their beds at once. In slight cases, the glands remain highly swollen for eight or ten days; then they discharge, forming one or many abscesses more or less large; the fever goes down, and the normal condition returns. In more severe cases the glands are extremely painful; about the second or third day the body is covered with small red spots and then by pustules and a black tumor analogous to malignant pustules or anthrax. These cases are nearly always fatal. At other times, the patient is suddenly seized with intense fever, difficulty in breathing, spitting of blood; and it is then the pestilent pneu-

monia which develops, without any of the surface glands to permit the true nature of the disease to be suspected; it is a case, I repeat, of pestilent pneumonia, the diagnosis of which can only be made by an examination of the expectorations under the microscope, and it generally proves fatal in three to five days. In other very rare cases the plague takes an internal form strongly resembling typhoid fever; this kind is also mortal—at least without the intervention of serotherapic methods during the first days of its appearance.

The average mortality at Oporto was less than during the epidemics in India; up to the first of September about forty deaths were recorded for every hundred persons stricken; thereafter, thanks to the serotherapic treatment which was generally employed, at least in the plague hospital, the mortality fell to twelve per cent. These figures are naturally most encouraging and reassuring as to the future.

The experiments instituted by the initiative of the French Mission, and conducted with the aid of all the Portuguese and foreign doctors present at Oporto, prove in the most unexceptionable manner that, with energetic measures, intelligently applied, it is easy to arrest the spread of the disease in a district or in a city. These experiments were first of all directed toward the prevention of the plague among animals susceptible to it and among mankind. The international committee appointed to verify this by the President of the Portuguese Council of Ministers, affirmed that every one who would submit to the inoculation of five cubic centimetres of the anti-plague serum of the Pasteur Institute would, by such vaccination, be protected against the plague for a period of about three weeks, and that it would be of the greatest value if this vaccination were made obligatory, at least for the inhabitants of a house where a case of plague had occurred. A large number of persons were vaccinated at Oporto by this method, particularly including those who, by reason of their profession, were the most liable to contract the disease—for example, the employees of the disinfection service, the nurses and the men employed to carry away the bodies. The sole inconvenience of this method consists in the necessity of renewing the vaccinations about every twenty-five days, for the reason that the refractory state produced by the serum does not last longer.

With regard to the treatment of the sick, the actual statistics

of the Plague Hospital report six deaths among sixty-three patients treated by the anti-plague serum. When one compares this mortality of ten per cent. with that of seventy or eighty per cent. which has prevailed in preceding epidemics, particularly in India, the almost perfect efficacy of the serum for the cure of the plague is demonstrated.

Before applying this treatment to patients, the French Scientific Mission wished to make experimental demonstrations on animals at the Hygienic Laboratory at Oporto. For this purpose we chose rats and monkeys; for these two species of animals are particularly susceptible to the plague virus. We commenced by determining the dose of virus necessary to kill these rats or monkeys with certainty in thirty-six hours or in five days; and after this was ascertained, we inoculated several series of animals with the same dose of the same virus. These were treated at varying stages after infection, some twenty-four hours, others nine hours, and others again two days after they had commenced to be ill. Each of these animals received varying quantities of serum, according to the state of the symptoms presented by it, and we were able to report to the International Commission that all the animals treated were perfectly cured. Under these conditions, there was no hesitation in applying the method to the sick in the hospital, and we have cause to congratulate ourselves on the results obtained.

The report of the International Commission of Oporto formally concluded by the adoption of the anti-plague serum of the Pasteur Institute, both for prevention and treatment.

We are now able, therefore, to establish with precision the precautions which it would be necessary to take if a case of plague should appear in any of the European or American cities in communication with an infected country. First of all, we know that the disease is principally propagated by rats and mice; we also know, thanks to the labors of Doctor Simond and Doctor Hankin, that the transmission of the plague from rats to human beings is most often effected by the agency of fleas. These little insects abandon rats after death to go either on other rats or on human beings, and they equally transport the infectious agent from animal to animal, and from person to person. One must, therefore, prevent, as far as possible, the importation of contaminated rats and mice, and this is the first condition to fulfill.

The Government should engage the navigation companies to use all possible measures to destroy rodents in their vessels; owners of large storehouses, especially those in which grain and cotton are deposited, should make every effort to free their buildings from these noxious and dangerous inmates. If, in spite of all precautions, a case of plague appears in a town or on a vessel, one should begin by isolating the patient in an out-building, where mosquitoes, flies and other human parasites have no access. This having been done, one should immediately insist on the vaccination by the anti-plague serum of all persons who, by their present or past relations with the patient, had been exposed to infection. The ordinary measures for disinfection will then suffice, and there is no doubt that the disease can be immediately arrested by these means.

The measures that the French Scientific Mission recommended to the sanitary authorities of Oporto were these: (1.) Isolation and the obligatory transportation of those stricken to a special hospital; (2.) compulsory vaccination of all persons who have been in contact with the sick, or who inhabit the same house; (3.) the building of temporary huts to lodge for a period of twenty days all persons who have inhabited a house where a case of plague has occurred; (4.) complete disinfection, airing and abandoning for a space of twenty days a house where a case of plague has been observed; (5.) the organization, as at Bombay, if (as almost always happens) the population conceals cases, of search committees, composed of doctors, nurses, litter bearers and police —which committees, arranged for districts, should visit twice a day all dwelling places in their quarter and satisfy themselves that no case of illness exists in them; (6.) the methodical destruction of rats and mice in the shops, houses and sewers; (7.) liberty of circulation outside the town for all persons who have been vaccinated against the plague, within a period of not less than forty-eight hours nor more than fifteen days after such vaccination; (8.) the burning of buildings of small value where many cases of the disease have occurred.

ALBERT CALMETTE.

STATE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

BY HENRIETTA CHRISTIAN WRIGHT.

THE history of the state care of children the world over has been that of the workhouse or almshouse. In France, indeed, boarding out seems to have been applied widely as early as 1450, when an ordinance was passed regulating the salaries of the nurses and agents employed in caring for pauper children in country homes. Fosterage existed even earlier in England, where, in the reign of Edward III., an Act was passed forbidding English children from being cared for by Irish foster parents, as it had been found that such care denationalized the children and made them Irish rather than English in sympathy. But, with these and a few minor exceptions, the pauper children of Europe, and later those of America and the European colonies, were for generations cared for in institutions. The literature of the subject includes volumes of statistics which attest the evils of the workhouse and the almshouse, where the children were herded with adult paupers, and from under whose jurisdiction they passed into the world notoriously unfit for anything but lives of pauperism and lowest crime.

The efforts of private individuals at last rescued the workhouse waifs, and placed them in institutions set apart for the care of children alone. Here the child was made cleanly in habit, and amenable to discipline, while ophthalmia, scrofula and other diseases inherent in institution life showed some signs of abatement. But when the child left the institution, it was found that he still lacked in the great essential to success—capacity. From the system of constant espionage and guidance, and the reduction to mechanical routine of all the ordinary offices of life, the child had become dulled in faculty, unthinking, and dependent. In the institution, he had been, during the formative period of his life, a "number," and he "ate, drank, studied, marched, played and slept

in companies, platoons and regiments." A visitor to one institution found a class of boys between eleven and thirteen years of age who had never brushed their own hair, the matron having found it easier to stand them in rows and perform this service for them, than to teach each individual boy how to do it for himself. Hundreds of girls in their teens left the institutions yearly who had never made a fire, placed a tea kettle to boil, or performed any of the minor household duties so necessary to their training as domestic servants. It was, in fact, discovered that the child, who, at great expense to the state, had been fed and taught for a long period of years, was less capable of earning his living, than the youth who had grown up "half naked and half starved" in his parents' cottage in the peat bogs of Ireland.

The pauper child, helpless and hopeless, had made an appeal to nature, and nature had avenged him. In place of the promise of youth and the ideals which were to guarantee the security of the state, she returned, for value received, the institutionalized youth, a drag upon society, and, in the end, an added burden to the taxpayer. Grave as were these defects, there was added the still graver one that institutions increased juvenile pauperism. Wherever a new institution arose, there sprang up, as if from the ground, hundreds of applicants for admission. The idle and vicious parents eagerly took advantage of the means thus offered for the support of their children during the non-wage earning period; and, with every new gift of a costly edifice, the state found itself putting a premium upon the poverty it was vainly endeavoring to stamp out.

In the meantime a remedy for the evil had already arisen. In 1828, an Education Inquiry Commission, reporting upon the condition of the Protestant Charter Schools of Ireland, found so discreditable a state of things that the schools were abolished, no provision being made meanwhile for the orphans of that faith. Not long afterwards, three Protestant Irish working men, considering it their duty to care for the children of a comrade who had just died, started a subscription of a penny a week, and, with the sum of three pence as capital, found a refuge for the children among some respectable laboring people of their own faith.

On the ruins of the Charter Schools arose, from the act of these working men, the Protestant Orphan Society of Ireland, which has been the parent of the modern system of boarding out

the dependent children of the state. The methods of this society have been sustained, in the main, by succeeding organizations. The orphans were placed, as far as possible, in the families of small farmers, or laborers, whose station in life corresponded to their own. In every case, the children were given into the charge of the mother of the family, who was made directly responsible for their care. A certificate of character was required from the parish priest and the nearest magistrate, attesting to her "morality and sobriety, to the suitability of her house and family and the possession of one or more cows," while it was also stipulated that she receive no children from the Foundling Hospital or any other charitable institution. The homes were visited by Inspectors, whose reports contained the history of every child while under the care of the society. The Protestant clergyman of each district was also a regular correspondent of the society, and the foster mothers were required to present themselves and their wards at the annual meetings of the society, the society paying the travelling expenses. It was found that the cost under the boarding out system was one-third *per capita* of that expended in institutions, while the rate of mortality was under one per cent. In 1859, thirty-one years after the establishment of the society, the death rate of the children in a single workhouse in Cork was eighty per cent. in one year, while nearly all the survivors were afflicted with scrofula. These horrors were exceeded by the revelations of the Dublin workhouse, which so excited popular indignation that an Act was passed in 1862 authorizing the boarding out of workhouse children.

That the problem of the state care of children was solved by the incorporation of the Protestant Orphan Society of Ireland, is proven by the subsequent history of dependent child life in nearly every civilized quarter of the globe. In places widely separated by geographical limits, as well as by the differences of race and creed, the state care of children is evolving from institutionalism to the natural conditions of home life. England, Ireland, Russia, Italy, Scotland, Germany, Switzerland and other European countries have their several modifications of the boarding out system, attributable to the varying conditions of social life, but conforming in the main to the leading features of the original plan. And although no one of these countries is yet freed entirely from the bane of institutionalism, yet year by year fosterage is becoming more popular, as its beneficent effects become more widely known. In Belgium, so

thoroughly recognized is the value of home training for future citizens, that *all* boys under the care of the state are boarded out, though the girls are in many cases still retained in institutions. In some of the departments of France, the system of fosterage has arrived at the precision of a military organization. Here the child, who would otherwise be placed in a foundling or orphan asylum, is enrolled at birth as an *enfant de la Patrie*, and, whenever possible, is placed at once in a foster home in the country. There his physical and moral welfare and his education are watched over by the *agent de surveillance*, in whose quarterly reports is recorded the history of the child until his twelfth year. He is then eligible for apprenticeship, and he receives from the state a certain sum of money for an outfit. But, in nearly all cases, the affection between the child and its foster parents has become, by this time, so strong that he is either adopted legally, or retained in the family as an apprentice, the money being placed in the savings bank, in order that he may have a little capital to begin the world with on reaching his majority.

Australia has, perhaps, the most perfect system of boarding out yet evolved. As early as 1852, the first Legislature of South Australia decreed that no public money should be given to denominational schools, whether educational or charitable. Twenty-five years ago the state began boarding out its dependent children; the saving to the government, as well as the rapid decrease in the juvenile pauper class, at once made the new departure acceptable, though the law compelling children to attend school throughout the entire year increased the expense of fosterage in Australia beyond that in European countries.

The American poorhouse, from the first, fell into line with the English workhouse in its influence as a breeder of crime and pauperism. The poorhouse child came either from the directly vicious class, or from those "water-logged" families with whom pauperism was hereditary, and, as a rule, he left his early home but to return to it in later life. The enactment of each new law to mitigate the evils of the almshouse only made the idle and vicious parent more eager to accept the advantages thus offered to his offspring, and pauperism increased out of all proportion to the growth of the country.

Outside the almshouses, there was a condition even worse. All over the country, and especially in cities, there arose a class of chil-

dren who anticipated in character the adult tramp of to-day. These were in many cases runaways, to whom the restraints of the almshouse were irksome, and they also formed the larger proportion of juvenile criminals. In 1848, there were, in New York City alone, 30,000 such waifs known as "street children," who had no homes, who begged and stole their food, who slept in the streets, assisted professional criminals in their nefarious practices, and in time were graduated into the ranks of the adult criminal. This menace to society, undreamed of by the more orderly class, was made officially public by the report of the Superintendent of Police, and out of the exigency arose, in 1853, the New York Children's Aid Society, whose president, Charles Loring Brace, grasped with the intuition of genius the true solution of the problem of child saving. When Mr. Brace asked the Chief of Police to confer with him in regard to means for saving these children, the Chief replied that the attempt would be useless. Nevertheless, Mr. Brace began his work; and, knowing that this wreckage of civilization could be saved only by a return to nature, he at once began placing the wards of the Society in homes in the East and West. In 1854, the first company of forty-six children left the office of the Society, the greater number to find homes in Michigan and Iowa. Within the second year, the Society had placed nearly eight hundred children in homes in the Eastern and Western States. The Society has continued its work on the same lines, and through its efforts thousands of men and women have been saved from lives of pauperism and crime. The reports of the Society, which has always kept in touch with its wards, show how fully the faith of its founders has been justified, and how they builded even better than they knew. From out this army of waifs, rescued from the gutter and the prison, there have come the editor, the judge, the bank president, the governor, while thousands of simpler careers attest the beneficence of this noble charity. There is small reason to doubt that, if the guardianship of the entire dependent children of the State had been given over to the Children's Aid Society, the question of juvenile pauperism and crime would long since have been solved. But this was not to be, and almshouses and institutions still retained the greater number of children committed to their care. The evil was greatly augmented by the passage of the now celebrated "Children's Law" in 1875, which contained a clause providing that all children committed to institu-

tions should be placed in those controlled by persons of the same religious faith as the parents of the children. Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell says that: "The direct effect of this provision is found in the establishment of nine Roman Catholic and two Hebrew institutions to receive committed children, all except three having between 300 and 1,300 inmates each."

Within twenty years after this law passed the number of inmates in the twenty-seven institutions benefited directly by it increased from 9,000 to 16,000. In 1889, of the 20,384 children cared for in the city institutions, only 1,776 were orphans and 4,987 half orphans. The remaining 13,621 had been committed by magistrates, many at the request of parents, or had been brought by parents voluntarily to the institution. In Kings County alone, five years after the passage of the "Children's Law," the number of dependent children increased from 300 to 1,479, most of the commitments being made by parents anxious to be relieved of the care of their children, until the wage earning period was reached. Another objectionable feature arose from the greater length of time that children have been retained in institutions, since the passage of the law. With a direct *per capita* income from the State, the institutions have not been able to withstand the temptation to keep their charges as long as possible. The reports of the Comptroller's office for October, 1894, showed that 1,935 children in institutions had been inmates over five years: 55 of these were in Protestant institutions, 268 in Hebrew, and 1,612 in Roman Catholic institutions. The same year showed an average of 567 children in institutions between 13 and 14 years of age, 444 between 14 and 15, and 247 between 15 and 16 years of age. One institution in 1892 had wards twenty-two years old, and was "caring for" 129 youths over 17 years of age. In 1894, it was found that twenty-three per cent. of the dependent children of New York City had been in institutions at public cost over periods ranging from five to fourteen years. A report of the State Board of Charities for 1873, three years before the passage of the "Children's Law," showed that only eight per cent. of the total had been in institutions over five years. An equally striking fact is that, since the passage of the "Children's Law," the number of children placed in families by institutions has greatly decreased. In 1875, out of 14,773 children in institutions, there were 823 placed in families. In 1884, out of 33,558 children in institutions, there

were only 1,370 placed in families. While the population of the State of New York increased but thirty-eight per cent. during the first seventeen years after the passage of the law, the number of children in institutions increased ninety-six per cent.

In New York City, a report of 1894 shows the distribution of its 15,331 dependent children as follows: 1,975 in Hebrew institutions, 2,789 in Protestant, 10,567 in Roman Catholic institutions. This did not include the blind, deaf, feeble minded and delinquent children who are cared for in special institutions.

As opposed to its institutions, the State has, in several of its counties, adopted to some degree the more natural method of child saving, with marked results. Alarmed at the increasing expense of its juvenile institutions, Erie County in 1879 began to take measures for boarding out its dependent children, and through the mediumship of the newspapers the agent placed the needs of the county before the people. He also interested clergymen and editors in the project. Advertising cards with pictures of the children were sent out, and this vigorous canvass resulted in speedy applications for the children, who were sent to good country homes by the score. The agent always impressed upon the foster parents the fact that the child was still the ward of the county, which expected them to co-operate with it in training him to a life of usefulness. The chief opposition came from the institutions, which in many cases refused to let the children go. But the Board of Supervisors met this obstacle by reducing the *per capita* price of board, and by passing a resolution declaring that, if any child was refused to the county's agent, the Superintendent of the Poor would at once stop payment for his board. This opened the doors of the institutions, and Erie County, which in 1879 was paying $48,000 yearly for the support of its dependent children, had by 1892 decreased its expenses two-thirds, though the population had increased one-third. Monroe, Westchester and Orange Counties also placed out their children to some extent.

When the Revised Constitution went into effect there were 15,000 children, or more, in institutions in New York City, costing the city over a million and a half yearly. The institutions throughout the State received about two millions and a half yearly for the support of their charges. The Revised Constitution gave the State Board of Charities jurisdiction over all the charities in the State, whether public or private, and a law was enacted by the

Legislature putting the placing out of children into the hands of this Board. Under this law, during the years 1896 and 1897, 1,500 children have already been placed in homes in the rural communities. The number of children in institutions has been further decreased by the action of the State Charities Aid Association in appointing examiners to investigate the status of the children already in institutions, or for whom application had been made. The official report of the examiners for 1896 and 1897 shows that, out of 26,561 investigations, 7,303 cases were disapproved, though the children in many cases had been in the institutions for years.

Boys of 12, 13, 15, 16 and 17 years of age were found, whose families were amply able to provide for them, but who had been supported by the State for periods ranging from six to nine years. One girl of 16 was found who had spent twelve years of her life in institutions, being left at the critical age without home ties or interests, and with an utter lack of training in ordinary domestic affairs. The monthly reports from the Comptroller's office show the pecuniary saving from the decrease of dependent children, while the moral gains through the return of these children to the normal ways of life is of course incalculable. Hitherto the State of New York has paid two-fifths of all the money spent in the United States for the care of dependent children, while child pauperism has increased three times as fast as the general population. With a population of one and three-quarter millions New York City has been supporting over 15,000 children in institutions, or one dependent child to every 117 of population. The number of dependent children in Philadelphia in 1894 was one to every 1,979 of its population. This difference arises from the fact that Philadelphia has ceased to be an institutionalized city, and boards or places out nearly all its dependent children, the Philadelphia Children's Aid Society being the agent employed. Nearly every County Poor Board also takes advantage of its aid to place its dependent children, as far as possible, in its care. During the thirteen years of its existence the Children's Aid Society has received about 6,004 children from the various almshouses, poor boards and courts, and placed them in homes in the country. It has the names of over 700 families whose respectability and fitness are vouched for, the Society's agents having visited and ascertained by personal investigation their status in the community. Most of these families are at a distance of at least a hundred miles from any large city, it

being deemed best, in case of delinquent children especially, to bring them up amid strictly rural surroundings. The attitude of the Society towards its charges is that "its duty to the child is not one of mere support, but one of preparation for life," and that the sole question arising in the mind of the observer of city institution life should be, "is the precise thing which I am looking at the very best thing that can be provided, in order that the child may have the same reliance which makes the country boy, on the whole, the best wage earner that the city ever sees?"

The Society possesses thousands of records attesting the happiness and well being of its wards, and the unwritten records obtained through personal visits from its agents are more satisfactory still. The agent finds the little sickly two-year-old, whom she left a few months before hardly expecting to see it alive again, well nourished and radiant with returning vitality, surrounded by toys, dressed in clean clothing, the care and the pet of the whole family. One baby, left at the age of eleven months unable to hold up his head or sit alone, had been restored to perfect health. The foster mother here had expressed a preference for a "real smart baby," one that she could show off to her neighbors. But, as she bent over this tiny sufferer, his little, thin face made its undeniable appeal, and she said, as she cried over him, that "somebody would have to keep him, and she calculated she could do it as well as any one else." The agent carries away innumerable mental pictures of these little waifs who have found home and health in the beautiful hill country of Pennsylvania. She sees the children on the benches of the village school, or sharing the innocent pleasures of childhood in wood and meadow. She finds them in the barn or field with the foster father, picking up useful knowledge, learning ways of industry and honest living, and, above all, sharing the interest of the family as if he were to the manner born. Very often these boarded out children step into a place left vacant by death, and often they bring to a childless home the first knowledge of the privileges and blessings that come with children. The Society has innumerable photographs showing the children in their comfortable homes, studying in the cosy sitting rooms, playing games with the farmer's older boys, or with the farmer himself, and sharing in fact in all the simple and sweet scenes of family life.

A most careful method of supervision is enforced by the Society, not only through frequent visits of its agents, but through

numerous reports made by the physicians, the school teachers and other reliable and interested persons. Question blanks are sent for these reports, which are filed and make a full record of the child's history while under the care of the Society. As far as possible, the children are boarded in families of the same religion as that of their parents. In order not to create a class distinction, the Society does not allow the boarded out children of a village or farming district ever to exceed two or three per cent. of the child population.

Massachusetts, with a population to the square mile exceeding that of New York, and in which the artificial conditions of living are practically the same, has no dependent children, technically speaking, in institutions supported by the State. Largely affected by the problem of immigration, and under the strain produced by great centres of population engaged in mill and factory work, and so removed from the more healthful influences of smaller village and country life, this State has yet so successfully solved the problem of juvenile pauperism that, out of a population of two and a half millions, it has only 2,852 wards to support. The State has a nursery at Roxbury, where destitute infants are cared for while requiring medical or surgical treatment, and where children boarded out are brought for treatment when necessary. The nursery is a temporary home only in the strictest sense of the word, boarding out being the end in view. There is also a temporary boarding place at Arlington, with a capacity for only twenty children, and a home for wayward boys, with a capacity for seventeen. The State has two Industrial Schools, the Lyman School for Boys, and the State Industrial School for Girls, which together cared for 391 boys and girls during the year 1896. There are also two Reform schools, having 397 children in charge. With these exceptions, the dependent children of Massachusetts are placed or boarded out.

In 1889, California paid $231,215 for the support of 36,000 children in asylums, while Michigan, with double the population of California, paid only $35,000 for the support of 230 children. In 1893, California, still working under the old system, paid $250,000 for the support of 40,000 children in institutions, while Minnesota, with a population about equal to California, supported only 169 dependent children in its State Public Schools, the remainder being placed or boarded out.

There are, in all, perhaps eight or nine states in the Union

in which boarding out and placing out are carried on in greater or less degree, these systems affecting about three-tenths of the dependent children in the country. The remaining seven-tenths, numbering more than 70,000, are still in institutions.

The United States is an institutionalized land, and the Great Republic, which boasts of freedom and equality, still regards her dependent children as aliens, and brands them with the stigma of pauperism.

The evolutionist sees the earliest manifestation of altruism in that primary instinct, found even in the lowest forms of plant life, to protect the young in the seed and bud—the instinct of motherhood. Upon this eternal principle of life the problem of child saving must rest. There is no one so morally fit to rear an unfortunate child as the mother of a respectable family, whose experience with her own brood has taught her the needs and demands of childhood. Nowhere else is so abundantly manifested that trust in the "larger hope," as in the patience that waits upon motherhood. To this patience and this hope the State may well commit the welfare of its most unfortunate class. For, although the institution life of to-day is not accompanied by all the horrors that once disfigured it, yet sore eyes, diseased bodies and a high death rate still prevail. According to the official report of 1897 the death rate at the Infants' Asylum on Randall's Island was, for foundlings 80 per cent., for other children without their mothers 59 per cent., children with their mothers 13 per cent. Out of 366 children under six months of age, admitted without their mothers in 1896, only twelve lived, the remainder dying between five and six weeks after admission to the asylum. Institutionalism is an artificial system with the stigma of failure attaching to it, inasmuch as its presence always indicates an increase of the very evil it was originally meant to combat. Without admitting as truth the statement, made by some experts, that all institution bred children turn out either knaves or fools, sufficient testimony may be found to force home the startling argument that, of the 100,000 children cared for by the State to-day, there is grave danger that the seven-tenths who are in institutions will carry through life the brand of a system which has handicapped them in the race for success.

Mr. Homer Folks, Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York, in speaking of child saving, says: "Would the

directors of a bank be satisfied with knowing that most of its funds were not stolen? Would the working of the postal department be considered satisfactory if simply a majority of the letters deposited in the letter boxes were delivered? Would the community rest contented in the satisfaction that a large majority of its citizens were not unjustly thrown into prison? Would a father be satisfied to know that five of his six children were not actually suffering from hunger and cold?" And this is the principle upon which child savers must act. The institution may save the child up to a certain point. But we want him saved for all time. Only the abandonment of the costly institutions—the expensive buildings might with profit in New York City be turned into public schools—and an acceptance of the method which experience has so far shown to be the best, can solve the question of pauperism in the United States with success.

The boarding out system is another example of the truth of the adage that "mercy is twice blessed." The love and care of the foster parents are in large measure repaid by their charges, who yield them in old age that affectionate protection which is the privilege of children. When at service, they save their wages and deny themselves little luxuries, that they may help their foster parents. They come back to their former homes to be married; and, in case of a family, if either parent dies, the survivor brings the children to the foster mother to be cared for. Joy and sorrow are shared together, and when attacked by fatal sickness it is to the foster home that the child returns to die.

Nature, the wise teacher, has sealed her approval of forsterage by forging that mysterious tie which binds parent and child, which no absence may sunder, and which remains unbroken even in death. Boarding out has paid in every sense. Out of the class in which pauperism was hereditary—sometimes three or four generations of the same family being paupers—it has created a respectable working class, at a cost in dollars and cents far below the cost of institution life. Over the neglected and despised pauper child, it has extended the aegis of the State, making the least of these little ones understand that, though deprived of love and home by fate, he has still a motherland whose care will guard him lovingly, and whose honor must be his sacred ideal.

HENRIETTA CHRISTIAN WRIGHT.

THE SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AFTER THE WAR.

BY S. C. CRONWRIGHT-SCHREINER.

One can decide properly what can justly be done after the war in South Africa only if one knows how the war was brought about. I hold annexation to be wholly unjustifiable. Let me state why I do so.

It is often said that the Transvaal burghers were solidly opposed to granting the franchise to the Uitlanders. That is false. In 1893, the late General Joubert and President Krüger contested the Presidency. The contest was fought on the question of the enfranchisement of the Uitlanders. Mr. Joubert stood for enfranchisement, which Mr. Krüger, like another Lord Salisbury, opposed; and the election was so close that a commission was appointed to re-count the votes, with the result that Mr. Krüger was declared elected by a narrow majority. There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that, but for the Rhodes Plot against the Transvaal and its condonation by the British Government, Mr. Joubert would have romped in an easy winner at the next Presidential election in 1898, and the Uitlander question would have been peaceably settled.

But such a settlement would have left the Dutch in command of the Legislature, as indeed any reasonable settlement must still do; and that did not suit the Capitalists. Everybody now knows that the "grievances" of the Uitlanders in 1895 were simply a stalking horse for the ulterior aims of the Capitalists, with Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Beit at their head. While the inner ring of moneyed agitators, posing as the general Uitlander population,

were appealing to Great Britain about not being enfranchised, while they were clamoring that they wanted a settlement, Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, Secretary of the Chartered Company, was cabling Mr. Rhodes that there was "great danger" of Lionel Phillips and Charles Leonard (the chairman of the agitators) effecting a settlement "without assistance from the British South Africa Company!"

Just when there was "great danger" of a settlement, the Raid occurred, followed by the gradual exposure of Mr. Rhodes's cowardly and disgraceful plot against the Transvaal, and Mr. Krüger's splendid magnanimity, which compelled the admiration of Mr. Chamberlain, and which extorts a similar note to-day from even so violent a partisan as Sir Sidney Shippard. This was followed by what was much worse. The condonation of the Raid by the British Cabinet convinced nearly every Dutchman and a great many others in South Africa that Mr. Chamberlain was equally implicated with Mr. Rhodes, and that a second "Raid," this time a "constitutional" one, would be made upon the country and the independence of the Transvaal.

Meantime, the Capitalists, determined to carry on the agitation, purchased nearly all the leading newspapers in South Africa,* got their own men appointed as correspondents in South Africa for powerful London dailies, and set about lying to the British public as they did before the Raid. The second agitation, carried on and financed largely by the same men as were responsible for the 1895 agitation, for the same purposes and by the same methods, was, at bottom, as false as that preceding the Raid. But again the inevitable result was to mislead the British public. The agitators were aided by Sir Alfred Milner, who misrepresented South African affairs with a persistence and to a degree surpassing belief, and by Mr. Chamberlain, whom the Dutch universally believe to be in Mr. Rhodes's power by reason of his implication in the plot against the Transvaal.

The result of the continued agitation was that President Krüger and Sir Alfred Milner met in conference at Bloemfontein in May, 1899.

Now, a word as to the status of the South African Republic.

In the 1881 Convention, the Transvaal is styled "The Trans-

*See "How the Press was Worked before the War," by J. A. Hobson, a penny pamphlet issued by the South African Conciliation Committee, Talbot House, Arundel street, Strand, London, W. C.

vaal State," and "suzerainty" is specially retained, the word itself being used. In 1884, this Convention was done away with and a new one drawn up. In drafting the 1884 Convention, Lord Derby with his own hand eliminated the word "suzerainty" and all references to "suzerainty," at the express wish of the Transvaal delegates. In addition, the name of the State was changed from "The Transvaal State" to "The South African Republic," and the new republic thus created was specifically granted absolute independence in regard to its own internal affairs. Successive Secretaries of State have, from their place in Parliament, repudiated all right of interference in the internal affairs of the Republic; among them Mr. Chamberlain, who, in 1896, said that to go to war on such a pretext would be "immoral." Indeed, Mr. Chamberlain himself made the officially recognized status of the Republic quite clear when he, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, defined it in 1896 from his place in Parliament as "a Foreign State which is in friendly treaty relations with Her Majesty." No claim to suzerainty was made from 1884 until the Republic, during the recent negotiations, offered arbitration. This placed Mr. Chamberlain in an awkward position. Mainly through Great Britain, the Republic had been prevented from having a representative at The Hague Conference, and now Mr. Chamberlain did a thing which seems to throw a lurid light upon that action. He revived the claim to suzerainty, and, on the strength of this, refused arbitration! Sir Edward Clarke, the most eminent legal authority on the Conservative side, has expressed the opinion of all sound lawyers in saying that the revival of this claim was not only quite unjustifiable, but was "a breach of national faith."

The South African Republic is thus "a foreign state;" there is no suzerainty, and it has absolute control of its own internal affairs.

Notwithstanding this, "The Lion of Rustenburg," as his burghers style the grim old President, agreed to meet Sir Alfred Milner in a friendly conference. They met at Bloemfontein in May, 1899, Mr. Krüger carefully explaining that the conference was purely a friendly one, and that he recognized no right of interference.

Sir Alfred Milner demanded (1.) a five years' retrospective franchise; (2.) seven seats in the First Raad at once for the Gold

Fields; (3.) one-fifth of the seats in the First Raad as a minimum representation of the Gold Fields for the future.

These demands were unanimously approved of at a public meeting of Uitlanders in Johannesburg, specially convened for the purpose.

Earl Grey, whom I quote because he is now a justifier of the war, wrote as follows in the January number of this REVIEW:

"The demands presented by Sir Alfred Milner, as a minimum of what he would recommend the Uitlanders to receive, were regarded by the common consent of the civilized world as most reasonable and just."

In July, 1899, after various concessions, the Republic passed and embodied in its constitution a seven years' retrospective naturalization and franchise law, which is the law of the land to-day and is actually more liberal and less hedged about with restrictions than the present law of Great Britain. This did not satisfy Mr. Chamberlain, who demanded that a Joint Commission should be appointed to inquire into the law. He, of course, had no right whatever to do this. But, anxious to have the matter settled peaceably, the Republic inquired whether another offer, if made, would be considered on its merits, without prejudice to the seven years' offer, and whether, if such new offer were rejected, the seven years' offer might be reverted to as a basis of negotiations. An affirmative reply was given to both of these inquiries; whereupon on the 19th of August, the Republic offered (1.) a five years' retrospective franchise; (2.) *eight* seats in the First Raad at once for the Gold Fields; (3.) *one-fourth* of the seats in the First Raad as a minimum representation of the Gold Fields for the future.

Coupled with this generous offer (which, knowing intimately the men who made it, I am quite satisfied was made in perfect good faith), the Republic made three stipulations, all of which it had a perfect right to make: (1.) That this should not be taken as a precedent for future interference in its internal affairs; (2.) that the suzerainty should not be further insisted upon; (3.) that other points in dispute should be submitted to arbitration.*

These concessions, it will be noted, actually went beyond Sir Alfred Milner's Bloemfontein demands.

To the amazement of the Republic, this liberal offer was rejected

*It must, of course, be borne in mind that the Republic was prepared all along to submit the whole question between itself and Great Britain to arbitration. I have explained above how Mr. Chamberlain refused arbitration.

on the 28th of August. But worse was to follow; for when, as had been arranged, the Republic reverted to the seven years' offer and acceded to Mr. Chamberlain's demand for a Joint Commission, Mr. Chamberlain, having got all he had required and more than Sir Alfred Milner demanded, actually rejected on the 8th of September the seven years' offer also. This, of course, convinced the Dutch, and many who are not Dutch, that a settlement was not desired by Great Britain, except at the sacrifice of the Independence of the Republic.

Having rejected the generous concessions of the Republic, whose conduct throughout shows a strong desire for peace, Mr. Chamberlain in a dispatch of the 22nd of September said that the British Government would now formulate their own demands. This, of course, was a violation of the Convention of 1884, and an act of war if the Republic chose to interpret it as such. But the Republic still hoped for peace.

Great Britain, however, did not formulate her demands at once, as she should have done. On the contrary, she sent out reinforcements to the troops which for weeks had been increasing in South Africa. As days passed and the expected demands remained unformulated, President Steyn, on the 27th of September, sent a message to Sir Alfred Milner offering mediation. On the 30th of September, the South African Republic itself urgently requested that the proposals should be submitted, that it might have an opportunity of considering them. Again, on the 3rd and 4th of October, Mr. Steyn renewed his proposal. The answer was the calling out of the reserves and the announcement of the despatch of an Army Corps to South Africa. This was on the 7th of October. Two days later, the South African Republic sent its ultimatum, in which, be it remembered, it adhered to the Convention of 1884 and offered arbitration on all questions. On the 11th of October the ultimatum expired, and a state of war existed. Then and only then was British territory invaded. The ultimatum was purely strategic. The Republics were absolutely convinced that Mr. Chamberlain meant war, and, strategetically, it was of the most vital importance that they should make the first move. The real act of war was Great Britain's violation of the Convention of 1884, her despatch of troops to South Africa and the calling out of an Army Corps thereupon.

One more incident, which occurred after the outbreak of the

war, must be related to put the finishing touch upon this repulsive tale. On October the 19th and 25th, debates on the war took place in the House of Commons, and on each occasion Mr. Chamberlain was questioned as to the despatch which rejected the Republic's five years' offer. In reply to Sir Edward Clarke and Mr. Leonard Courtney, he said he had intended that despatch to be an acceptance of the offer of the Republic as to nine-tenths of its substance, the remaining one-tenth being only a matter of form and not worth a war. Yet, when the Republic and everybody else interpreted his reply as a rejection, he had made no attempt to put them right!

Now that the war is in progress, the reasons given to justify it before it began have been tacitly abandoned. It is not seriously urged now that the war is about the franchise. *Ex post facto* arguments are urged to justify both the war and the annexation of the territory of the two Republics. The argument almost exclusively relied upon now is that there was a "Pan-Afrikander Conspiracy," which included the Dutch of Cape Colony, to "drive the English out of South Africa." Sir Sidney Shippard, in the last number of this REVIEW, actually uses these ridiculous words. Personally, I know of no evidence to support this allegation of a "conspiracy." I say at once, from my knowledge of Cape Colony and the South African Republic, of both Dutch and English, rural and urban, sections, that there is no truth in it whatsoever. I say, on the contrary, that if the burghers of the Transvaal, without provocation, had invaded the Cape Colony, they would have been met and opposed, gun in hand, by the Dutch of the Colony. If personal testimony be not sufficient, the following facts quite dispose of the "conspiracy" allegation.

1. During the period which this "conspiracy" is supposed to cover, Mr. F. W. Reitz, then Chief Justice of the Orange Free State, now State Secretary of the South African Republic, when offered the Presidency of the Free State, in turn offered it to Sir George Grey, the greatest of England's Pro-Consuls.

2. Sir Gordon Sprigg has been Premier of the Afrikander Bond Party during the same period, and Mr. Rhodes was its most trusted Premier up to the end of 1895.

3. In 1895, before the Raid, the Cape Colony and the Free State were prepared to support Great Britain in war against the South African Republic.

4. In 1896, the Raads of the two Republics passed resolutions asking Great Britain to abrogate the Charter and govern Rhodesia under direct Imperial control, while the Bond in the Cape Colony passed a contrary resolution.

5. During the Matabele war, after the Raid, Mr. Krüger offered to send his burghers to help to quell the rising in Rhodesia.

6. In 1897, there was a spontaneous and enthusiastic outburst of enthusiasm among the Dutch throughout the Cape Colony on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee.

7. In 1898, the present "Bond" ministry of Cape Colony brought in and carried unanimously a vote of £30,000 a year for the British fleet, and handed over Simon's Town, the most important fortified naval station in the Southern hemisphere, to the Imperial authorities, the Dutch in Cape Colony outnumbering the non-Dutch in the proportion of about three to two.

8. Before the outbreak of the war, over two hundred meetings, representing the whole Dutch population of Cape Colony, were held in favor of peace. A petition to the same effect was signed by the Afrikander women and sent to the Queen.

9. The Cape Colony Dutch did not rise on the ultimatum and have not yet risen, although their doing so would have more than doubled the forces against us and placed the whole of South Africa, with the exception of three or four towns, in the hands of the Dutch. It is calculated that the Cape Dutch could have added 70,000 to 80,000 fighting men to the 50,000 of the two Republics, all good horsemen and good shots. It is in fact the much maligned Dutch of the Colony that have saved South Africa for the Empire.

10. The "Bond" Ministry of Cape Colony remains to-day in office, representing Dutch opinion. It has called out all the Colonial Volunteer and police forces and handed them over absolutely to the Imperial authorities, together with our railways, telegraphs, etc.—all of which the Dutch have been taxed to form and build and are to-day being taxed to maintain.

To speak of a Pan-Afrikander conspiracy in the face of such facts is simply nonsense.

I hold it to be clearly established that the reasons given for the war, both before and after its beginning, are quite insufficient to justify it. It is, indeed, stupid to urge that the war is for a franchise, when the franchise law of the Republic is more liberal

than that of Great Britain. It is equally stupid to urge a Pan-Afrikander conspiracy in face of the facts here adduced. This being the case and no other reasons being forthcoming that can stand examination, Great Britain is waging an unjust war. Her attitude is dishonorable and cowardly throughout. War has been forced on the Republics. They did not want war: the great efforts made by the Free State to induce the Transvaal to give concessions, and the concessions given by the Transvaal, prove this. It is absurd to suppose that a handful of farmers should seek war with the greatest Empire in the world. There was one thing, however, they would not surrender without a fight—their dearly loved independence. Having given even more than they could have been expected to give, and seeing then that Great Britain meant to take their independence from them, they said, like men, that they would not surrender their independence without fighting for it.

I have not time in this article to go into the causes that produced the war. I hold it can be proved to be a war brought about by capitalist influence. Indeed, Mr. Hobson's book, *The War in South Africa,* proves this pretty conclusively. I wish now to draw attention to the fact that Lord Salisbury, Mr. Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, and many other leading British statesmen, as well as Sir Alfred Milner, repeatedly and explicitly stated that Great Britain had no designs upon the territory of the Republics and no desire or intention of depriving them of their independence. They said they were going to war simply to secure an equitable franchise, which would enable the Uitlanders to become enfranchised and work out their own salvation. Yet when the war is once in progress, what do we find? Mr. Chamberlain has made an official declaration that the Republics are to be annexed, and to be governed either by a military council or as Crown Colonies! All along, a great many people, including all the Dutch of South Africa, have said that the declared intentions of Great Britain were false, and that what she really wanted was to destroy the South African Republic and steal its territory, which included the largest and richest gold deposit in the world. Her intentions, as declared by Mr. Chamberlain to-day, go far to prove the truth of the accusation. She stole the Kimberley diamond mines in the most barefaced manner from the Orange Free State; now, after killing its citizens, she is going to steal the gold mines

of the Transvaal. Having set out professedly to put an end to an "oligarchy," she is going to institute an autocracy; having set out to enfranchise people, she is going to disfranchise everybody; having set out to make a true republic of the Transvaal, she is going to govern it and the Free State by a military despotism; having set out to spread freedom, she is going to curtail it. Great Britain stands before the world, dishonored and unashamed!

Morally, she has no right whatever to "annex." But the moral principle is scornfully flouted by Sir Sidney Shippard, as by so many other "Imperialists." In the "higher politics," he says, "enlightened selfishness is and must be the only true guide."

Well, I will discuss the question on the low ground which these "Imperialists" understand, and show that, in this case, even on the purely material side, the "selfishness" which departs from the moral principle will not be an "enlightened selfishness."

In the whole of South Africa south of the Zambesi, there are about 800,000 whites, of whom about 440,000 are Dutch, 270,000 British, and 90,000 non-Dutch and non-British. So that, throughout South Africa, the Dutch outnumber the British by 170,000. This numerical superiority is certain to be increased, for the Dutch are the stable population; they are on the land throughout the whole area; they cannot be displaced and they are remarkably prolific. On the other hand, the population of the mining centres, although it may obtain a temporary accession, must eventually decrease. For instance, as the mining and commercial interests of Witwatersrand fall into the hands of or become dominated by the amalgamated or associated great Mining Companies, as wages are reduced, black labor substituted for white, and the compound system introduced, the population of Johannesburg will inevitably decrease, just as that of Kimberley and Beaconsfield fell nearly forty per cent. within only a few years after the amalgamation of the mines and the introduction of the compound system under the De Beers Company. The numerical superiority is, indeed, actually larger to-day than the figures given indicate, for there has been considerable intermarriage between "Afrikanders" (Dutch and British South Africans), and, almost without exception, all people with any Dutch blood are on the Dutch side, which, in addition, is further strengthened by many non-Dutch who sympathize with the Dutch as brother South Africans, and love South Africa as they do.

Now, the whole of the Dutch population throughout South Africa, besides many others, regard the war as having been forced on the Republics by capitalist intrigue, and as most cruel and unjust; they do not blame the British nation primarily, who they still say are a just people that have been misinformed and misled into a great crime—a crime that they would never have permitted had they known the truth. They feel thoroughly outraged and hold with the utmost intensity that there is no justification whatever for "annexing" the Republics, especially after their heroic fight. This feeling is held with equal intensity by the Dutch of the Cape Colony, who, though British subjects born under the British flag, have been overridden, insulted and outraged under martial law in a manner passing belief, simply because they are of Dutch descent.

Now, if Great Britain annexes the Republics, what will the result be? I am firmly convinced that the result will inevitably be that, at no very distant future, she will permanently lose South Africa. She will weld the Dutch (who, as I have shown above, were split in 1895) into one solid people. This in itself is a desirable end. But she will, by her wicked and fatuous policy, make that solid people, the South African majority, hostile to her. She will permanently alienate South African sentiment. The Dutch are the bulk of the young South African Nation: they will not only increase rapidly and more and more dominate the country, but they will gradually be joined by ever increasing numbers of British South Africans, who share with them a profound love for South Africa as their mother country, who hold that South Africa must be left severely alone to manage her own internal affairs, and who resent this criminal war as hotly as the Dutch themselves do. The crimes and wrongs perpetrated in South Africa to-day are perpetrated against the South African People, as more of us will from time to time recognize. Great Britain is running her foolish head full tilt against the young South African Nation. If she persists in her mad policy, she will make that people hostile; and this will inevitably lose her South Africa. It is a most unstatesmanlike policy to alienate the affections of the South African people. It has taken some 240,000 of Great Britain's picked troops, many weary months, and some £200,000,000* to subdue the 50,000 warrior peasants of the Republics. If she pursues a policy which alienates her own

*The estimated cost to the conclusion of the war.

subjects, the next time South Africa takes the field it will be with at least 130,000 men, for the Cape Dutch can put from 70,000 to 80,000 in the field, every one of whom is a good rider and a good shot, and there will be others besides Dutchmen. In that case, Great Britain would need some 400,000 men to subdue the country and some years to do it in, if, indeed, she could do it at all. If such a rising occurred while Great Britain was engaged in a life and death struggle, say with Russia, she could not spare the men; she would lose South Africa.

What, then, is she to do? The answer is, *She must not annex.* She must stand honorably to her declared intention that "she sought no gold fields, she wanted no territory," but only an equitable franchise. If she stands honorably to this, she will nullify the accusation that she only wanted "to paint the map red."

Putting aside the native question for the moment, as too large and important to be cursorily treated of now, she might, I think, do three things:

(1.) Take complete control of the external relations of the Republics;

(2.) Fix a clear five years' retrospective franchise for both States, and place the Dutch and English languages on an equality;

(3.) Insist upon disarmament as to big guns and forts. Rifles should not be touched, and sufficient cannon (of size and number to be fixed) should be allowed to quell the native risings.

Having done this, and having placed a British resident at each capital, she should leave the country alone. South Africans are quite capable of managing their own affairs. It is Great Britain's fatuous interference from time to time that has caused nearly all their troubles. South Africa will become a nation. Its attitude to Great Britain will depend upon how Great Britain treats it now and in the near future. Her policy should be to regain the strained and lost affections of South Africans. That can only be done by leaving South Africa internally free and doing the just thing now. If Great Britain goes back on her pledged imperial word and annexes the Republics, she will lose South Africa. An "enlightened selfishness" will be found to lie in the direction of an honorable fulfilment of moral obligations, not in that disregard of ethical principles advocated by Sir Sidney Shippard.

S. C. CRONWRIGHT-SCHREINER.

THE ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OF THE BOERS.

BY PROFESSOR CESARE LOMBROSO.

I.

SINCE the beginning of the South African war, I have held, contrary to the opinion of most people, that the Boers would conquer the English, or at least maintain resistance for a long time. They would be able to do this, it seemed to me, because of their great territorial extension (considering as belligerents their sympathizers in the Cape), the great distance of the base of their adversaries from the centre of action, and the rapidity of their movements, habituated as they are to living on horseback. Their acclimatization in a country injurious to Europeans turns their small armies, in effectiveness, into hosts. Each of them, animated by a passion for his country and capable of the utmost freedom of movement, is a unit of greater value than the English military automaton, and, being the best marksmen in the world, they are able to despoil a hostile regiment of its officers in a very short time. They fight for a just cause, which has roused the sympathy of all the world.

Immense damage accrued to the English from the contempt of their military caste for volunteers. They were at first taken by surprise, while the Boers had been for a long time prepared with the best of arms and modern war machines. The Boers confined themselves for the most part to defensive war, behind river banks formed into improvised forts, which, in warfare with smokeless powder, rendered assaults very difficult for the enemy. The English have been accustomed to fight with barbarous people, and they judged the new enemy to be of that class; while the Boers are a people thrice strengthened by the persecutions and emigrations of their ancestors, so that only the most active and the strongest have survived. Add to all these things that a small

army is always more homogeneous and better proportioned than a large one, and, above all, that the Boers have a government suited to their nature and free—a circumstance which has always redoubled the resistance of nations to strangers—and we have in them a national miracle such as Greece, Florence, Venice, the United States of America and free Holland have accustomed us to see.

But, at this point, the liberals say: "Since England has been the greatest cradle of human liberty, its defeat must mean a defeat for the cause of freedom." It is, however, on the one hand, an exaggeration to think that a defeat at one point in Africa would impair the great English system. On the other hand, the liberals should remember that England, in that event, would be punished for having failed to maintain the very principles of liberty and of national independence which she represents—for having unfurled the flag of imperialism, which is decidedly antagonistic to liberty, over a free people, who asked nothing of them but to be left alone.

But others say: "Remember that the Boers are a peasant people, and therefore ultra-conservative and reactionary, among whom the patriarchal régime is still vigorous." Modern economists, who classify a people according to their industrial activity and their liberty of conscience and political freedom, ask: "What liberty can be expected from a people among whom the *paterfamilias* still rules, and protectionism is exaggerated to impoverish strangers; among whom the right of voting and the management of the State are in the hands of a few families, the press and industry are almost unknown; from a people, in short, of simple farmers and shepherds, representing only the second stage of civilization, almost barbarians?" Between those who will always be a centre of reaction and free England, the cradle of liberty, who would not choose the latter?

I do not deny that, for us modern liberals and independent thinkers, this small people of almost bigoted country-folk seem antipathetic, behind the times and certainly unæsthetic. But if we study this question through the glass of history, we are obliged to form another judgment.

II.

He who studies the history of the Italian commonwealths, as it is revealed in the most recent documents, learns that the great

commonwealths, certainly Venice, Florence, Siena, Lucca, were composed of pure and simple countrymen, some having escaped the incursions of the barbarians, others the cruelty of the castellains. Yet these gave us the greatest illumination, the most useful examples of liberty and of energy; moreover, not many centuries after their rise, they dowered us with those marvels of art and poetry never as yet surpassed—Dante's poems, the Ducal Palace, Donatello's doors, the Cathedrals of St. Mark and of Siena.

These countrymen met in small groups—*vicinies,* and when the *vicinie* had grown somewhat greater, they built up a small church, formed a camp, the nucleus of their slight political existence; then many analogous groups meeting, there rose the Commonwealth, which surrounded itself with a common ditch, within which the fields were enjoyed in common. They lived thus for several centuries. Later, there appeared among these urbanized countrymen as many woodworkers and ironsmiths as were sufficient for the needs of the community, and they formed a guild of artisans. Finally, here and there, escaping from rivals, some feudatory personage asked to be received as a guest, laying down his arms and only taking them up again to instruct his new fellow-citizens, who, unfortunately, required to learn the art of war, for they were tormented by rival communities and by feudatories, who robbed on the highways the merchant who came to barter, and the countryman who tried to export his fruits; also by the terrible German invaders. So, little by little, by the necessity of defense, they took on warlike habits, changing to warriors from the agricultural and commercial folk they had been, and consequently losing in freedom what they gained in power. In point of fact, the origin of Venice was slightly different, but more in appearance than otherwise. In Venice the first inhabitants were not countrymen, but fishermen and collectors of salt or coast sailors. They did not form their commonwealth in feudal times, but somewhat earlier, in the times of barbarian invasions. They were not altogether simple countrymen in origin, but some of them were artisans and even great lords. All, however, even the politicians and the wealthy, became workmen or fishermen; and they began to populate some small islets, which represented their possessions on *terra firma,* and at first all their world. These islets, little by little, were united by bridges, and formed the

commonwealth. Here also fishermen rose to be coast sailors, and later merchants on the rivers, and then on the open sea; in spite of their simple and pacific habits, they defended themselves with fervent, patriotic energy against Goths, Lombards, Huns, Franks, and from defense passed to conquest, and from conquest to the habit of war, which caused their degeneration. Yet these poor fishermen were the ancestors of Mocenigo and Titian.

III.

But the United States of America has still better proved that pastoral origin is not harmful, but rather helpful to the development of thought and art. As in Florence and among the Boers, the origin of the American people was humble enough; they came from adventurers and warriors, almost all exiles from their fatherland, like the Boers, because of political and religious persecution. They all, although in origin to a certain extent cultured and fond of art, or at least of industry, ended by returning for some time to a semi-barbarous state. The first phenomenon after their entrance into a free country was their return to labor in common, a condition which belongs to barbarous epochs. The first colonists of America cultivated in common the land in the neighborhood of their villages, as the Florentines had done. At Henrico, in Virginia, the products were placed in common in public storehouses, from which each one could help himself to necessaries, while the land was worked in common; only in 1613 three acres of land were given to each laborer, who was, however, obliged to work eleven months for the community and the company. At Plymouth there was formed an association of labor and ownership among the colonists, who were to divide every seven years the gains from commerce and industry. The colonists, as soon as they landed, were divided into sections, according to the various types of cultivation. In Virginia, for instance, Lord Delaware assigned to each colonist a house, and to the French vineland, to the English woodland; other land was divided in portions of 50 to 100 acres to each colonist. Later, this communistic society was succeeded by a patriarchal organization, such as now exists among the Boers; but in every case the original civilization was for a time eclipsed. Then, too, the legislation of the fatherland proved inadequate, and for it was substituted what had in it much that was characteristic of primitive peoples. And so it was

with industry. The laborers refused to be industrial, because the unoccupied land, with its enormous fertility, returned a maximum of products, almost without need of capital, so that in some provinces grain was raised for 26 years without fertilizing the land. In 1731, the wheat, rice and maize in South Carolina produced an hundred times the sowings; also in the vast fertile lands of the Northwest the colonists gathered crops of flax, oats and potatoes from the very first year. But this success had its weak side. It produced contempt for industrial labor. "For a long time," writes Brougham, "those who came to find employment or introduce an industry ended by becoming agriculturalists." So an immigrant glassmaker, with a large capital and many workmen, found himself abandoned on the first day because everybody turned himself into a farmer. While in England and in Germany the development of machinery was enormous, in America the plough was still crude, and in many regions not to be found at all. In Virginia the sheep were sheared to make them cool, and not for the wool. Women wove and spun in the seventeenth century as they did in Europe in the thirteenth. Wool was carded by hand, and cloths, woven on colonial looms, were sent to England to be finished. Pennsylvania brought from England clothing and domestic utensils even after 1700.

Only when the most fertile soil was fully occupied, did the colonists try to augment its productiveness by fertilizers and machinery and by capital.

In the earliest times, town meetings were completely wanting. In Virginia, which was the happiest country, Bancroft tells us that every emigrant tried to get as much land as he could cultivate and to keep far away from his fellows. Even means of communication were lacking. The English vessels intending to export goods had to collect their cargoes, little by little, at separate plantations scattered along the rivers; and in vain England ordered the formation of cities for the gathering of products. In the *Annals of Virginia*, in 1705, Beverley reproaches the inhabitants of that country for their indolence and savagery, their want of civilized life. Culture, too, was very slight. They had a few books, which told the story of their persecutions, and, above all, the Bible. And the Scotch, who in every feudal castle of their own country had had a bard to sing their glories, appeared in Carolina quite destitute of even that form of culture.

IV.

But as a field long abandoned gives a tenfold harvest, so in the United States the civilization which had slept under the spell of free land not only awoke, as soon as the country was fully occupied, but grew more rapidly than in all the other countries of the world. And that land, where only a few boats had been built, and these not always seaworthy, made the greatest vessels in the world; where they had scarcely succeeded in carding wool were to be found the mechanical triumphs of textile fabrics, which were exported to the most distant points of the globe; and, where once the Bible had been almost the whole library, rose the greatest universities and the grandest libraries that honor science.

The cause of freedom had there also the maximum of its triumph. George writes: "It was the free land which converted the timid European laborer into the courageous farmer of the Far West, and infused into those who were not cultivators the sense of liberty. Europeans find the best places occupied and grow discouraged; but Americans, who see the land spreading wide in all directions, acquire independence, spontaneity and ardor of character."

V.

The same thing must happen among the Boers. They have reached the patriarchal stage, after having passed through that of free land. I will admit that they have the appearance of being barbarous, but no more than had the Virginians of 1700 and the Florentines of 1100. It is not the irremediable barbarism of the negro or of the Bedouin, but a pseudo-barbarism, which, depending on agrarian conditions, will cease wholly when they have changed even slightly, giving place to such a rapid development of civilization as occurred in Florence and North America. On the other hand, it is a semi-barbarism which follows closely upon a great civilization like that of Holland, and is prolific of culture and freedom, because infused in every part with liberty. The Calvinistic religion is strictly observed among the Boers, but with a primitive fervor. It was a religious passion of this sort that created St. Mark's, and Giotto's tower, and the cathedrals of Como, of Milan, of Pavia, and led the soldiers of Cromwell to victory marching to the psalms of David.

The Boers imposed heavy burdens on strangers, it is true; but it is also true that strangers have been allowed to enjoy their enormous wealth, and that if the taxes are exorbitant, wages are high, as much as five dollars a day being paid to a workman in Johannesburg. It is not true that the Boers are simple peasantry. They are countrymen, sheep-raisers and cultivators at large, like many in Australia; true farmers, who yet have time for gymnastic exercise and enough for common culture. This is so true that, in the art of war, they have reached a point where they are able to surpass their former masters; and in that art it is impossible to get, offhand, special skill in tactics and ballistics without large and solid training, even in mathematics. At Blackfontein there are educational institutions superior to those at the Cape. The Transvaal is a country whose population might be put into a borough of London, and they spend 350 thousand dollars yearly for education. They are still slave-holders, it is true; but so always are peoples who have come out from the cultivation of free land and have need of a tremendous number of hands; but the religious passion which animates them forbids the maltreatment of slaves, and the law forbids their intoxication.

VI.

I cannot deny that there has been an ultra-conservative tendency in the originator of the policy of the Transvaal, that is, Krüger. When, in a generous moment, Cecil Rhodes thought of forming the United States of Africa, it was Krüger who opposed it, partly through distrust of the English origin of the proposer, partly because the old Transvaaler, who had borne so much for the new state, and cared so much for it, was not willing to see it lost in the grand body of Afrikanders. It is evident that, in spite of its mines and its new wealth, if the Transvaal, so little industrial might have had the leadership in war, it would have ended, because of the conditions of its civilization, its want of seacoast and its topographical eccentricity, by ranking second or third to the great centre of the Cape. And, indeed, *particularism* is the first sentiment which superimposes itself on *patriotism*.

In any case, whether the war is won or lost, it is certain from the very nature of things that a United States of Africa will be formed, because what the Boers may fail to conquer now will be

brought about by hate, inspired by the blood of the victims and by the persecution which the victors are certain to practice.

I am aware that England, in itself, in its statutes and history, has been the greatest example of civilization and liberty; but I cannot concede that it has given those boons to others, especially in recent times. They gave to the oppressed Armenians and Greeks only the succor of words; while, on the other hand, their imperialism, obliging Malta to speak English, cultivating in Canada priest-made ignorance, allowing India to remain frightfully impoverished, proves to be Roman in its enormous egoism and arbitrary exercise of power.

If England returns to the traditions of Gladstone, the fosterer of liberty, not only at home, but also among other peoples, and sees that her supremacy stands in the immense development of her industries and the prosperity with which her colonies surround her without need of bonds and military oppression, we shall bless her always as a great country.

But if, like Venice in later times, she apostatizes from her past, becoming a military power, and strangles with armed hand a generous people, what difference can we find between her and other imperialistic nations, such as Russia, which crushes the faithful Finland, after having promised freedom for so many years, and obliges Poland to speak a language not its own?

Let another free state rise in Africa, as one has risen in North America, with similar aims, a similar mixture of races, a similar origin of people persecuted and proved by secular struggle, with traditions most adverse to militarism, and most favorable to liberty; this is what we hope for in the world's future.

VII.

Thus much of this paper had been written when the defeats of the Boers began: but I do not think of changing it. I maintain unshaken my belief in the power of freedom to bring to victory men selected, as were the Boers, against forces fortyfold their number.

Even if England won, with the persistence of a year or two of war, I should not change my conclusions; because, on the one hand, the humble Boers have become the greatest heroes of the century, and are becoming the greatest martyrs to liberty. As a

gentle Afrikander sings: "With every Boer you kill, you break a link in that fair chain which binds the Afrikanders to England." On the other hand, unless they kill off all the Boers, one by one, the fruitfulness of a people of free land will make good the deficit within fifteen years: there will be born a second and a third generation, which will bring about victory for the Boers, better adapted than the English, as they are, to that climate, and perfected by the recent persecution and selection. All other Afrikanders will find new reasons for uniting with them in rebellion, because they will have a noble historical tradition, which will bind them together, and a much greater political and economical cause for rebelling than now exists. Indeed, in order to keep the land in subjection, England would have to maintain a garrison of at least forty to fifty thousand men, to augment tremendously the taxes to accomplish this end, and to destroy all civil and political liberty, so dear to the Boers, in order to crush all the righteous rebellions which might arise. So that, if the Afrikanders hesitated before, they will not hesitate later to form with the Boer warriors a single body of rebels, compact against the English Government, and making the world marvel because of its virtues; since they have, like the United States of America, all the conditions for the growth of a great civilization, diversity of climate and of cultivation, and, above all, the mixture of superior races.

The celebrated Dutch author, Kuiper, calculates that, besides seventy-three per cent. of Dutch blood, there is twelve per cent. of French, twelve per cent. of English, three per cent. of Scotch, and hardly any negro blood in the veins of the Boers. This mixture of four of the best nations of Europe, in a climate not enervating, with energetic habits, promises the formation in this people, from old and new results, of a race loving liberty and culture, which will probably be superior to all the races of Europe: because, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, the mixture of the best peoples under conditions of liberty, in a nascent State, is the best producer of civilization. Of this we even already see the earnest in their form of government, in their constitutions, which, if not written in judicial style or with rhetorical art, are the best adapted to make their people happy; in that gentleness which they use toward defeated enemies, from whom there is so often no like return; in the rapidity of the strategic conceptions of their commanders, and in the great mobility of their soldiers.

Up to this time, the only arts in which they have had exercise have been those of war and of state: and in these they have given really stupendous proofs of their ability.

As to England, not to the dear and saintly England of Gladstone and Spencer, but to the corrupt England of Chamberlain and Rhodes, this evil enterprise in Africa will, even if successful, be fatal to her, because it strengthens the power and prestige of the most reactionary party, the imperialistic. Dragged down this grade, she will prefer to industrial activity, and to the increase of naval construction, the barbaric shield of arms, and she will contract, as happened to Venice, the despotic habits which are associated with this tendency. She will prefer victories on sea and land to those of commerce and free trade; she will kneel to victorious generals, who will disturb more or less the constitutional norms. This they have already done in some measure by proposing conscription; and this they will extend by force to the colonies, which are, particularly Australia, more anti-militaristic than the mother country; thus making attempts on that independence which is the chief link of the colonies to the mother country. The English have already spent 400 million dollars for this war, and they will spend as much more in maintaining an armed superiority. Such a policy will enormously disturb the equilibrium of the state, and oblige it, as such action did Venice, to increase taxes in every direction, which, when the war excitement has passed, will remain, always becoming more odious and provoking struggles with the discontented popular element. In consequence, there would be new necessity for military influence and new need of increasing autocratic power.

In the United States imperialism is a mere passing caprice, which will vanish shortly, because the popular parties have enough energy to show its evils. In Germany and France the imperialist mania finds immense obstacles in the socialistic parties. But against the imperialistic delirium of the English there is no popular party strong enough to prevail. Imperialism may give a great fictitious strength to England, but in reality it will destroy the English system. While we shall see the sun of liberty rise on the United States of South Africa, as it did on the United States of America, the sun of English liberty will set.

CESARE LOMBROSO.

Eighty-sixth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 171: No. 2.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

August, 1900.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

The Duty of America . . . . . JOHN BARRETT,
Formerly United States Minister to Siam.

The Responsibility of the Rulers,
Lieut. CARLYON BELLAIRS, R.N.

America's Share in the Event of Partition,
DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER

Causes of Anti-Foreign Feeling . . . . GEO. B. SMYTH,
President of the Anglo-Chinese College at Foochow.

The Japanese View of the Situation, A [illegible] DIPLOMAT

The Gathering of the Storm . . . [illegible]E. LEWIS

America's Treatment of the Chinese, [illegible] HOLDER

Education will Solve the Race Question. A [illegible]
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON,
President of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.

Stephen Crane . . . . . H. G. WELLS

Why an Old Soldier Declined the Presidency,
The Late Gen. W. T. SHERMAN

Imperialism America's Historic Policy . . . W. A. PEFFER,
Formerly United States Senator from Kansas.

British Strategy in South Africa . Gen. O. O. HOWARD, U.S.A.

Some Absurdities of the House of Commons, T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.

CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT.

The Part of the People and of the States,
WALTER L. HAWLEY

Election by Direct Popular Vote . . . JOHN HANDIBOE

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

LONDON:
WM. HEINEMANN, 21 Bedford St., W. C.

PARIS:
BRENTANO'S, 37 Avenue de l'Opera.

Single Number, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, $5.

United States Mortgage & Trust Co.,

59 CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK

Capital $2,000,000 **Surplus $2,250,000**

Transacts a General Banking Busines

Allows interest on Deposits subject to check
Is Legal Depositary for Court and Trust Funds
Acts as Fiscal Agent for Cities and Corporations

Buys and Sells Foreign Exchange
Issues Commercial and Travelers' Credits availabl
in all parts of the world

Loans Money on Bond and Mortgage
Issues First Mortgage Trust Gold Bonds
Acts as Trustee, Registrar and Transfer Agent

Transacts a General Trust Business

OFFICERS

GEORGE W. YOUNG.....President
LUTHER KOUNTZE.....Vice-President
JAMES TIMPSON.....2d Vice-President
ARTHUR TURNBULL.....3d Vice-President
CLARK WILLIAMS.....Treasurer
WILLIAM P. ELLIOTT.....Secretary
RICHARD M. HURD.....Asst. Secretary
CALVERT BREWER.....Asst. Treasurer
ALEXANDER PHILLIPS.....Man'g For'n Dept.

DIRECTORS

Samuel D. Babcock

Wm. H. Baldwin, Jr.	Gustav E. Kissel
Frederick O. Barton	Luther Kountze
C. Ledyard Blair	Charlton T. Lewis
Dumont Clarke	Richard A. McCur
Charles D. Dickey	Theodore Morford
William P. Dixon	Robert Olyphant
Robert A. Granniss	Charles M. Pratt
G. G. Haven, Jr.	James Timpson
Charles R. Henderson	Eben B. Thomas

George W. Young

Copyright, 1900, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO. All rights reserved.
Entered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails, as second-class m

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXV.

AUGUST, 1900.

AMERICA'S DUTY IN CHINA.

BY JOHN BARRETT, FORMERLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM.

CHRISTENDOM is staggered by the crisis in China. But America's duty is definite; her path is plain.

The world's policy in Cathay is the commanding question of the hour. It overshadows national controversies regarding imperialism and the coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. It is the paramount issue in an international campaign to conserve the world-quickening forces of Christianity, Civilization and Commerce.

Therefore, every American, even in this sultry mid-summer month, whether leisurely resting in cool resorts or laboriously earning his daily bread in city or country, should study well the part America must play on this new stage of international action.

In Asia, America and the world are face to face with an unparalleled and unprecedented situation; but America's policy will be the allied world's policy, if America acts on the strength of her unique position and does not shirk the impending task.

We see the United States unexpectedly summoned to meet in China graver moral responsibilities than it has ever confronted in the Philippines. Likewise, it is challenged by greater material

Copyright, 1900, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

opportunities than it will ever discover in all the other undeveloped portions of the world.

In this hour of peril and through trials that shall follow, we must remember that we are a Christian as well as a commercial nation. We are a moral as well as a material force. We are a civilizing as well as an exploiting agency. This is a supreme test in the competition of nations, in a struggle where the principle of the survival of the fittest has its stern and cruel application. Possibly now, as China and the allied nations of the world are in deadly struggle in North China, whether with riotous hordes or government forces, our Anglo-Saxon race, our Anglo-Saxon religions, our Anglo-Saxon systems of society and government are at stake. We cannot, therefore, quail before our responsibility. There is no question of imperialism or expansion involved other than that of the salvation and extension of our race and our institutions.

I do not mean that the United States shall go out of its way to assume responsibilities, to arrogate to itself leadership, to take ostentatiously upon its shoulders the burdens of the world. Rather shall it simply perform its plain duty, as an officer in battle, who, standing in a central, commanding strategic position, holds the fate of his regiment in his hands and determines victory by combining discretion with heroism.

I. AMERICA'S POSITION AND POLICY.

Through all the confusion of the present and the mystery of the future, there stand out these dominant considerations:

First, America is the logical arbiter of China's future; the fate of the Empire depends upon the favor of the Republic;

Second, if there is a Yellow Peril threatening the White World, America, more than any other Power, can lead the way to rendering it colorless and innocuous; because,

Third, America is the only nation present in China to-day, with force and with prominent interests, rights, and commerce, which has the unqualified confidence and trust of the European nations, Japan and China alike, or is not the object of long-standing jealousy and distrust; and,

Fourth, an International Congress or Conference, in which America for the three reasons just given should occupy a prominent and possibly the leading part, will, in the nature of events, be assembled in the near future, to consider what shall be the

attitude and policy of the nations of the world, not only in coping with the great problems of the re-establishment of order, the rehabilitation of the Government, the award of punishment and indemnities, but in determining the future status of China's government and territory and their relation to the outer world.

With this responsibility and position, what shall America's policy include? There should be no equivocation as to the principles involved. Expressed briefly, the main planks in our Chinese platform might be stated as follows:

1. The United States desires and should take no port, province or part of China, either as a sphere of temporary influence or as an area of actual sovereignty.

2. The United States should oppose, with all its moral, political and diplomatic influence, any partition of China among the foreign Powers, or any delimitation of acknowledged spheres of influence.

3. The United States should insist upon the permanent maintenance of the trade principle of the Open Door; as outlined in the present Chinese treaties, throughout all China, by all the Powers endeavoring to exercise influence within her limits.

4. The United States, provided the dissolution of the Empire is inevitable, despite our best efforts of diplomacy and moral suasion, should insist upon the guarantee, by formal convention, of the Open Door principle in all the various areas of foreign sovereignty in China, and will carefully guard against excuses for discriminating duties, national rebates or subsidies, and special freight charges—for the consuming powers of an increasing population of four hundred millions of people and the material development of four millions of square miles are involved.

5. The United States, acting with charity and equity, and in no spirit of vengeance, should employ all its moral and material influence in prescribing just punishment and indemnity for loss of life and property sustained at the hands of fanatical and insurrectionary mobs; in adjusting the true moral responsibility of the overwhelmed government; in establishing permanent order and honest progressive administration of government throughout the Empire; in safeguarding, both for the present and the future, the lives, rights and holdings of missionaries, merchants and other foreign residents; and, finally, in so preparing the way for peace, order and prosperity, to be followed by liberty, justice and free-

dom under the guiding direction of Christian civilization, that we shall win the lasting gratitude of the countless blameless Chinese and make them forever our disciples in moral and material progress.

With the future of China there are concerned four great European factors: Russia, England, Germany and France; two Asiatic, China herself, and Japan; one American, the United States. In such a combination jealousies, distrust and bickerings may clog the way to a satisfactory solution of the great problem. For instance, which one of the first four would the other three select and follow? They could unite on none, and yet all are most friendly to the United States and always willing to listen to its representations. Again, what non-Asiatic Power would China and Japan alike trust? Only America. This was confirmed by their attitude toward America in their late war. Toward what country has China the most friendly feeling? Without doubt, America. For a long time she has recognized us as the only country desiring none of her territory, and wishing to maintain only and always the most amicable relations with her. Even the Chinese Exclusion Act has cut little figure in Chinese-American relations, for its operation has been felt only by a small portion of Chinese in the southern part of the Empire. My theory is simply that the United States is the one nation, from its remarkable strength of position, that can exercise the vigorous moral influence and leadership in the coming negotiations of the Powers, which will assure the settlement of the present crisis, first, with strict justice and honor to all nations concerned, and, second, with no selfish scramble for territory that will lead to the violent break-up of the Empire and the ultimate shutting of the Open Door.

To some, in describing America's prominence and in emphasizing the importance of the crisis, my words may seem those of enthusiasm or exaggeration. Some years' diplomatic experience in Asia may make me speak feelingly, but not rashly and incorrectly. Conditions, not imagination, inspire my conclusions.

II. THE OPEN DOOR AND PARTITION.

Expressed plainly, America has everything to lose and nothing to gain by a divided China; equally true is it that America has everything to gain and nothing to lose by an undivided China.

With China actually partitioned among the foreign Powers.

or nominally divided into spheres of influence, we can still have the Open Door. It will exist, however, with the ever-present possibility that actual sovereignty would eventually close the door through discriminations or rebates in duties or freights. Possession, moreover, is nine-tenths of the law, and agreements made in troublous times of Chinese sovereignty may not be held always sacred in times of European sovereignty, especially if new international complications shall develop.

America's chief market in China is now found in Manchuria and in the provinces inclosing the Gulf of Pechili, the scene of the present revolution. Throughout this area we have so far had the Open Door and been able to sell our manufactured cotton goods in successful competition with the rest of the world. We have developed our sales of cotton textiles from $1,600,000 to over $10,000,000 in the last ten years. If the Open Door is maintained, we shall build up this trade tenfold or more. On the other hand, if Russia, Germany or some other Power assume sovereignty, there is the imminent possibility of the cotton manufacturers of those countries demanding preferential railway or steamer rates, which will annul the force of any agreements. They may even demand of their respective governments that these agreements shall be cancelled. This would not be done without protest and difficulty, but when the first international complication arose, or when, for instance, retaliation in trade relations might be necessary, there would be a change of tariffs and duties that might shut out the American product.

Here the Southern States have vast concern. The new industrial prosperity of Dixie has its opportunity largely in supplying manufactured cotton goods to China. The closing of that field of consumption permanently would bring widespread depression to the South.

This is only one illustration. The same story might be true of a French sphere in Kwang-tung, Kwang-se and Yun-nan; of a Japanese sphere in Fuh-keen; of an Italian sphere in Che-keang; of a German sphere in Shan-tung, although we must give these countries credit for assurances that they will follow the policy of the Open Door.

Great Britain has gone so strongly on record as favoring the Open Door, and has so faithfully proved the honesty of her intentions by her policy in her dependencies, that we need have little

worry about the future of the great Yangtsze Valley. Unfortunately, however, our interests and opportunities there are not so large as in the sections which might go to countries that have not proved their good faith through both preachings and practice during an extensive period of years.

While describing the possible dangers of a partition of China, let us be fair and give due credit to other countries. Let us not forget that in the Russian territory of Eastern Siberia and in Manchuria, where Russia now is apparently evolving a sphere of influence, American trade is rapidly developing, and that there is a vast field there for legitimate exploitation. If the conventions which Russia, Germany and France have signed with China, in regard to certain ports and parts of the Empire, include terms which would seem to be in violation of the spirit and letter of our treaties with China in the matter of the Open Door and equal privileges and rights, there has not yet been any test case of importance to prove that there is discrimination against us.

Great Britain has been the pioneer in the Open Door movement, but only two years ago she was appealing in vain to us for co-operation to prevent alienation of territory and to protect trade rights. Lord Charles Beresford forewarned us of present events, but excited no interest beyond a cordial reception. With the hope of stirring up political passion, certain demagogues denounce any possible sympathy of the United States with England in the latter's Chinese policy. This is done in face of the fact that, wherever English authority is paramount in Asia, there are order, prosperity and a fair chance for everybody and all nations—unless nature, in the form of famine, brings unrest. In Hong Kong, England has demonstrated how successfully she can lead the Chinese to their and her advantage.

Russia has worked mighty changes in Eastern Siberia. She generally has extended to America a welcoming hand in commerce. She announces Dalny, formerly Talienwan, as a free port and gateway to Manchuria. Germany proclaims that there will be no discrimination at Ching-taou, or Kiao-chow, against the merchants and ships of other nations.

The masterly diplomacy of Secretary Hay has, furthermore, secured recent assurances, from all the Governments interested in China, that American rights will be permanently safeguarded. If the Powers are sincere, we can be hopeful of the future, but

the treachery of international complications often renders meaningless diplomatic notes exchanged in a friendly hour.

If, by the inevitable force of world-events, China is to be despoiled of her territory, then let this same diplomacy of John Hay, or his successor, obtain from every nation securing sovereignty over a part of the Empire a lasting agreement, in unqualified terms, that America shall have in perpetuity the same rights of trade therein as are granted not only to the most favored nation, but to the sovereign power itself. Let this agreement not be confined to a diplomatic note, nor to an exchange of intentions with happy felicitation, but let it be a binding convention, formally signed and sealed.

In this connection, there occurs this vital consideration: In all reasonable probability there is not a Power that will refuse to be a party to such a treaty, if America firmly presses the point to consummation. There is also the cardinal thought in this whole question, that stands out like a beacon light: No power will insist to the limit of force upon the division of China, if America protests with all its moral resources against division.

III. THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE.

In this world-crisis, where races, religions, institutions are at stake, America's policy in China should be supported by Democrats and Republicans alike.

The partisan plea that President McKinley's unremitting efforts to protect American life and property in China may lead us into war with some European Power is not well founded. There is little probability of our being embroiled, either in a single-handed or in an international war, if we follow our definite duty in the plain path before us, and do not shrink from the unavoidable moral responsibilities which are imposed upon us as a Christian nation, having vast interests at stake. We can afford to do our allotted work in China because our moral strength is admitted, and our moral and material interests demand it.

We shall need, as we are now exercising, broad diplomacy in adjusting to a nicety the Chinese situation. We are fortunate in the past achievements of the State Department; we, therefore, have confidence for the future. President McKinley, Secretary Hay, and their subordinates, have already won the confidence of the European Powers and Japan, and the lasting gratitude of

China, in the policies they have promulgated previous to the present revolution.

Since the first cry of distress and warning of disaster came from Peking, the Government has left no stone unturned to rescue the lives of our Minister and his family at Peking, and of missionaries and merchants in the same disturbed locality. Immediately following Mr. Conger's request for marines, they were dispatched with all haste to the capital. Then followed, as the danger of the situation developed, an unremitting endeavor to send reinforcements. All that were available were forwarded. The unfortunate contingencies of a typhoon in Manila Bay, the necessity of not weakening materially the force in the Philippines, the difficulties of approach to Tientsin and Peking, the distance of Taku from Manila and from the United States, cannot be set down at the door of the Administration. A careful survey of everything done since notification came to Washington from the only authoritative source, the legation at Peking, will show that the President cannot be held responsible for the reported disaster to foreigners at the capital.

We cannot blame the American residents of Shanghai, in their earnest desire for the protection of American lives and commerce, for using urgent terms in appealing to the Government to do everything in its power in this difficult situation, but if the Government has met that responsibility to the best of its ability, its efforts should be justly appreciated.

It must be remembered, moreover, while public sentiment is so deeply stirred, that every other Government, if there is blame, is as deeply involved in it as the United States. If Russia, with her force at Port Arthur, Great Britain at Wei-hai-wei, Germany at Ching-taou, and Japan with her unlimited resources near at hand, could not rescue their envoys, why should Americans suggest that the President could have saved the Minister of the United States? It must not be forgotten, also, that the foreign representatives themselves at Peking were, in a measure, responsible for the inability of their respective countries to rescue them. Had they made appeals for force earlier, these would have been honored. No request of Minister Conger, in this respect, has ever been pigeon-holed or disregarded by the State Department.

May I not here suggest that our possession of the Philippines —which the anti-imperialists so strenuously oppose as criminal

aggression, but which others, who spent long years in Asia and were in the Philippines during the development of the present situation, honestly believe are ours simply as a result of our courageously meeting unavoidable moral responsibilities, complicated by an insurrection inspired by ambitious leaders and the enemies of the United States—has enabled us to cope with the present Chinese situation in time, manner and force which would not have been possible without our presence there. Despite the failure of the allied troops to reach Peking in time, our record has been to our credit, pride and honor in the competition with other nations. Under other conditions, we would have been entirely dependent upon other Powers, and possibly treated by them with patronizing kindness or negative indifference. Our soldiers have been in the front lines of attack and defense, and we have done our part as a first-class Power in the presence of overwhelming responsibilities.

But if there is any doubt in the minds of some men about our policy in China, let there be no misunderstanding about territorial aggrandizement. Once and for all, we want no part of China; we will take no part of China; we demand only the Open Door and protection for the lives of our representatives, missionaries and merchants, under conditions of reform and progressive government.

Even visions of coaling stations and a northern rendezvous for our Philippine naval squadron must not tempt us at this hour into an equivocal position on this vital consideration. If we should weaken one jot or tittle, our influence in Asia would lose its healthy force. The confidence of Europe, the trust of Japan and the respect of China would then be forfeited. Nothing could save the integrity of the Empire, and the hinges of the Open Door would be oiled for the closing.

IV. A McKINLEY DOCTRINE IN ASIA.

We have a Monroe Doctrine in America; shall we not have a McKinley Doctrine in Asia? This is said in all seriousness and without a suggestion of political bias. No matter how much some men oppose the President's Philippine policy, either in honesty of conviction or in zeal of party fealty, the permanent protection of life and property, the well-being of missionaries and merchants, the vast moral and material interests of the United

States, and a high degree of patriotism should inspire them to support his Chinese policy—not only the policy of the moment, but that which he has already initiated in recent negotiations with the Powers.

Shall not the McKinley Doctrine in China mean that America shall stand with all its strength for the permanent maintenance of the Open Door in China—an open door through which the diplomat and the traveller, the missionary and the merchant, the engineer and the educator, shall pass and re-pass forever in safety?

As corollary to the main proposition, shall not the McKinley Doctrine in China mean that America shall stand with all its legitimate moral influence to prevent any Power whatsoever, monarchial or republican, acquiring sovereignty over any extended part of the present unpartitioned area? And, possibly, in the growing power and name of our good land, this use of moral influence, to the full extent of its lengthening tether, may in a peaceable way accomplish as much in Asia, as the use of moral *and* armed force, which the Monroe Doctrine involves, can accomplish in America.

Then, with the Monroe Doctrine shutting out Europe from governmental control of the Americas, and with the McKinley Doctrine opening up the vast markets and material opportunities of Asia to the United States, it may be indeed difficult to determine which doctrine will confer the most direct and lasting benefits on the largest number.

Commerce is the life-blood of nations. The commerce of Asia may yet be needed to give us the strength to conserve the governments and commerce of the Americas. The McKinley Doctrine in the Pacific and China may provide the sinews of war to defend the Monroe Doctrine in the Americas.

V. CHINESE RESPONSIBILITY.

In judging the responsibility of the Chinese people and government for these uprisings and massacres, we must be stern but not vengeful. We must find all of those who are guilty and punish them as they deserve. While the world is not in a mood to forgive the Chinese government for its compromising course with the so-called Boxers, it must remember that this has been a riotous movement, which has developed force and apparent organization as a snowball grows into an avalanche, and over-

whelmed both the government that temporized with it and the foreign forces that strove to check it. If the authorities had crushed it in its inception we would have heard little or nothing of it. Unfortunately for themselves and for the outer world, they let it go on, as sometimes we have even known American officials to do with mobs, until it was beyond control.

There is no question that recent seizures of territory by foreign Powers, particularly those in the Shan-tung and Liao-tung Peninsulas, have had a baneful effect. Moreover, anti-foreign officials in the interior, taking advantage of this foreign invasion and of their personal hatred of the missionaries, have even fostered the publishing of misleading placards about missionaries and other foreigners. They are largely responsible for the internal excitement. The widespread famine prevailing in North China has greatly aided the development of anti-foreign feeling. Lack of rain and failure of crops have been blamed upon the foreigners by Boxer agitators. The Boxers themselves are simply an organized anti-foreign body of men under a new name, who have excited the masses.

In dealing with them the Central Government made the cardinal error of compromising with them, instead of putting them down at first. Even such capable foreign representatives as Minister Wu at Washington, Minister Conger at Peking, and Consul-General Goodnow at Shanghai, did not seem to understand this mob movement and realize its strength until, like a flood started by a cloudburst, it was breaking through all barriers. What was the effect on the masses at a critical moment of bringing marines to Peking, of the capture of the Taku forts, of the reported burning of the Tsung-li-Yamen by German soldiers, of the alleged failure of the envoys to leave Peking when ordered, cannot yet be accurately told, but it would now appear to have added fuel to the flame.

In this connection, it is well to note the strong words of the Americans expressed at their mass meeting at Shanghai on July 18th. Their appeal included this significant conclusion: "The present outrages are the result of the weak and vacillating policy of the Powers in the past."

If the Powers have hesitated in the past, they will be staggered with the work now before them. The reorganization of the Chinese government on lines of modern progress will be a mighty

undertaking, of which the outside world has little conception. China is not lacking in able men; but conservatism, custom and tradition have figured so prominently in all administrations through centuries that radical changes and new methods will not be welcomed, and will be opposed by officials and masses alike.

VI. MISSIONARY AND MATERIAL INTERESTS.

Of the missionaries in China I have much more to say in praise than in censure. I do not sympathize with the superficial criticism often found in the treaty ports and expressed by passing travellers against them. They are doing far more good than harm. For years it was my privilege to study carefully their work in Siam, where over one hundred were under my jurisdiction; and in frequent visits to China I noted the methods and results of their labors there.

The sum and substance of the anti-missionary sentiment among the ignorant Chinese is this: the corrupt local officials are opposed to the missionaries, because the Chinese who are taught or converted by them know what is just and right, and demand it. Perhaps the matter goes up to the Viceroy for complaint through the Taotai or Consul and back again. This makes trouble for the official, and causes him in revenge to wink at anti-foreign agitation and the publication of malicious posters. When we withdraw our missionaries from Asia, then let us withdraw our ministers and merchants. The missionary interests of the world in China are too vast, too widely ramified and too deeply rooted for any foreign government to suggest that they shall be withdrawn from China. Then above all is the supreme consideration that the forces of Christianity which have been struggling for centuries in Asia cannot consider now for a moment the possibility of retreat and defeat.

Many may honestly differ with me in my opinion of missionary work, but I cling to the faith of our fathers, confirmed by long experience and observation in Asiatic city and jungle.

What has the world materially at stake in China? What has America at stake there? These questions are frequently proposed by those who, in the rush of other matters, have not heretofore studied China. In former contributions to the REVIEW I have endeavored to point them out. Though summarized briefly, some of those which are important and suggestive of wide possi-

bilities are here noted. China, with 400,000,000 people, in 4,000,000 square miles, has only 400 miles of railway, but needs in the near future 40,000 miles. Her foreign trade is $333,000,000 per annum, an increase of one hundred per cent. in ten years. America's share, including Hong Kong, is $43,000,000, or one-eighth, in the mere infancy of its development. China's *per capita* trade, with greater potential resources than Japan, is less than one dollar, against Japan's six dollars. Apply the latter's ratio to China's population and we have the magnificent possibility of $2,400,000,000. There are mighty waterways, rivers and canals to be improved, dredged and bridged; coal, iron, gold, copper, tin and silver mines to be developed; numberless cities to be provided with waterworks, sewerage systems, electric lights and street railways; telegraphs and telephones to be extended; roads to be built, and countless increasing millions supplied with food, clothes and other growing wants of peoples coming into contact with the outer world.

In the face of these immeasurable opportunities, the improvement of which will bring vast benefits to capital and labor in America, who is willing to suggest that we shall retreat and leave China to the control of European nations?

In conclusion, I may be pardoned for quoting the final words of an address which I had the honor to deliver before the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce on the 12th of January, 1899: "I beg of you, in judging America's policy in the Far East, to remember that these closing days of the nineteenth century are times that try men's souls, when all nations are unsettled in policy and uncertain as to what the future will bring forth. There is confusion in the minds of the people and doubt in the thoughts of statesmen. The United States has its share of trial and tribulation. But there will soon be an end to it all, when the sunshine of peace and certainty must break through the dark clouds of politics. Let us hope that this day may soon come and bring with it such decision as will promote the comity, prosperity and well-being of all nations, American, European and Asiatic."

JOHN BARRETT.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE RULERS FOR THE DISTURBANCES IN CHINA.

BY LIEUTENANT CARLYON BELLAIRS, R. N.

CHINA is the land of contradictions, where the unexpected happens simply because its underlying paradox is the contrast between reality and appearance. It is true that there is a huge agricultural population, which for straightforwardness in many respects will compare favorably with any similar population in the world. The profound indifference, however, of this class to all outside questions, so long as it is left undisturbed to till the soil, sets it apart altogether from the immediate problems that confront us. Whether it is a matter of diplomacy or business, the Chinaman with whom we have to deal always wears a mask of inert prejudice tempered by suave politeness; so that the longer one is in contact with the race the more one is struck with its immobility.

To peer behind the mask, we must have recourse to statistics and visit British settlements, like Hong Kong, Singapore, and Penang. Then we discover in the Chinaman an active rival, who is almost too progressive for our tastes. Being a born trader, he is gradually monopolizing the land and its business, so that one is not surprised to find that the chief complaint running through the last files of the *China Mail* is that at Hong Kong the European will soon have no room to live. The work of governing, the Chinaman is content to leave to the British. The administration goes on with comparative smoothness, just as was the case in the Anglo-French occupation of Canton for nearly four years, from January 5, 1858, to October 21, 1861. All goes well, until the guilds or the mandarins who can influence the people are of opinion that a grievance will pay. The underlying motive is always money, though every side-wind, from superstition to racial prejudice, is enlisted in the winning of it. The fact is that, in lust for

money, the Jew is not to be compared with the "heathen Chinee." When the latter is not working for money he is amusing himself by gambling for it.

It is much the same with the rulers and *literati* of China. As is the case in Turkey, this policy may be hostile to the interests of the people, and it may be the old familiar one of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. The aged mandarins know, however, that man's life is limited, and they are by no means the first to have cried, "After us, the deluge." They have a conviction that a firm footing for the foreigners is only a preliminary to their own eviction, under what has been styled, in European diplomacy, "the Bag and Baggage Policy." Hence, their readiness to alienate territory rather than to open up the country as a whole, and hence much of the success of Russian diplomacy, which has nothing to gain by the opening up of China. The difficulties which a viceroy can throw in the way of trade are for him so many gates, for the passing of which he can exact toll. The mask of ignorance and prejudice is adopted of set purpose, though a mandarin is quite as well able as a director of the Standard Oil Trust to persuade himself that he always acts in the best interests of the people. This policy is so successful that the talk in England has generally been of "the necessity of gentleness in dealing with so ancient a civilization." "We are anxious," said Lord Salisbury, "if possible, that the interference of foreign nations shall be limited to that encouragement of domestic improvements which foreign nations have such enormous powers of giving."* If Lord Salisbury means the sort of encouragement we have been giving during the last four years, launching the Emperor on a path of reform and then leaving him to appeal in vain to Great Britain for support, then truth compels us to state that we might just as well argue with a Chinese lamp on its special function of giving out light.

After the usurpation of all authority by the Dowager Empress we find Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain successively snubbed by China. "The Powers of Europe," says Mr. H. S. Hallett, "either from mutual antagonism or owing to the rapid increase of China's drilled forces and modern armament, were apparently cowed by China's truculent attitude." † That courag-

*"The Times," May 18, 1898 (speech in the House of Lords).
†"The Times," June 25, 1900.

eous attitude it has been the mistaken policy of most Englishmen, like Lord Salisbury and Lord Charles Beresford, to encourage. We have bombarded the Taku forts three times, and still we cannot learn that militarism, at its best a necessary evil, is, in the hands of a reactionary government, prone to rely on shams, the worst evil of all. From a strong, growing nation, like Russia, it is, of course, absurd to exact conditions, as British statesmen attempted to do when they stipulated against the creation of arsenals in the Black Sea. With the Chinese, from whom we ought to have exacted such conditions, we have travelled far in the opposite direction. What we require from the Chinese is a military police, preserving and tending to develop the work of the imperial maritime customs. The Japanese are keen judges of character, and long years ago fathomed the imposture of China. They were right about its military strength, when all Europe was wrong. They have no less surely measured its moral strength. Hence they are accused of being brusque in their dealings with Chinese rulers, and cautioned against the foolish confidence of a nation which revolutionized its policy before it had time to change its dress. Even Lord Charles Beresford, in his "Break-Up of China," finds fault with the British Government on one occasion for pressing a just claim with some harshness. If Lord Charles had been the British representative and sat down to argue the matter out with the different mandarins to whom he would be referred, he would be sitting down to this day. The Chinese proverb that ceremony is the smoke of friendship has its application in the ways of Chinese statesmen.

In all dealings with China, the personal responsibility of the leaders or rulers is the chief thing to bear in mind. To hang them is to outrage civilized sentiment. They can be punished in other ways. They must be brought to understand thoroughly that the old policy will no longer pay them personally. They have in their hands enormous powers. They can chop off heads, as a mere matter of policy, without regard to the innocence of the owners of the heads. They have before now shown that, if they choose to exert their powers, they can do so with effect. They can raise or quell the anti-foreign outbreaks. Disturbances similar to the present were raised before the China-Japan war, but with the outbreak of war the rulers found it convenient to avoid offending European powers, the inflammatory placards and books were

withdrawn, and the people resumed their former friendly relations with foreigners. The people are turbulent, say the mandarins, well knowing that horrible charges against the missionaries are being circulated with their connivance. The people are very superstitious about spirits wherever a railway is promoted. The reason is self-evident; for, when the mandarins are propitiated or given a due sense of expediency, then the spirits wax propitious, and the people give no thought to the breaking up of railways or the tearing up of telegraph poles. After the massacres of 1891, a British Consul, Mr. Gardner, charged certain mandarins with having inspired the anti-foreign crusade. Sir Halliday Macartney, who is of English birth, but is in the Chinese Legation as a Chinese subject, was able to effectually shield them by the usual Chinese methods. Consequently, they and others are able to repeat their diabolical work in 1895, and again in 1900.

To enable pressure to be applied to China, *The Times* advocates Gordon's policy of shifting the seat of government to some position readily accessible to the maritime or trading Powers, so that the policy of firm persuasion may be exercised at all times. The necessity of this the Japanese clearly appreciate in the light of their own history. Their capital was easily accessible in the days when reaction and reform were at issue. There were similar outbreaks against foreigners in Japan in the sixties of the present century. In 1861 there was a "palace revolution," as the British representative, Sir R. Alcock, termed it in his official dispatch. It was followed, says the dispatch, by the reformers being "driven from their posts into disgrace and exile." There were outbreaks and murders after the Mikado had, in 1862, ordered the Shogun to "expel foreigners." Civil war was imminent all over Japan in 1863 and 1864. In September, 1864, the allied forces of France, Great Britain, the United States and the Netherlands destroyed the batteries of Choshiu, so as to force Japan to reopen the Straits to the Inland Sea. By 1865, the so-called anti-foreign movement was moribund. The concert of the Powers succeeded then, as it succeeded in Crete, through decisive action. The Mikado made the cause of reform his own; and the same process can be repeated in China by the Son of Heaven. The decisive action *must,* however, be successful, as a temporary check involves immense loss of prestige. In Crete we had to apply the "bag and baggage" policy to the Turkish garrison. China can

be no less surely cured of its maladies by depriving the rulers of their opportunities for evil, as has been done in Egypt. There we have set up an *imperium in imperio,* and the same thing, as Mr. Valentine Chirol ably points out,* practically exists to-day in China in the imperial maritime customs established by Prince Kung in 1862. Ruled by Europeans and Americans, it affords a strong contrast with the Chinese Tsung-li-Yamên, or Department of Foreign Affairs, created at the demand of Great Britain and France after the occupation of Peking by the allies in October, 1860. There is not a solitary voice raised to deny the good work done by Sir Robert Hart. This work can be done again in other directions by men like Sir Thomas Jackson, if they put their shoulders to the wheel while in the prime of life and are prevented by wise foresight from spoiling the edifice of their work by remaining beyond their time.

One cannot repeat too often that China is a country that cries aloud for leadership and seldom gets it, where good or evil broadens downward from the rulers to the people. More than any other country, it suffers from the blighting hand of the old man in its administration. In her case, unfortunately, the hand is an avaricious one. Since Confucius taught that old men should be held in an esteem which is almost worship, they are enabled to keep their posts when vigor can no longer be looked for. Old men can be trusted to sit still, and certainly they have succeeded in China. Pascal held that most of the evils of life arise from the inability of man to sit still. The Chinese statesman acts as if he believed that all the evils of life arise from this cause. To encourage him to shut not one eye only, but both eyes, is the aim of Muscovite diplomacy. To worry him with pin pricks appears to be the British ideal. He has now been worried into action, and therein lies the second application of Pascal's saying. Since British statesmen refused to act courageously, the reactionary party under the Empress Dowager has been given enough rope to hang itself. Hitherto the Chinese people, and not the government, have been punished by the Powers, and in such a way that the rulers have ever been able to turn the resentment of the people against the foreigners. So things have gone from bad to worse, while huge trading interests have been built up before even provision had been made for safeguarding them.

*"The Far Eastern Question," V. Chirol.

While deploring the loss of life during the long period of half-measures, we may say that the future outlook is hopeful. The Empress Dowager has hopelessly compromised the present system by open encouragement given to the Boxers, whose motto is to "Uphold the dynasty and drive out the foreigners." This has drawn the arms of the civilized Powers into China. The salvation of China may lie in the strength of an alliance which unites under a motto so opposed to the Boxers' motto, as "Never again." It was a President of the United States who said that to secure the repeal of a bad law it must be enforced. The bad system of Chinese government has been allowed the latitude which has made its evil crop manifest. Not even Li Hung Chang, with the support of Russia, and with all the skill that enables him to address the world on the iniquity of trading in opium, while insiders know that China is stained with his poppy fields, can save the present system of misgovernment, if Great Britain, the United States, Japan and Germany decide that the Bag and Baggage policy must be applied. That is a method which has ever been effectual, whether applied to the Crown of England in the Declaration of Independence, to Spain in her colonies, or by the British Government to the East India Company in India.* On one point let us not deceive ourselves. To talk about the capture of the Taku forts as "impressing the Chinese mind" is, in the light of history, the vainest of vain dreams. Troops can march to Peking and withdraw, and the rulers will save their "face" by announcing to the people that the foreign devils came as vassals to pay tribute. To this day the greater part of China has probably never heard of the war with Japan. The process of impressing the people is a game at which we can always be beaten unless we impress the people through their rulers.

"The only hope," said Lord Salisbury, "for the well-being of the people and for the growth of industry and commerce must be a reform in the government of the Chinese people themselves."† All of us can agree with this, but it was the excess of futility to add "that in the prosecution of this reform they must be protected,

*A parallel can be drawn between the persistence of the Chinese Government in excluding trade and the similar policy pursued by the East India Co. in India at the beginning of the century. The Company was content to raise revenues, and maintained that there were no opportunities for trading. The British Government forced the Company to open the Indian ports, and when the Company had failed in the Indian Mutiny to maintain law and order, it was shorn of its remaining powers.

†"The Times," May 18, 1898 (speech in the House of Lords).

so far as we can protect them, from any external interference." With such a plain intimation of non-intervention, the Peking schemers started reforming according to their own ideas. More than once *The Times,* and its able Peking correspondent, pointed out that a Boxer movement was the probable outcome of the *coup d'etat* by which the Emperor was deposed and the Reform Party driven out of power. It seems incredible that any one could suppose that, having knocked down the chimneys of the structure that they wished to raze to the ground, the reactionary party would be content with their folly like schoolboys at play. The party was in deadly earnest and had merely whetted its appetite.*

That the life of the Emperor was spared may have been due to the spontaneous outbreak of an unusual public opinion, petition after petition being sent to Peking from the younger mandarins and progressive Chinese communities. The crusade against the reformers, however, became more ominous, and it was on June 1st that Sir Claude MacDonald demanded the reason for the impeachment of three Chinamen who were charged with having been concerned in obtaining commercial concessions for foreigners. Then events followed each other with the rapidity we are led to expect only on prepared stages.

Skobeleff's saying with reference to Central Asia is true of China: "The position of affairs changes not every hour, but every minute. Therefore, I say vigilance, vigilance, vigilance." The changes this time were rung so as to shock all the great Powers into a sense of common danger. The story of the Legation guards and Seymour's forlorn hope is known to all. "It is will, decision, and audacity, which succeeds in the East," says the *Spectator.* Will and decision would have taken the lead that belongs of right to the country holding three-fifths of the trade. To withdraw the Ambassador from his humiliating position of making ineffectual protests to a lying court, to have brought Indian troops to Kowloon, and finally to have invited Japan to

*The following extract from Lord Salisbury's famous speech on China, in which he referred to "the dying nations," is interesting in connection with the above. He said: "In them [the dying nations] misgovernment is not only not cured, but is constantly on the increase. The society and official society, the administration, is a mass of corruption, so that there is no firm ground on which any hope of reform or restoration could be based, and in their various degrees they are presenting a terrible picture to the more enlightened portion of the world—a picture which, unfortunately, the increase in the means of our information and communications draws with darker and more conspicuous lineaments in the face of all nations, appealing to their feelings as well as to their interests, calling upon them to bring forward a remedy."

send 20,000 men into camp at We-Hai-Wei, that would have been evidence of will and decision. To bring affairs to such a pass that we have to send small bodies of men from the fleets, so that they have to depend for their existence on local supplies and are liable to be starved by the mere passive obstruction of the Chinese, that is a form of audacity with which we are unfortunately familiar as leading to the exhaustion of "a dying nation."

Lord Salisbury has declared "that what China wants is courage; and one of my defenses of the occupation of Wei-Hai-Wei is that it has a tendency to strengthen China against despair and to give her courage, if the occasion should arise, *to stand up against* her enemies.* So far as the writer can judge, not one of the dying nations has lacked courage. Indeed, for a period we see China audaciously defying the world in arms, and Lord Salisbury will hardly felicitate himself by attributing the inspiration to our occupation of Wei-Hai-Wei. The country that has conspicuously lacked courage in her treatment of the problem of China has been Great Britain. Lord Salisbury said of his predecessor's conduct of affairs that "he should have doubted the wisdom of this country standing by and seeing Russia and her allies, France and Germany, driving Japan out of the Liao-Tung Peninsula without taking some security that Russia was not doing that with a view to future operations." This criticism is just, but we may well ask what Lord Salisbury did when those future operations came. The story of how the Government authorized the withdrawal of the British ships from Port Arthur in deference to Russia's protest, and how the occupation of Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan followed, is too well known to need recapitulation. The writer, from personal experience, can answer for our loss of prestige and the humiliated feelings of the British sailors. Why was it done, unless from want of courage? Lord Salisbury himself said after the event that "there was no more effective method of driving them (the Chinese) to despair than allowing Port Arthur to be occupied by the Power which already stands over so enormous a portion of the frontier, and threatens them with so large a conquest."†

*"The Times," May 18, 1898.

†The official representative in the Foreign Office in the House of Commons, Mr. Curzon, said on February 8, 1898, that "the right to send ships of war to Port Arthur is a right which we enjoy together with other Powers under the Treaty of Tientsin, and when the occasion arises we shall do it again." The request of Russia that the two British cruisers should be withdrawn was as cool a piece of impudence as President

The most noteworthy fact of the present situation is that all the great nations have interfered in China, and can all claim, under the principle of "the stricken field" or the sacrifices that have been made, a voice in the settlement. If the court is at Peking the settlement is close at hand, and an initial victory can be obtained by breaking down the ceremony which surrounds it—that ceremony which is "the smoke of friendship." As regards compensation for losses incurred and punishment of high officials, the Powers may be expected to act more or less in unison. It is when the question of reform is raised that hostile camps are likely to be formed, and delays will be dangerous. We know that an honest government, with some security of tenure and bent on maintaining law and order, is essential to safe trading. Unfortunately, the history of French diplomacy in Morocco and Russian diplomacy in Turkey and Persia, shows that a weak reactionary government may be preferred by nations bent on turning the situation to their own advantage. If, however, the Emperor is alive at Peking, and, under the advice of the reformers and the guarantees of the trading Powers he elects to shift the capital to Nanking, it is difficult to see how Russian influence can checkmate the decision. We must, however, be prepared to deal in no tender spirit with any viceroys fomenting disturbances for the purpose of influencing his decision.

The antagonism between the Powers in this matter must come to light. In an appreciation of Russian diplomacy in this REVIEW for June, a writer says that "the diplomatist develops into perfection and blossoms most in the midst of ignorance, degradation and corruption." Russian agents have free hands and do not show them, though it does not take much study of their methods and that ambiguous proposition, the Russo-Chinese Bank, to conclude that one hand threatens and the other bribes. China as at present circumstanced is a peculiarly favorable field for such methods. To change these deplorable conditions is the instinctive desire of the trading Powers. It can only be done by a more

Krüger's ultimatum, having in view that Port Arthur was a Chinese port. As a naval officer, I know that the foundation of our naval policy is to "shadow" an enemy, the shadowing being commenced in time of peace with the view of bringing the enemy to action as soon as war breaks out. That policy has necessitated our ships following Russian ships during peace over thousands of miles of water and never losing sight of them. This being our fixed and indispensable naval policy, it was with a feeling of utter despair that we realized that Lord Salisbury had acquiesced in Russia's right to protest against British vessels being at anchor in a neutral port at the same time as her own. The sequel showed the folly of breaking with a well-tried policy.

courageous statesmanship than we have been accustomed to from "the mandarins of Downing street," as *The Times* calls the British Foreign Office. They have hitherto been so nervous of Russian diplomacy that an agreement has never been reached. Much of the antagonism lies in the history of the past, during which the statesmanship of the two countries has worked in a vicious circle. The methods of Russia create universal distrust. On the other hand this distrust induced Great Britain to place herself athwart Russia's vast, civilizing mission in Asia. It is impossible, and it ought not to be possible, to block a nation adding two millions yearly to her population, and with a huge territory in Asia, from access to the sea. These two antagonistic policies have bred each other's increase. We have already instanced the Port Arthur episode. The Russian Minister had prepared Peking for what was to happen. "My master," he said in effect, "is going to order the English out of Port Arthur." "The loss of British prestige," said a high official to the writer, "was terrible."

Korea is another instance of shuffling on both sides. Russia bound herself not to touch Korean territory, but the agreement was a verbal one and with China. This absurdity was reached by Great Britain carrying matters to the very verge of war. The latest Russian move for the lease of over 400 acres in a Korean port sweeps away all doubt as to the scope embraced by her diplomatic net. We can let the matter rest as a war issue until the reformed government is established in China. It will then be time enough to demonstrate to that government the strength of the maritime Powers by a guarantee of Korean territory. If Russian soldiers have been landed, Russia can be invited to withdraw them and to join in the agreement. A refusal must, of course, be followed by their eviction.

Korea is the natural outlet for Japan's expanding population and the future source of her food supply. Japan is under no illusions as to Russia's strength. Some time back the Marquis Ito visited Russia. On his return, a friend of the writer asked him what would happen when Japan and Russia fought. The great man threw out his arms and said with emphasis, "We will walk through them." At that time corruption was known to vitally affect Russia's armed forces, but we had not before us the Black Sea scandals, which brought some fifty or sixty responsible naval officials before a secret court-martial. Apart from this, the Jap-

anese count on actual physical superiority. If their officers lack the advantage of a high tradition, they have on the other hand the highest possible sense of personal honor in the service of their country, and the freshness of their army and navy has spared them from that dead weight of conservatism which causes so much that is obsolete to be retained. If Great Britain does not actively assist the Japanese they rely on her to hold back France and to rigidly enforce the treaty provisions which *prevent the Russian Black Sea Fleet from passing through the Dardanelles.* They are under no illusions as to the Siberian railway and its branches, extending to over 5,000 miles. It runs through country where their secret service can work, and where a small bribe can induce men to again and again risk their lives to wreck the railway until such time as they can land their forces. When Russia fights in the Far East it will be on the basis of her Eastern Siberian armies and their accumulated supplies. Including over 30,000 in garrison at Vladivostock, and allowing for railway employees and emigrants with military training, we may estimate these forces at about 150,000 men. The relative proportion of forces makes it probable that Japan will obtain command of the sea. Indeed, apart from the use of a sea base to terrorize China, the feverish defensive preparations at Port Arthur are due to the knowledge that either Japan or Great Britain can sweep the Russian fleet off the sea.* Hence the enormous stores of grain, tinned meats, and bullion which *The Times* correspondent says are being accumulated at Port Arthur, while 90,000 coolies are working on the fortifications. To wage war without success is, however, worse than futile. If, then, Japan can secure her sea communications and strike when she wills with ultimately five army corps in the field, it is difficult to see what Russia can hope for if she does not obey the mandate of the maritime Powers, including Japan.

The fact is Russia aims at achieving her conquests chiefly by peaceful methods. In twelve years' time it is hoped that the Siberian railway will be a double line. The sooner the better. The world is under a debt of obligation for this great feat, which, as a single line, will have cost nearly 400 million dollars. It is with a feeling of profound thankfulness that one reflects how this civilizing work might have been lost, and thirty battleships and

*Such detailed accounts of the forces in the Far East have already been published, that the writer has omitted to set these figures out afresh.

their crews provided in its place, a programme which would have gone far to redress for a time the grave handicap under which Russia must always lie through the want of continuity of her coast line. It is with a feeling of utter dismay that one contemplates this vast industrial work being shattered by war, at a time when Russia sorely needs Anglo-Saxon capital to reap the reward of her labors. It would seem, therefore, that Russia has every inducement to conciliate the rich maritime Powers until such time as it can no longer be said that she has bitten off in Asia "more than she can chew." One cannot conceal, however, the gravity of the coming crisis, if there is any ambiguity in the position of some of the Powers. The Crimean War need never have occurred had Prussia joined with the Franco-English alliance. So there may be war. No greater mistake could be made than to suppose that the British people, disgusted at the practical failure of their expectations in South Africa, will be chary of maintaining a strong policy in China for fear of a war with Russia. The experience of South Africa has given them the idea that India is invulnerable on the land side. They have astonished themselves with the large military forces they have put in the field. They have emerged from the war with an empire welded together, and with a military prestige which they had hitherto lacked. They are conscious that they will not act alone, and are united in support of a strong policy for reasons which can now be stated.

Great Britain's chief concern with foreign nations, said Cobden, is to trade with them. British subjects in all parts of the world attach unusual importance to the China trade. In China, then, "our chief concern" is deeply involved, for in 1899 we had over sixty-three per cent. of the trade, and sixty-one per cent. of the shipping entering the treaty ports. This being so, the Cobden or Manchester school, which has usually opposed a strong policy, will in this case be as deeply moved to support it. Throughout the Far East, the words China and trade are convertible terms with the Anglo-Saxon race. Talk to a Russian about China, and his discourse will be of territory and four thousand miles of frontier. Talk to a Frenchman, and he will tell you of Destiny, of the Divine task of protecting the missionaries (whom he has turned out of his own country), and of the sacrifices France has made in building up Indo-China. The Anglo-Saxon, on the other

hand, tells you he wants trade and he means to get it. But how? Here is a list of the requirements of the situation:

(1.) The breaking down of court etiquette.
(2.) The transfer of the capital to the seaboard.
(3.) Administrative reform.
(4.) *(a)* A Revenue-Board under Europeans or Americans.
(b) A Board of Communications with departments modeled on the plan of the Suez Canal Directorate.
(c) An international tribunal for the settlement of claims against China.
(5.) The complete opening of all ports under the Imperial Maritime Customs.
(6.) The abolition of *likin* or inland duties.
(7.) The right to be conceded to all races to hold property and to carry on business throughout China.
(8.) The acquirement by China, under the Board of Communications, of all railways through its territory.

These requirements mentioned above are goals to be reached, but those who travel along the path of reform know that the start is everything. It was America that commenced the reform movement in Japan by military pressure. By peaceful diplomacy Mr. John Hay obtained the signatures of the nations to that Magna Charta of China, the Open Door Policy, or equal trading rights for all. Now, if there is any truth in the saying that in the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king, then, if lust of territory blinds others to the interests of humanity, America should be able to intervene with great effect. To open up a thickly populated territory, larger than the United States and containing in its soil coal-beds estimated to cover twenty times the area of those of Great Britain, that will be one of the grandest diplomatic triumphs the world has ever seen. The issue is possibly even larger. If the impress of the West on the East is to be Anglo-Saxon, it must be the joint work of the two great branches of the race. And the extent of Anglo-Saxon and Slavonic influence in reconstructed China is to be largely determined in the next three months.

CARLYON BELLAIRS.

AMERICA'S SHARE IN A PARTITION OF CHINA.

BY DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

In a previous number of this Review,* I ventured to predict that the dissolution of the Chinese Empire was inevitable and not remote. Recent events have not diminished the probability of that disruption; and, however reluctant each Power may be to begin the process, the anti-foreign sentiments of the Chinese masses, not less than the collapse of their Government, will leave no practical alternative. The world will have to prevent anarchy in China, as well as to uphold the common interests of humanity and civilization. After proclaiming to the skies the super-excellence of the Open Door policy, the discovery will be made that the continued existence of a Chinese Empire is not necessary for its application, and that the states of the world can themselves come to a mutual understanding without the intervention of Manchu Emperor or Tsung-li-Yamen, to observe the common fiscal and commercial policy which is illustrated by the phrase of the "open door." The case of Central Africa will be cited to justify the summoning of a conference for the division of spheres, and also for the proclamation of the principles by which the Powers will regulate their conduct and action for the general good. The adoption of this course may come at any moment; on the other hand, it is quite possible that an amelioration of the situation in China may lead to its adjournment. But, whether imminent or deferred, it is the only course that will prevent China from falling under the exclusive domination of Russia, which would be the gravest menace for everybody.

The practical question which the American public has to decide, and which I wish to invest with some interest for American readers, is, What will be America's share in a partition of China?

*North American Review for March, 1899.

I am aware that there is a preliminary question still nominally undecided, as to whether the American people should interest or at all events commit, themselves in problems of government and conquest beyond the limits of their continent. Very few American citizens are not asking themselves the question, Can we wisely, or even possibly, depart from the Monroe doctrine so as to include dependencies and conquests in the Republic? Even with regard to the Philippines, America's by the sword, where the task is not rendered more complicated and difficult by the interpolation of any outside claims or influences, as must be the case in China, no final, irrevocable decision has yet been taken toward laying the foundation stone of an American Colonial Empire. However reluctant the American people may be to take the plunge into the unknown, it seems to the on-looker that they have gone too far to draw back without loss of dignity and self-respect. They cannot make themselves a party to a hollow and ephemeral gift of autonomy to the Philippines, when they must know that their withdrawal would be at once followed by the enforcement of the German pretensions, which they only just anticipated two years ago. Committed to the task of ending Spanish misrule in the Pacific, neither the timidity arising from inexperience in colonial administration, nor the engrossing pursuit of material prosperity under conditions which make the United States "the spoilt child of Fortune" among the nations, will allow them to take their hand from the plough till their work is done. Nor can it be supposed for a moment that the people of America will voluntarily decline to take a share in the arrangement of the affairs of China because it presents difficulties, and must entail responsibilities. The modifications introduced into the Monroe doctrine for the comparatively small local question of the Philippines will have to be enlarged or extended so far as to embrace the vast, complicated and pregnant problem of China.

Evidence of these truths has already been afforded in the prominent part American diplomacy took in obtaining general assent to the theory of the Open Door, which represents common interest among all States that will prove far more durable than the Chinese Empire. The enforcement of this principle has to be provided for, not merely during the uncertain life of the existing Chinese administration, but also under the far more onerous conditions that will come into force when it has disappeared.

Something far more definite and binding than the promises given to Mr. Conger will be needed to keep ambitious potentates and aggressive cabinets in the straight path of tolerance for others. The United States have made a formal and emphatic statement as to what they expect from other Governments. They have demanded unrestricted trade privileges and freedom, the whole of China is to be free from prohibitive duties, and all the Treaty Powers are to enjoy equal rights and the same tariff. The assent given to these demands, under one set of circumstances, is not to be ignored or put aside because new conditions have supervened. But to keep it in force will require far more vigorous action than was expected when "the open door" first became a popular phrase. It will not be enough for the United States Government to express a hope or a wish, to qualify its military preparations with a declaration that, in no eventuality, are they intended for war, or to leave England to bear alone the stress and heat of the day. The United States took an honorable lead in the process of arranging the Chinese question through Mr. Conger's dispatch. They cannot back out of the whole business because events have moved with unexpected celerity, or because dark clouds appear on the political horizon. They must see the game out, whether it has to be played on the green cloth of diplomacy or "the ensanguined field of Mars." A regretful glance backwards is permissible, but the American people have crossed the Rubicon of imperial responsibility.

Having done so, they must equip themselves so that they may meet these new obligations with a dignity and skill worthy of their name and power; and the point which I expressly wish to bring before them is that they should supplement the accepted theory of the Open Door with a policy that will take its place at the approaching critical moment, and that will second England's efforts to prevent Russia's obtaining the preponderance in China. The Open Door theory possesses obvious recommendations, and it will continue to serve as a connecting bond between the Governments when China has been broken into fragments. But its chances of future, practical value depend on the acquisition by those who advocate it of adequate territorial jurisdiction, or rather of spheres of influence in the future partition of China. Unless this precautionary measure is taken, it may reasonably be feared that the Open Door theory will be exploded, to the loss and

confusion of those who may have clung to it too long. Therefore, wisdom dictates that deliberately and in good time each of the great Powers should indicate and claim what it considers would be its best sphere of influence and responsibility in a partition of China. The claim might not have to be enforced for a long time, if at all; as the work to be accomplished in China should be rather of a constructive than a destructive character. Each Power would accept the responsibility of maintaining order, security and freedom of trade, besides other Treaty rights, within its sphere; and, in the first place, there would be little or no interference with the existing Chinese administration or system of laws. Partition would not necessarily mean conquest, and it is probable that the Chinese themselves would create, with very little guidance or direction, administrations that would suffice for all practical purposes and render any conquest unnecessary. The work that has to be done in China is creative and restorative. A better feeling toward foreigners has to be evoked, and something like ordinary honesty and efficiency has to be restored to Chinese government.

The task, even in its most restricted sense, is too big to be entrusted to any single State. There are, indeed, only two States which would seriously think of undertaking it with a general mandate, or in pursuit of their own separate ambitions. They are Russia and Japan; and to neither could the rest of the world safely entrust the disciplining of China's millions, and their absorption in the systems of those two aggressive Empires. England, but only with America's co-operation, might have the strength to bring the work to a successful ending for the common good, but she has not the will. Public opinion in England would regard as a madman the individual who would suggest adding the burden of a Chinese Empire to that already borne in India and South Africa. It will support a compromise, a postponement of responsibility in the Far East, as long as possible; and, when it finds that a decision must be taken, the widest range of its action will be within the sphere which has already been denoted as belonging to British interests. There is no want of sincerity in the timely decision to supplement the adhesion to the Open Door principle with the formation of a clear and definite plan to make the phrase a reality in the part of China which is essential to Pan-English trade. That plan has been adopted with greater

vagueness and uncertainty than the importance of the matter and the perils of the hour demand, but still with sufficient clearness so long as the heart of the Empire beats true. The Yangtsze Valley has been declared a British reservation, and the statement has received solemn indorsement by appearing in a Blue Book. As all the world knows, it does not depend on the official imprimatur; its value is bound up in English naval superiority.

England is not the only Power that has defined, so far as words go, a sphere of influence. France has acted similarly in Southern China, where, with greater precision but less power, she has laid claim to the provinces of Kwang-se, Kwei-chow and part, if not the whole, of Yun-nan. It is unnecessary for the moment to inquire how far that claim violates the reversionary rights of India in the hinterland of Burmah. In the same way as France has done, Germany has announced that she regards the province of Shan-tung as specially appertaining to her, and the theory of "the hinterland" is one that the countrymen of Prince Bismarck know how to work for all it is worth. The German appetite is so good that, in any partition of China, one province would scarcely suffice to satisfy it. Japan also, with one paw over on Corea, claims the province of Fuh-keen and its admirable port of Foochow. Italy will not resign her hopes of San-mun Bay, Austria has still to be satisfied, and Belgium will claim a "neutral" port, or settlement perhaps, at Hankow, as a mode of adjusting some future Anglo-Russian difference. All these Powers have more or less clearly announced their expectations that a certain piece of Tom Tiddler's ground is to fall to their share. Two States alone have held back from making any similar declarations, Russia and America, but from very different motives. Russia regards as her sphere the territory covered by her Cossacks, and the watchword of her extreme representatives is that the whole of China, and indeed of Asia, is to fall to her share. With such views, the definition of a sphere in any circumscribed portion of China would be useless.

America has not defined a sphere of influence or action, because she has not long approached the consideration of the subject with any serious intention of taking part in its settlement. Recent events have had much to do with any decision she may have formed or be in process of forming; and, for a time, the belief in the Open Door panacea may have encouraged the hope that

no more definite or committing step need be taken than to call upon the Governments to subscribe to an admirable general principle. The extraordinary outbreak of animosity in China against all foreigners, accompanied by the collapse of the existing government, so far at least as the discharge of its responsible functions goes, has dispelled these expectations, and brings home to everybody the need of prompt and strenuous action. While it is tolerably clear what direction the plans of other Powers will take, over and beyond the assertion and enforcement of certain common rights and principles which none of them is yet disposed to see broken or destroyed in China, the plans of the United States are still shrouded in darkness, because they have not, as a matter of fact, been formed. The time has arrived, however, when a decision cannot wisely be any longer deferred, because the area of unappropriated, or rather unclaimed, sphere in China is rapidly diminishing and may soon disappear. Of course, there is no need for a decision if the United States are content to play the passive part of a mere looker-on in the settlement of the Chinese question, and to limit their diplomatic action to the enunciation of admirable platitudes. But they can only stultify themselves in China at the cost of future losses and even dangers; for, in the evolution of the Chinese people, is wrapped up the destinies of the human race.

Taking the more natural view of what America's policy will have to be, and assuming that she, like other Powers, will have to supplement her support of the general principle of the Open Door, with a claim to a definite sphere in China, the practical question follows, What and where is that sphere to be? The diminishing area available renders a prompt decision necessary, for America may find herself supplanted by other contestants. Speaking practically, there are only two areas on the extensive seaboard of China left available that would suffice in themselves to meet America's claims and legitimate expectations. They are, first, the province of Che-keang, with the ports of Ning-po and Hang-chow, the famous Kinsai of Marco Polo; and, secondly, the northern part of the province of Kwang-tung, with the port of Swatow, to which might be added, by arrangement with Japan, Amoy, across the frontier of Fuh-keen. There would be some disadvantages in encroaching on a different province, and if America would accept the responsibility for Canton, there would be no

necessity to claim Amoy, which would thus be left in the Japanese sphere. The opinion may be hazarded that the province of Che-keang represents the preferable American sphere. It is more compact, and the immediate responsibilities would not be such as to deter or discourage American administrators on the threshold of their task. Canton itself represents the most difficult separate problem in China, because it is a focus of anti-foreign animosity and of perhaps the greatest ruffianism in the whole country. The Power accepting responsibility for the Kwang-tung province will, sooner or later, have to deal with it.

When the question as to what America's sphere in China should be, first presented itself to my mind, the most attractive form seemed to be a joint Anglo-American sphere, because it could have embraced a larger part of China, and thus present a national form of government south of the Yellow River (Hoang-ho). But America has held back too long, and opinion is too much divided in the States to render such a project practicable. The enormously preponderant interests of England in China render it impossible for her to delay her measures for the convenience of any one else, or to subordinate her policy to the movements and intentions of any other Power. An Anglo-American sphere would be an ideal arrangement; but, unfortunately, American opinion is not sufficiently pronounced at this moment to render it practicable. We must, therefore, fall back on the separate sphere for America, which, practically speaking, can only be established in two quarters. The first step in the claim of a sphere is easy and surprisingly simple. The United States Government, like the German, the Japanese, the French and the English Governments before it, makes the announcement that it regards, let me say, the province of Che-keang as its sphere. The statement is duly noted. Nobody protests, nobody applauds, yet on Time's iron tablets every one knows that an important notch has been made. America will then have left the benches to enter the arena.

Having denoted the sphere, America becomes an active partner with the other Powers in the regulation of the Chinese question, and she commits herself to the specific task of doing what good government, security of life and trade demand in her sphere. How it is to be done is a question for the future and also for each Government to settle according to its own lights. The

preliminary stage of study and investigation will probably prove one of many years, and in some of the spheres active intervention, in any other form than advice and possibly admonition, would never become necessary. A partition of China in the manner indicated does not necessarlly imply its conquest. It signifies, primarily, the easier treatment of a vast subject, by its subdivision among a number of interested parties or States. It also signifies for the rest of the world that no single State shall be permitted to develop and utilize the latent strength and resources of China for its own purposes and policy. The policy of partition among spheres of interest and, if necessary, of action may be described as one of precaution and vigilance. By directly interesting the great body of the Powers in the work, a policy of assurance may be considered to have been taken out against the undue aggrandisement of any one of them. When the Governments announce that they are directly interested in what happens or has to be done at one spot, they will watch more closely what is being done at other spots, lest it should encroach on their rights or prove the harbinger of peril to the common interest and weal. It is a partition of interest, interference and control to which the world is being invited in China, and not of conquest. The present events, however they turn out, must prove fatal to the existing Chinese Government. The period of hoodwinking by the Tsung-li-Yamen must be ended, as well as that of irresponsibility among the officials with whom we have to conduct business. Whether the Chinese authority be an Emperor or a Viceroy, it must be clear, first, that he understands the rights of those who are in treaty relations with his country and possess formally conceded privileges; and, secondly, that he has the power as well as the will to perform his part of the transaction. We may pity the ill-starred and well-meaning young Emperor, Kwang-hsu, but we cannot safely regard him as the *deus ex machinâ* who is to save the situation. And if Kwang-hsu is not possible, then it may reasonably be doubted whether any other member of the present ruling Manchu family would be eligible. For it cannot be overlooked that the present outbreak has been mainly due to the Manchu element in the Government, and to the bitter and implacable hostility of the Princes of the reigning House. It almost looks as if the Tartars, believing their supremacy to be menaced between the demands of the Foreign Powers and the

propaganda of the native Chinese Reform movement, had decided to enter upon a life and death struggle with the foreign devils, in the hope of expelling them forever and thus saving their own position. To entertain such a scheme reveals no doubt extreme ignorance, but all the available evidence before the Boxer outbreak pointed to the conclusion that nothing had been learnt at Peking; and those in diplomatic relations with the Chinese reported, after Li Hung Chang's return from Europe, that both he and the Dowager Empress had become more reactionary than ever. Among the princes, ministers and diplomatists of the existing rotten régime in China there is none capable of forming a new, sound administration. They are more than incapable; they are not even willing.

Whatever chance of internal reform there may be in China must be sought for in a different direction, and new men can alone supply the material out of which a reformed administration can be constructed. That such men are to be found cannot be doubted; and the example of Kang-yu-wei is encouraging for those who believe that, amid the chaos of Chinese affairs, and the catastrophes still awaiting the ancient system of their race, the Chinese will themselves be able, with some external assistance and direction, to restore order in their own household in, say, the next half century. They have the old Confucian dictum that "after long union must come disunion, and after that again will be reunion," and they know that seven centuries have elapsed since the Middle Kingdom was divided between the Lungs and the Kins, and that before them the sub-division of the country into several kingdoms was no uncommon feature in its history. The fact that daunts foreigners in prescribing for the sick man of the Far East, viz., that he may go to pieces under treatment, has no terrors for a Chinese reformer, who knows that the provinces could be grouped into kingdoms, and that any amelioration of the situation must first be local and progressive before it becomes general and national. If thoughtful and instructed Chinese were taken as counsellors by the foreigners in each of the spheres, their advice would be to interfere as little as possible with the fabric of the existing administration, and indeed to restrict all interference at first to restraining the corruption of the officials, controlling the revenue and expenditure, and softening the cruel penal code. These changes would be so popular that little

or no coercion would be needed to give them effect. The direct responsibility incurred by the partitioning Powers would be far less than is thought, and the task that seems so formidable at a distance might, on closer inspection, prove exceedingly light. That it is a task for the good of the world cannot be doubted, and it is equally certain that sooner or later the Powers will have to take it in hand. What is not so certain, for the moment, is whether the United States will lend a hand in the work, or stand aloof.

This uncertainty brings us back to the question with which we started, "Where and what America's share in a partition of China is to be." A decision on the question cannot be safely deferred. The area left open is diminishing, the number of competitors is increasing, and those who face the responsibility before all the Treaty Powers in China will not show any consideration for those who shirk it, when the rewards have to be divided. The responsibility is not adequately faced by declarations in support of an Open Door, when the mansion behind it is in flames. The period when Mr. Conger's dispatch was the feature of the question is quite recent in point of time, but it is already ancient history. A momentous decision has to be taken, and that within a brief period, as to whether America will participate in the imminent disruption of the Chinese Empire. Her standing out will not prevent the contingency, which may be pronounced inevitable; but it will somewhat alter the form in which the problem will present itself for solution. It will be a form more unfavorable and more onerous for England, the champion of the Open Door under all circumstances, and the abstention of the United States will encourage not only Russia, but France and Germany also, to make their spheres exclusive to outside trade and special reserves for their own. The consequences of this shrinking from honorable responsibilitiy at the psychological moment for action must be felt by America herself, not so much, perhaps, in the immediate present as in the future; but I will not obscure the fact that it must also prove very injurious to England, who is in special need at this moment of moral support and backing. She has to face the open rivalry of Russia, the secret rancor of France, and the very questionable good faith of Germany. The alliance of Japan alone is not sufficient to enable her to successfully confront so formidable a coalition, based on a common sentiment of jealousy

and dislike. Only the hearty co-operation of America can adjust the balance, and warm the chilled friendship of Germany into something like community of action.

The partition of China, which recent events have rendered practically certain, is not as formidable a contingency as has been imagined, provided that America agrees to take her legitimate share in it. Far from precipitating the arrival of Armageddon, as some alarmists affect to believe, it would tend to peace, because separate ambitions have to be subordinated to the general opinions and wishes of the Powers. America's abstention would alter the outlook, and the Continental Powers would combine to squeeze England, when war would inevitably follow for the maintenance of her Empire. If she were beaten by numbers, that dire event would signify the door more firmly closed than ever in China, and the United States would be the next mark of an anti-English league. If she were victorious, there would still remain on the debit side the cost and sacrifices of an unnecessarily colossal struggle, due to the abstention of America, with the consequent alienation of two great, kindred nations, which acting together might control and improve the destinies of the world.

I hope I have made it clear that the partition policy in China does not imply conquest. It would be an acceptance of responsibility, and each partner would agree to do a certain portion of work. The Governments having agreed among themselves that the only practical way of dealing with the Chinese problem is to sub-divide it into certain parts for each of them to work upon, would in the next place hold a conference for the enumeration and acceptance of common principles of action, and for the division of the responsibilities of the defunct Chinese Empire.

It would thus be made clear that the Powers had resolved to treat the Chinese question as a common interest, and to take timely steps to prevent the Yellow Peril from becoming a menace to them all. The work in which America is asked to take her share is a highly honorable one, and from the human point of view of the deepest interest. She can only refuse her co-operation by taking a lower seat in the family of nations, who will see in her abstention the selfish indulgence of her good fortune in possessing a position of splendid isolation.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

CAUSES OF ANTI-FOREIGN FEELING IN CHINA.

BY GEORGE B. SMYTH, PRESIDENT OF THE ANGLO-CHINESE COLLEGE, FOOCHOW.

WHAT are the causes of the present anti-foreign outburst in North China, and what are the reasons for the bitter anti-foreign spirit which prevails throughout the Empire, and which is kept from springing into universal action only by the firmness of some enlightened and far-seeing Viceroys? I wish to answer both these questions, and in the order in which I have here stated them; though it would probably be more logical to answer the more general question first, as the present situation is to a large extent but a specially malignant outbreak of a disorder which infects the whole Chinese system. Nevertheless, as the terrible crisis in North China is the subject of more immediate interest, it will not be inappropriate to consider it before taking up the larger subject which the second question presents. In discussing these questions, my chief desire is to be entirely fair; and yet it may happen that some will think me too warm an advocate of the Chinese. I shall, indeed, have to present the Chinese side, since no one can justly write of the antagonism of China toward foreigners without showing how large a share the foreigners themselves have had in producing it. The subject is on that account not a pleasant one for us of the West to think of; for, in studying it, we shall see much to be ashamed of, and find that much of the prejudice and hatred of Western men and Western institutions of which we so bitterly complain in the Chinese is due to ourselves, to the way in which we introduced ourselves among them, and to the way in which we have often since treated them. Western injustice toward the East is the cause of much of the Eastern hatred of the West. Nay, more, it will be seen that, when we were moved by the purest and loftiest motives, we did not succeed in making

ourselves welcome. Through ignorance or zeal or the coincidence of unhappy accidents, our very benevolence has itself been misunderstood and offensive.

The first question, as to the causes of the present anti-foreign outbreak in North China, may be put in another form: Who are the Boxers, and how and why have they become what they are? For these people are everywhere considered the cause of the present disturbance, and the chief agents in its murderous crusade against foreigners.

The Boxers are a patriotic secret society; but, as in the case of all other such associations in China, their origin and history are difficult to trace. Though it is but a year since the society began to attract public attention by its depredations against foreigners, it is said to have been in existence for several years. It seems at first to have been partly an athletic association, and partly a kind of mutual protective organization, for defense against the roving bands of robbers which sometimes infest the province of Shan-tung; and it was called by the name which has since become infamous, the "Righteous Harmonious Fist," translated for brevity by the short and expressive word "Boxers." It is certain that it showed no special hostility toward the native Christians, and gave no trouble to missionaries or other foreigners. The question, then, is how to account for the change which made of this society of men, associated to oppose the lawlessness of freebooters, the most cruel and blood-thirsty anti-foreign organization in the history of China. The reasons must be sought in the recent history of Shan-tung, and they are not hard to discover.

Up to the fall of 1897, Shan-tung enjoyed an excellent reputation for its treatment of foreigners and native Christians; indeed, there were more Christians in that province than in any other in the Empire, except Fuh-keen. On the 1st of November of that year, however, there was a riot in which two German Catholic missionaries were brutally murdered, and Germany promptly seized upon the crime as a pretext for what it had long contemplated, the seizure of a portion of Chinese territory. On the 14th, Admiral Diedrichs landed troops at Kiao Chow, and negotiations were entered upon for the formal cession to Germany of that which she had already seized. On the 6th of the following March, a treaty was signed at Peking by which the country round about the Bay of Kiao Chow, as far inland as the neighboring hills, was ceded

to the German Empire for ninety-nine years; the Governor of Shan-tung was dismissed, six other high officials removed, an indemnity of 3,000 taels paid, and a promise made to build three "expiatory" chapels. Germany obtained in addition a concession for two railways in the province, and the right to open mines within a region of territory twenty kilomètres wide along them. These were hard terms, but that which was most bitterly resented was the seizure of territory. This high-handed act worked an ominous change in the attitude of the people toward foreigners, and especially Germans. It was not safe for Germans in small companies to travel in the interior, and three who later unwisely did so were attacked, though they fortunately escaped with their lives. To punish the perpetrators of what the German Government chose to consider another unprovoked crime, the commander of Kiao Chow immediately sent troops to the scene of the attack, and they burned down two villages. This harsh and indiscriminate retaliation, in which innocent suffered as well as guilty, inflamed the people to madness, and many foreigners predicted serious results. These were not long in coming. A bitter anti-Christian, anti-foreign spirit showed itself throughout the province, which was later intensified by the Imperial Decree of March 15th of last year, issued on the demand of France, conferring practically official rank on Roman Catholic bishops and missionaries. The position of equality with Viceroys and Governors thus given to the bishops, and equality with provincial treasurers, provincial judges, taotais and prefects given to the various orders of priests, together with the right of interview without the mediation of consul or minister, gave the Roman Catholics an influence of which the people had good reason to believe they would not be slow to avail themselves. In lawsuits between their adherents and non-Christian people, the latter had, or thought they had, no chance; and, as in other provinces, there was general complaint of the constant interference of the priests in litigation.

Enraged at the injustice thus perpetrated, seeing in the missionaries and the Germans the causes of the country's humiliation, and in the conduct of the latter especially the beginning of an attempt by the foreigners to seize the province and, finally, the whole Empire, the Boxers began the series of crimes which have since made them infamous, preached a patriotic, anti-Christian, anti-foreign propaganda, and resolved to drive from the country

the intruders, and all that they represented. They also made claims to strange spiritual powers to influence the public. They practised hypnotism, and the effects which they thus produced on individuals awed the multitude into a belief in their possession of mysterious, supernatural powers. It came in time to be believed that they could make those who joined them impervious to the bullets of foreigners. The "Boxer spirit" movement, as it accordingly came to be called, spread like wildfire, and led to frightful excesses, the burning of churches, the slaughter of native Christians, the murder of missionaries.

Such, in brief outline, is the history of the rise of the Boxer movement in Shan-tung. But how did it come to spread till it covered the whole province, invaded the metropolitan province of Chi-li, took possession of the capital itself, and now holds within its grasp the persons, alive or dead we know not, of the ministers of the great Powers of the West? There is but one answer—by the connivance of the officials, by the treachery of the Governor of Shan-tung, acting under direct orders from the Empress Dowager herself. Had this wretched and cruel woman been so minded, and had she so ordered, the movement could have been crushed long before it became dangerous; but she refused even to attempt to put it down, and degraded any official who was honest enough to oppose it and protect the Christians and foreigners within his jurisdiction. And all because she thought she saw in the strength of the uprising, in its fierce fanaticism, in its murderous hostility to foreigners the means of accomplishing the most cherished ambition, both of herself and of the bigoted crew of Manchu reactionaries who surrounded her, the expulsion from China of all foreigners and of all the ideas, religious, social and political, which foreigners represent. That this charge is not groundlessly made is shown by the simple fact that Yuan-Shih-kai, the Governor of Shan-tung, and his predecessor, Yu-Hsieu, under both of whom the Boxer uprising has grown, were her own appointees, acting under her immediate orders. The *North China Herald,* the best informed and most ably edited foreign paper in China, in its issue of June 6th, after showing how Governor Yu, because of his intense hatred of foreigners and all Chinese who had anything to do with them, gave open help and encouragement to the Boxers, for which his dismissal was demanded by one of the foreign ministers, says:

"There can be no question about the Boxers having been encouraged by the government, because Yu Hsieu, their patron, after having been recalled to Peking from Shan-tung, was specially honored by the Empress Dowager, and given the Governorship of Shan-se. Yuan-Shih-kai, the new Governor of Shan-tung, could easily have put down the Boxers when he first went to Chinanfu, the provincial capital, but he was not allowed to."

Who prevented him? Who could have prevented him but the Empress Dowager, to whom he owed his appointment, and whose servant he was? These two men, Yu and Yuan, allowed the fiendish work to go on, because she wished it; at a word from her, they would have crushed it. Again, the conduct of which she is here accused is in complete accord with her course ever since, in September of 1898, she deposed the unhappy Emperor for his too zealous devotion to reform, and took the power of the throne into her own hands. Since then, she has seized and beheaded six leaders of the Reform party, banished many more, and dismissed from office every official, not too powerful to be touched, who has shown the least sympathy with the new order. Kang-Yu-Wei, the chief adviser of the Emperor, and the head and front of the movement, she has pursued with implacable vengeance; as recently as the 14th of last February, she offered a reward of a hundred thousand taels for his capture, alive or dead.

That the Boxer outbreak has thus grown to its present terrible proportions largely through her support, given both openly and in secret, is not a matter of inference, but of positive knowledge. If, as late cablegrams report, she has herself fallen a victim to its fury, and has been made a prisoner in the palace, or been poisoned, by the Boxer leader, Tsai-Yi, the Prince of Tuan, one of her special favorites—a man to whom, by a decree of January 31st last, she granted two extra steps in official rank and a eulogistic tablet written by the imperial hand, and whom by a decree of the 7th of March she made Second President of the Imperial Clan Court—it only shows how well her ministers have learned the lesson which she taught them. The fury of even her hatred of foreigners was too mild for some of her favorites. If she seems to have shrunk from the horrors to which her own infamous course has led, they shrink at nothing, not even at the attempted wholesale butchery of the foreign ministers themselves. But the guilt of the movement, with its awful record of crimes, the widespread destruction of property, the massacre of native Christians, the

murders of foreigners, the whole terrible tragedy now being enacted in the North, is chiefly hers.

It is time now to consider the second question proposed at the head of this article: What are the reasons for the bitter, anti-foreign spirit which prevails throughout China? The subject is particularly important, inasmuch as this feeling appears to be of comparatively recent origin. The Chinese have not always shown the hostility to foreigners which so generally characterizes them now. Colquhoun, in his "China in Transformation," says:

"Before the advent of the Manchus China maintained constant relations with the countries of Asia; traders from Arabia, Persia, and India trafficked in Chinese ports and passed into the interior. The tablet of Sian Fu shows that missionaries from the West were propagating the Christian religion in the eighth century; in the thirteenth, Marco Polo was not only cordially received, but held office in the Empire, and at that time the Christian religious ceremonies were tolerated at Peking, where there was an Archbishop. To the close of the last Chinese dynasty (1644), the Jesuit missionaries were well received and treated at the capital; and, as Huc remarks, the first Tartar Emperors merely tolerated what they found existing. This would seem to show conclusively that the Chinese did not formerly have the aversion to foreigners which is usually assumed."

How are we to account for the change? No one cause produced it; it is the result of a cumulation of causes all working toward the same end.

As the beginning of the change coincided in a general way with the Manchu conquest, in the first half of the seventeenth century, the first and most obvious explanation is that it is due, in part, to the policy of the conquerors. This is the view taken by Huc in his well-known book, "The Chinese Empire." He says:

"The Manchoos were, on account of the smallness of their numbers in the midst of this vast Empire, compelled to adopt stringent measures to preserve their conquest. For fear that foreigners should be tempted to snatch their prey from them, they have carefully closed the ports of China against them, thinking thus to secure themselves from ambitious attempts from without."

With the exception of the large-minded Kang-Hsi, the greatest of all the Manchu sovereigns, this has been the general policy of the present dynasty. No concession has ever been gained from it except by force, or the threat of force. It has done everything in its power to make friendly relations with the West impossible. It was only in 1842 that the first ports, Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai, were opened to commerce, and that after a

war in which China was worsted. The opening of ports in the Yang-tsze River was by way of indemnity for the murder of Margary, a British consular officer, in 1874. Others have been opened as the result of diplomatic threats, and still others in consequence of the war with Japan. It was by force, too, that China was compelled to enter into diplomatic relations with Western States. The right of their ministers to reside in Peking, and freedom of residence and travel in the interior, both had to be fought for, and were acknowledged only after defeat in war. The Manchu Dynasty has given nothing which was not wrung from it; it has made no concessions of its own accord; it has never taken a single step toward putting its relations with foreign powers on a footing of sincere friendship. And the policy of the rulers has been carried out by the Mandarins, most of whom have ceaselessly striven to make foreign residence in China a painful experience, and to embitter by every means in their power the relations between the foreigners and the people. The terrible situation in North China to-day is but the natural result of this exclusive, anti-foreign policy; the Manchus are making a last desperate effort to expel the West and all that the West stands for from the Empire.

In the changes which the ideas of foreigners, if allowed their proper influence on the people, would effect, they see their own destruction, and are fighting for that which for two centuries and a half they have exercised, the right to misrule and plunder the nation which they conquered. Unhappily, the people do not understand the facts, and centuries of precept and example have taught them to feel for the foreigner part of the hatred with which their rulers are drunk.

It would be fortunate if the Manchus alone were to blame for the anti-foreign feeling of China. Unhappily, the foreigners themselves have had a large share in creating it. The circumstances attending the first introduction of Europeans to the Chinese were such as to give that people the impression that the visitors were little better than pirates and murderers, and not a little has occurred since to deepen that unhappy feeling. "Rapine, murder, and a constant appeal to force," says Gorst, "chiefly characterized the commencement of Europe's commercial intercourse with China." When the first Portuguese traders visited that country in the sixteenth century, they were well received; but they

were soon followed by a horde of unscrupulous adventurers, who sometimes forced their way into the interior and committed high-handed acts of piracy. So incensed were the Chinese at this violence that, when Portugal, a few years later, sent an ambassador to Peking, he was sent back to Canton, thrown there into prison and finally executed.

Still more deplorable was the impression made by the Spaniards. After they seized the Philippine Islands in 1543, a great expansion of trade with China resulted; and such large numbers of Chinese settlers went there that in time they outnumbered the Europeans in the proportion of twenty-five to one. The Spaniards saw in this great influx of Chinese immigrants a menace to their own sovereignty, and they massacred the larger part of the defenceless and innocent Chinese.* The impression which such savage butchery of its people made on their native province of Canton may easily be imagined, and partly accounts both for the reception which the English met with in the following century when they first entered the Canton River, and for the fact that the people of that province are, with the exception of those of Hu-nan, the most truculent haters of foreigners in China.

The early Dutch and English adventurers had also a share in blackening the reputation of Europe in the East, and it is not surprising that the Chinese came in time to look upon all Europeans as barbarians, men whose only objects were robbery and war.

The period of unblushing barbarism came to an end at last, and Europe set about entering into relations with China on the principles of international law. But, even then, the claims made to equality, however reasonable and just, gave great offense to the Chinese Government and people. To understand this, it is necessary to consider a peculiarity of Chinese civilization too often overlooked—its age-long isolation.

The civilization of China is the development of its own national genius and life. Of no nation in the West can this be affirmed. The countries of America and Europe have been so closely related on terms of equality that the civilization of no one of them can be said to be entirely its own. They have so acted and reacted, one upon another, by physical force and moral and intellectual influences, that the civilized life of each is the development, not of its own national genius merely, but that modified

*See "China," by H. E. Gorst, pp. 202, 203.

in many and various directions by the civilization of each of the others. Vastly different have been the conditions under which the civilization of China has grown. With the exception of India, to which she owes Buddhism, I do not know to what other country she is indebted for anything. She has been surrounded by peoples who, in all the great qualities of life, were vastly inferior to her. She developed a splendid literature, an elaborate system of social customs, a noble system of ethics, and they are all her own. Her own, too, were some of the greatest inventions of man—gunpowder, printing, and the mariner's compass. Beginning at a time which antedates the birth of every other nation now living, she has developed, with the exception already noted, her own national life, learning nothing from her neighbors and teaching them all, the quick, intelligent Japanese no less than the slow, phlegmatic Corean. Such a history naturally taught her to look upon herself as the first of nations; she was acknowledged as such by all the nations around her. The inevitable result followed; she looked upon all other countries as her inferiors. When, therefore, men went to her from Europe, not only claiming equality, but professing to be able to teach her, it was a shock to the national pride not easy for the West to appreciate. It is not pleasant for a people who have thought themselves the chosen of the world, and who, it must be admitted, had, under the circumstances, some reason for thinking so, to be summoned to sit at the feet of men whom their peculiar history and recent experience had taught them to look upon as barbarians. The claim to equality, then, made by foreigners in their relations with China has been a cause of offense, a fruitful source of antagonism. If it be said that the claim was right, and that China has had time to learn the folly of her conservatism and the madness of her intolerant national pride, let it be remembered that the feelings of a nation do not easily change, that the prejudices of centuries cannot be overcome by the teachings of a decade.

Another source of friction and bitterness, this time with the Mandarins, has been the attempt to enforce some of the commercial clauses of the treaties, particularly those relating to the abolition of inland taxes on foreign goods. On such importations, between the port of entry and their destination in the interior, a tax called "likin" is levied at various customs barriers on the way. This is a serious burden on foreign trade, and it has been

provided by treaty that imported goods shall be exempt from such charges on payment at the port of entry of an extra sum equal to half the regular import tariff. As the duty so levied would all be paid to the Central Government, it follows that the local administration would thereby be deprived of a large part of its customary revenues. Two results would ensue—difficulty in meeting the expenses of the provincial governments, and a large curtailment of the perquisites or "squeezes" of the officials. It is often, indeed, claimed that the latter are simply robbery, and the cutting off of this source of personal revenue from the Mandarins would be an act of justice. But this is not entirely true. The salaries of the officials are so miserably inadequate to meet their necessary expenses that the officials are compelled to resort to various illegal methods to add to them. That they do so excessively, "squeezing" all that the business will allow, is but too true; but that does not alter the fact that the administrative system whose servants they are forces them to the practice of illegal and dishonest expedients. Before, therefore, the treaty clauses dealing with this subject can be quietly enforced, such administrative changes must be made as will remove from the provincial authorities their greatest temptation to robbery. Until this is done, and it will not be done without pressure from without, there will remain a fruitful source of official antagonism to foreigners, a cause of friction irritable alike to Chinese Mandarins and to foreign officials and merchants.

Missions and missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, have also added to the causes of antagonism. I am aware that this is denied by many of those who are interested in missions, but no one will question it who is acquainted with the facts. It is not wise to argue from the nobility of the missionary motive to its ready appreciation by the Chinese people. The motive, so apparent to us, is not equally apparent to them. They look at it through a medium of unfortunate accompaniments of which we never think. Apart altogether from the offense to the national pride involved in undertaking to teach a faith claiming to be higher than their own, the whole missionary movement is unhappily associated with conquest, and its toleration is the result of successful war. Noble, therefore, though the motives of the Christian Church are, its work is tainted by its association with force and conquest. To thoughtful Chinese familiar with the recent history of their country, the presence of the missionary in

every province, in country villages as well as in great cities, is a reminder of the national humiliation. There are, indeed, exceptions; there are among the leading classes men who look upon the Christian missionaries as China's best and only disinterested friends, and the number of such is happily increasing; but for the present at least the vast majority do not think so.

There are two things in missionary work which distinctly add to the causes of irritation—one, the teaching itself; the other, the partly foreign, partly Chinese political status of those who accept it. They are mistaken who suppose that, because of the excellence of Christianity, it must lead only to peace and has nothing in it to give occasion for offense. The preaching of it is not the innocuous thing which it is sometimes considered. Like every high moral force, when it confronts a lower, conflict is inevitable. The instinct of self-preservation compels the adherents of the old faith to fight for its existence. Christianity not only creates, it also destroys; it sets up new beliefs, new ideals, new standards of conduct, a new object of worship, but it pulls down the old. This is its necessary record everywhere else; it is its record in China.

In religious matters, the Chinese are among the most tolerant of men; but in their case Christianity is opposed to a practice which has prevailed from the very beginning of their history, on which they think the whole fabric of society is based. The opposition of Christianity to ancestral worship is what offends the Chinese most, for they consider it an attack on the most sacred of obligations, on the very foundation of society itself. Missionaries are aware of this, and most of them are scrupulously careful in speaking of it. I have heard many sermons and addresses by them in the seventeen years which I have spent in China, but never one in which the ancestral cult was spoken of offensively. But, while speaking tenderly, the opposition to it is there; the churches have adopted toward it a position of uncompromising hostility, and the people know it. Here lies one of the chief sources of popular hostility to foreigners, and there is no way of avoiding it, unless the policy of toleration be adopted which was followed by the early Jesuits. But, as this was rejected by the Catholics themselves on command of the Pope, it is not likely to be adopted by them again, and it certainly never will be by the Protestants. What, then, is to be done? The thoughtless, ignorant whereof they speak, will say: "Withdraw, rather than con-

tinue an enterprise so provocative of hostility." But this is impossible. The Christian Church must preach Christianity. To ask it to reject its missionary commission is to ask it to commit suicide. No nation has ever yet been Christianized without conflict, and no nation ever will be. Nevertheless, it is unwise not to recognize in the preaching of the new faith a source of antagonism, and it is unjust to censure the Chinese too severely for their opposition to what they do not clearly understand, to a process which they regard as destructive of the fundamental principles of their national life. With the years will come knowledge, but it will come only after opposition and strife.

Two lessons, at least, may be learned from this, namely, the tremendous responsibility which our Missionary Societies incur in sending missionaries to China, and the solemn obligation under which such responsibility puts them to send to that distant, difficult and dangerous field only the choicest men and women they can find. There is no service for which the selection of candidates should be so carefully made. The ordinary qualifications are not sufficient. Zeal alone will not do. Besides the passion for humanity, of which every missionary should be possessed, he should have in addition the great virtues of intellectual sympathy, the power of appreciating another's position, the ability to see the truth where it exists, and tact which is unfailing. With such qualities as these, the missionaries may hope in time to overcome prejudice, make their position clear, and win an acceptance for the great message which they preach. In that message only is China's salvation, for in it alone are the promise and the power to effect the moral regeneration which is her supreme need.

Another cause of bitterness in connection with missionary work is found in the peculiar political status of the native converts, and the immunity from various exactions which the treaties guarantee them. It is often asserted by opponents of missionaries that they are constantly interfering with the ordinary judicial processes of the country, saving their converts from the payment of taxes, and calling upon Consuls and Ministers, irrespective of treaty provisions, to interpose in their behalf. All these charges are untrue, so far, at least, as Protestant missionaries are concerned. Mistakes are sometimes made, but no men are more scrupulous than they in their observance of the laws of the land. Nevertheless, there are real sources of irritation in this connection which

cannot be denied. The clauses of the treaties which guarantee religious liberty to Chinese converts have usually been interpreted to mean that they shall not be persecuted for religion's sake, and, specifically, that they shall not be compelled to contribute to the maintenance of idol temples, or toward paying the expenses of idol processions. Under these heads, many cases are taken by the missionaries to the Consuls, who then refer them to the Chinese officials. Unfortunately, it sometimes turns out on investigation that the cases do not come within the treaty limits at all, but are old troubles, or even new ones, which the Christian complainants persuaded the missionary were instances of religious persecution. The embarrassment of such a discovery is painful, painful to the missionary who was deceived, to the Consul who took the case up, and to the Chinese Magistrate who tried it. Worse than all is the effect in the village where the parties to the trouble reside, where the Christian is accused of trying to use his relation to the foreigners to crush his neighbors. The resulting irritation and prejudice are lamentable in the extreme.

Even when the cases are genuine, and the Christians are declared by the Magistrate exempt from the exactions referred to, there are two parties offended; the people are angry because some of their neighbors are saved by foreign influence from a pressure which they themselves have to submit to and which becomes heavier in proportion as the Christians are relieved from it; and the Magistrate is humiliated because at the demand of a foreign official he has to give judgment against the wishes of a majority of his own people. Here, therefore, is another widespread source of popular irritation. But how is it to be avoided? The question is too complicated to be discussed here. Some would withdraw Consular protection altogether and leave the converts entirely to the laws of the land. In that case, fairness would demand that the missionaries be treated in the same way and be subject to the same laws. But no class of foreigners in China can be left without protection without endangering the interests, if not the lives, of all. Deny the protection of their country to missionaries, and all other foreigners will speedily find that the protection promised them will be of little avail. The problem is one for statesmen, the thing I wish to note being simply that the peculiar position of converts, the privileges and immunities they enjoy, are among the causes of the antagonism which the Chinese entertain toward

foreigners. These observations are made in no spirit of criticism, but with a sincere desire to draw the attention of the missionary authorities and the Christian public to the facts, in order that the subject may be thoroughly studied, and such regulations be adopted, if possible, as will lessen the area of friction and reduce the number of the causes of trouble.

In addition to all this, missionaries are often thought of as spies of their own governments; and by some of those who are familiar with the history of other parts of Asia, the fate of India is feared for their country. Many a time have I been asked what my Government paid me for coming to China, and when I answered, "Nothing," and showed that I had no connection with the Government whatever, my reply was evidently received with no little incredulity. Again, in the minds of many, the whole missionary movement is suspected because of the striking contrast between its professed aim and the conduct of some Christian governments toward China. And surely this cannot be wondered at. With Western missonaries preaching peace and Western governments practicing murder, it should not surprise us if the Chinese suspect the former as much as they fear the latter. You cannot go to a people with the Bible in one hand and a bludgeon in the other, and expect that they will accept either cheerfully.

Some European governments have been guilty, even in recent times, of the most atrocious conduct toward China. In 1884, a French fleet entered the Min River and anchored ten miles below the great city of Foochow, in Southeastern China, to frighten the government at Peking into paying an indemnity demanded by the French Minister for alleged guilty complicity in helping the people of Tonquin in their fight against the seizure of their country by France. When he failed, the case was given over to the Admiral, the French ships opened fire, and in less than an hour the Chinese fleet, with the exception of one ship, was destroyed and over 3,000 Chinese killed, and all without a declaration of war. The bodies of the dead floated out to sea on the tide, many of them were borne back on the returning current, and for days it was hardly possible to cross the river anywhere between the anchorage and the sea twenty miles below without seeing some of these dreadful reminders of French treachery and brutality. The people of the city were roused to fury, and the foreigners would have been attacked but for the presence of American and English

gunboats anchored off the settlement to protect them. If some of us had beeen killed the world would have rung with denunciation of Chinese cruelty, but the 3,000 victims of French guns would never have been thought of.

Two years ago the French perpetrated an equally atrocious outrage at Shanghai. Wishing to enlarge their settlement, they desired to obtain possession of a large rest house for the dead which belonged to the people of Ningpo. Failing in negotiations, the French Consul proceeded to tear down the surrounding walls. The people opposed; marines were landed from a French cruiser in the river; they fired on the crowd and killed twenty. The people of other nationalities at Shanghai prepared to defend themselves, but they all knew that any riots, if riots occurred, should be laid to the injustice and brutality of France.

The burning down of villages in Shan-tung by the Germans, to which I have already referred, was an act of the same character.

All these instances of the cruel use of force by foreigners were heralded far and wide by the Chinese newspapers, and the impression made on the people it is not hard to imagine. These papers have also made the reading public aware of the deprivations of territory recently suffered by China, and of the cool discussions of the dismemberment of the Empire indulged in by the foreign press. No wonder the people were humiliated and angry. Many a time have I been asked by thoughtful and patriotic Chinese when the end would come and China cease to be an independent State. All her finest harbors have already been taken; there is not a place on her coast where her fleet can rendezvous, except by the grace of foreigners. Port Arthur, a fortified harbor, on which millions were spent, has been leased to Russia; Wei-Hai-Wei, with its fortifications, on the coast of Shan-tung, to England; Kiao Chow, also in Shan-tung, with the finest bay on the coast of China, large enough to accommodate the fleets of the world, to Germany; and Kwang-Chau bay, on the southern coast of Kwang-tung, to France. There would be some justification for these seizures—for seizures they are, though called only "leases"—if they had been made in retaliation for broken pledges, for crimes for which the government was responsible; but every one knows that, with the apparent exception of Kiao Chow, and the exception is apparent only, they are all due to the mutual fears and mutual jealousies of foreign States. The sovereignty of China over her

own domain is not recognized; he who is strong enough may take what he pleases, and his neighbor, lest the balance of power be broken, may go and do the same. That under such circumstances the wrath of the people is aroused is no matter for wonder. The West cannot sow the wind in the East without having later to meet the terrible necessity of reaping the whirlwind.

I have tried to give a fair analysis of the causes of the anti-foreign feeling which prevails in China. It is not complete; there are other causes which might be mentioned. But I have given those which are most important, those which concern us most. It must be evident, I think, after studying them, that the antagonism of Chinese to foreigners is not altogether groundless; that foreigners themselves have had a large share in creating it. I trust that when the present fierce uprising is put down, when peace is restored to the distracted Empire, and the time for the settlement of claims has come, this painful fact will not be forgotten.

GEORGE B. SMYTH.

THE JAPANESE VIEW OF THE SITUATION IN CHINA.

BY A JAPANESE DIPLOMAT.

In view of the grave situation in China, which is growing daily more serious, it may not be superfluous to lay before the reading public an opinion regarding the problem from the Japanese point of view.

The present Chinese question, with which nearly all the great Powers are confronted, is not only a question of international politics, but it is also one of the most important social problems in the world. From what we can gather in regard to the motive of the so-called Boxers' rising, it seems that the object they had in view was originally a secret conspiracy directed against the Christian element in their country. Whether the rising was originally encouraged by any influence in the Imperial Court or among the administrative officials is not at all clear. I am rather inclined to think that the disturbance is the outbreak of a popular feeling of dissatisfaction, which has been gradually increasing, against foreigners among all classes of the Chinese, as the result of friction between Occidental and Oriental elements in the vast Empire of China.

In China, as in other countries in the Far East, foreigners and Christians are almost always put on the same level. A great number of foreigners are European or American missionaries, and practically the entire foreign population is Christian. The good work that has been done in China by these exponents of the Gospel cannot be disputed, but the lower grades of the populace, even when they have received a little education, do not always consider the bright and beneficial side of the missionary work. They often misunderstand the real object of the missionaries, who are in many instances looked upon as the pioneers of the "aggressive

foreign devils." Frequently their hereditary notion about religion is hurt by the teachings of the Gospel which are by no means consistent with the popular conception of religion. Besides, the indescribable difficulties of acquiring the national language cause the missionaries to be easily misunderstood by the people. There is no doubt that there have been a great many converts among the Chinese, but at the same time the susceptibilities of a large portion of the population have been hurt by the work of the missionaries.

Fault may be found with the missionaries for the way in which they carry out their work, but the magnitude of the difficulties they have to contend with, in the execution of their task, is beyond dispute.

The anti-Christian movement has thus been engendered; but, as I have already mentioned, "anti-Christian" means practically "anti-foreign." Thus the first anti-Christian movement began to be directed against foreigners on an immense scale. The first symptom of the anti-foreign rising was to be observed in the month of April last. I often hear sceptical people say that a certain Power is acting behind the Chinese Court, and that that Power, through the influence of the Court, had encouraged the movement so that an opportunity might arise of which it wished to take advantage. However, so far as my knowledge of the question goes, there is absolutely nothing to warrant this supposition.

The rising is, therefore, more of a social than of a political character. I think I am fairly right when I say that the leaders of the "I-Ho-Chuan" consider it their duty to their country to rid China of the Christians aid consequently of all foreigners.

Moreover, the recent demands for "lease" of their "sphere of influence" by several Powers, and the subsequent grant of these demands by the Chinese Government, gave a splendid pretext for this anti-foreign movement. This establishment of foreign Powers within the Chinese Empire, under the name of "spheres of influence," together with the popular imagination that the missionaries are the pioneers of the "aggressive foreign devils," went a long way to show the Chinese that the expulsion of foreigners from the shores of the Middle Kingdom was a highly patriotic deed to accomplish.

Besides being of a social character, the movement thus assumed the color of a political problem. In this connection I may further mention that there is also a large portion of the people

who are not at all satisfied with being governed by the present Manchu dynasty. Although it is not wholly consistent with the progress of the movement as it has been made known to the public so far, I am almost certain that these malcontents have joined hands with the rebels. It seems to me very likely that for the present they are playing the game together with the "Boxers" under the patriotic pretext of expelling the "enemies of the country," in the hope that some day there might arise a chance for them to turn against the present ruling dynasty. There are not always wanting shrewd opportunists ready to fish in troubled waters. Still, for the purpose of this article, this supposition may be put aside.

It would be a great injustice to the Chinese were one to assume that the mistaken idea of patriots of expelling foreigners is also shared by the enlightened portion of the population; but, at all events, it seems almost certain, to the great regret of the civilized world, that the "Boxer" movement is backed by the Imperial Court and also by the actual government, the principal members of which have recently been replaced by the bigoted Conservatives, notorious for their anti-foreign feeling. Although I am far from saying that there exists a state of war between China on the one hand and the great Powers on the other, the progress of events indicates that the Chinese authorities are defying the strength of the Powers, and that they are determined to expel the "foreign invaders." Instances in proof of this are not wanting. The Chinese regular troops resisted by force the advance of the allied forces, and it has been reported that a secret edict of the Empress Dowager ordered the dispatch of the Tientsin garrison to Taku to check the landing of the foreign troops. Whatever may be the attitude of the Peking Government toward the "Boxer" movement, the fact remains that they are entirely incapable of suppressing the disturbances, if they do not actually encourage them.

The Powers whose interests are threatened cannot remain mere lookers-on. Their representatives at Peking and their subjects are threatened with wholesale massacre. Their commerce is brought to a complete standstill. And all these regrettable incidents are to a very great extent due to ignorance of the outer world on the part of the Chinese. They must, therefore, be enlightened, they must be educated, and they must be punished for their ignorance and folly. The duty of enlightening a population of

400,000,000 souls rests entirely with the governments of the Powers concerned. The work is that of civilization, and that is why I described this question as one of the most momentous social problems in the world.

Ignorance must be swept away and the mischief punished, but to attain the object in view a certain amount of force must be employed. What would be the requisite amount of force largely depends upon the future progress of the disturbances. Supposing that the people of North China were to join hands with those of the South, then it would mean a tremendous war, a war against an immense and ancient Empire, with its population of some 400,000,000 souls, who would fly to arms to the cry of "Expulsion of all foreigners."

At the commencement of the present crisis it was hoped that the rising might be localized, but now it is too late, and there is a fear that the above supposition may be realized.

In addition to the difficulty of suppressing the disturbances, more difficult questions will arise after the "Boxers" have been reduced to submission. It is certain that these questions will sooner or later be submitted for solution. What, then, will those questions be? In the first place, there will be the problem about the future relations of China with the other Powers. The question in regard to the reorganization of the naval and military system will be another important point. A guarantee against the recurrence of such events as the present disturbance will surely be demanded by the Powers. Compensation for the damage done by the mobs to the lives and properties of the different Powers must also be settled. These will be the immediate questions that will follow the suppression of the present disturbances; and beyond that no one knows what will be the probable outcome of the "Chinese Crisis."

In dealing with these questions, let us first consider the ultimate objects which the Powers are making strenuous efforts to attain. China, with its already immense and still rapidly increasing population, affords to the whole world the most promising market for the future. The soil is generally fertile and the climate salubrious. Owing to the extremely conservative character of the people, they have persistently opposed the introduction of modern appliances of civilization, and the result is that they are uneducated and the resources of the country are undeveloped. It

is sad to see a vast Empire like China remaining far behind other countries in the way of national development. This fact is a great misfortune to China, first of all, and to the world at large it is a source of extreme danger, and this danger has now actually arisen.

In the history of the world there was a time when events were actuated by human sentiment, chiefly by differences of race and of religion. But nowadays diplomacy is entirely guided by material interests, and there is a growing tendency to allow commercial interests to play the first part in influencing diplomacy. In the days when almost all the nations of the world were governed by all powerful monarchs, international questions, as well as internal affairs, were frequently influenced by the mere caprice of the rulers. But those ages of despotism have passed away, and in the present generation public opinion or the voice of the people governs everything. Then, what is public opinion? It is nothing short of the manifestation of public and national interests. If this statement is correct, and if national politics are governed by the national interests of the country, international problems must also be mainly influenced by the material interests of each of the nations concerned, and not only by their sentiments. I make especial mention of this because the present Chinese question concerns several countries of different races and religions, and also because the question should not be treated from the religious and racial point of view. The question is one of humanity and affects the interest of almost all the great Powers on the face of the globe. Of all the material interests of a nation, the commercial is the most important. The age of agriculture is gone by, and in the present age commerce is in its prime, backed by various branches of industry; this is the commercial era, and the aim of every country is directed toward the development of its commerce. Development of commerce means progress of civilization, and commerce must go hand in hand with peace.

China is a great commercial country; or, at least, the Chinese have a splendid capacity for becoming the ablest merchants in the world. Chinese merchants have an immense trading capital at their disposal; their commercial institutions and banking systems are perfect; and, above all, their honesty, which is the best policy in commerce, is indisputable. These remarks may appear rather strange to the public, but persons who know the Chinese well are agreed on these points. The social condition of China is, perhaps,

one of the most mysterious phenomena in the world. It is almost hopeless for "Outlanders" to understand thoroughly the manners and customs of China. Before one can speak Chinese, a person must learn by heart a vast number of complicated Chinese characters, to acquire which the whole of a man's life would hardly suffice. Even foreign merchants who have lived in that country a number of years are obliged to have recourse to Chinese interpreters or the "Compradors;" there are very few foreign merchants who really understand the business transactions carried on among the Chinese. As it is necessary to educate and enlighten the general Chinese public, to maintain peace and order among them, it is also desirable that outsiders should have a more familiar acquaintance with China. I said that China is a commercial nation, but this remark needs some explanation. Although in China it appears that the gap between the upper and lower classes is great, and that there are several castes of people, there is practically no priviliged class, and the whole people stand on the same footing. Individualism and equality among the people are most remarkable. With the exception of the officials, the people belong to either of three classes, the farmers, the artisans and the merchants. But the number of farmers is very limited; the artisans are not prosperous, industry not having been at all developed; and therefore the only ruling class is that of the merchants. The desire of accumulating wealth by carrying on trade is thus the general sentiment of the people. As a rule, the Chinese are extremely wealthy, the riches accumulated by generations having reached an enormous aggregate; and this is proved by the fact that the merchants derive their capital from the investments of Chinese high officials and the numerous millionaires throughout the country. The consequence is that the purchasing power of the country is well nigh unlimited. A country such as China, with a population of 400,000,000 wealthy inhabitants, and with the fully developed intermediary of honest merchants as hitherto set forth, affords to the world a market as attractive as can be desired.

Should the commercial interest be the most important of all international interests, as I have already argued, there is only one course to be pursued in regard to the settlement of the present Chinese question, and that is the policy of maintaining the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire with its door wholly open to the commerce of the world. Opinions have often

been expressed to the effect that China is doomed to lose its independence sooner or later. People, it is said, in that Empire are not fit to govern themselves, and if they were left to manage their internal affairs the whole country would become the hotbed of all sorts of dangers threatening the progress of the civilization of the world. Therefore, the country must either be placed under the protectorate or the *condominium* of the civilized Powers.

Let us ask ourselves if this proposal of placing the Chinese Empire under the protectorate of several Powers would be a satisfactory settlement of the Far Eastern question. Although the *condominium* or the protectorate principle has often been put into execution, it has never failed to prove that the protectorate system is only a temporary solution of the question, and that it invariably leads to a more difficult situation than before. Everybody's business is nobody's business, as the Irish car-driver said when a tourist asked him why a very unpopular landlord had never been shot at. The whole arrangement may easily collapse into a deplorable condition of negligence. Or, on the contrary, it is more probable that it may lead to the ascendency of one particular Power that might dare to push itself forward in defiance of any remonstrances from the others. This would certainly not be the arrangement we sincerely desire. Let us, then, suppose that China should be divided among the Powers. If one supposed for a moment that any Power would be able to govern easily its own acquired territory, one would be greatly in error. Besides the difficulty in understanding the language, the manners and customs of the people, as already stated, there would arise numberless unexpected troubles.

There is one very clear instance of the difficulty of governing the Chinese. It is our own experience in the Island of Formosa. This island was ceded to Japan by the Chinese Government after the recent war between the two countries. It is now five years since we acquired this island; but constant disturbances have arisen there, caused by the native rebels, in spite of the strenuous efforts made by the Japanese Government toward the restoration of order and peace in that island. It may be remarked that the Japanese are not good colonisers, but at the same time they are in a better position than any other nation for knowing and understanding the Chinese. And the natives of Formosa are not better fighters than the Chinese on the opposite mainland. The state

of things in Cuba also tends to show that to govern a conquered people is no easy task. Even if we took it for granted that these difficulties could be easily surmounted, the partition of China would produce numerous other undesirable results. Each Power, when once it became the actual master of its respective sphere of influence, would naturally rule its territory according to its own ideas. By this means China would be divided into a group of different countries, with their own laws, their own different administrations, the preferential rates of customs duties on imported merchandise, etc. The whole Empire would become the scene of violent rivalries and competition. That would be a state of war under the mask of peace. This is by no means a desirable solution of the problem.

If we seriously consider the extreme difficulty with which the Powers are at present confronted, and also the inconceivable sacrifice of blood and treasure that might possibly be required to carry out the proposed partition of China, even the strongest Power in the world would shrink from inaugurating the daring policy of the dismemberment of that immense Empire. Even after the continuous victories of the Japanese army in the recent war with China, they would never have dared to enter Peking unless they were 100,000 strong. This single instance will suffice to show the difficulty of confronting a determined foe. When the whole population of China, deeply imbued with the utmost hatred of foreigners, once stood determined to uphold their country against foreign aggression, even the largest available forces that the Powers might bring together would hardly be able to cope with the crisis.

These difficulties are clearly understood by the German Emperor. His Majesty, addressing the men of the First and Second Battalions of Marines, on the eve of their departure for China, said:

"You will meet a foe who is not less valiant than yourselves. Trained by European officers, the Chinese have learned to use European weapons."

Thus the protectorate arrangement is not satisfactory, and the partition of the Empire would not improve the situation. Then the only remaining policy is that of maintaining the independence and integrity of China. The policy of the Open Door in China was originated by England, and Lord Salisbury has repeatedly

declared in Parliament that Her Majesty's Government covets no territorial expansion in China. The United States of America, indorsing this policy of the British Government, went further than that; and in September, 1899, they proposed that the Powers should make a declaration guaranteeing the freedom of trade in China. In order to explain the views of the United States Government on this subject, I quote here a few paragraphs from the official dispatch, bearing date of September 22, 1899, addressed to Lord Salisbury by the Honorable Joseph Choate, the American Ambassador to Great Britain. He says:

"He (the President of the United States) understands it to be the settled policy and purpose of Great Britain not to use any privileges which may be granted to it in China as a means of excluding any commercial rivals, and that freedom of trade for it in the Empire means freedom of trade for all the world alike. Her Majesty's Government, while conceding by formal agreement with Germany and Russia the possession of spheres of influence or interest in China, in which they are to enjoy special rights and privileges, particularly in respect to railroads and mining enterprises, has, at the same time, sought to maintain what is commonly called 'the Open Door policy' to secure to the commerce and navigation of all nations equality of treatment within such spheres. The maintenance of this policy is alike urgently demanded by the commercial communities of our two nations, as it is justly held by them to be the only one which will improve existing conditions, enable them to maintain their positions in the markets of China and extend their future operations."

Touching on the subject of the maintenance of the integrity of China, Mr. Choate goes on to say:

"It is the sincere desire of my Government that the interests of its citizens may not be prejudiced through exclusive treatment by any of the controlling Powers within their respective 'spheres of interest' in China, and it hopes to retain there an open market for all the world's commerce, remove dangerous sources of international irritation and thereby hasten united action of the powers at Peking to promote administrative reforms, so greatly needed for strengthening the Imperial Government and maintaining the integrity of China, in which it believes the whole Western world is alike concerned. It believes that such a result may be greatly aided and advanced by declarations by the various powers claiming 'spheres of interest' in China as to their intentions in regard to the treatment of foreign trade and commerce therein, and that the present is a very favorable moment for informing Her Majesty's Government of the desire of the United States to have it made on its own part."

After stating the reasons why the United States Government believes that both Russia and Germany will co-operate in such an understanding as is there proposed, the dispatch further says:

"It is needless also to add that Japan, the power most largely interested in the trade of China, must be in entire sympathy with the views here expressed and that its interests will be largely served by the proposed arrangements, and the declarations of its statesmen within the last year are so entirely in line with it, that the co-operation of that power is confidently relied upon."

The attitude of the two great Powers which have the largest share of interests in China is thus to maintain the integrity of the Empire and the policy of the "Open Door" in that country.

The peaceful policy of Russia needs little explanation. The Emperor's earnest desire for peace was shown to the whole world by his recent manifesto calling together the Peace Conference at The Hague. It is also clear that the policy of France cannot be otherwise than on the same lines as that of the other Powers. In the French Chamber, on the 3d of July, M. Delcassé, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, put forth the views entertained by his Government on the present question. He is reported to have made the following declaration:

"The Chamber will remember that during the past two years I have repeatedly stated that France, as mistress of Indo-China, has no interest in provoking or desiring the break up of China, which is perhaps without sufficient reflection spoken of. What I can affirm is that France has no wish for war with China, but she cannot evade the duty of protecting her citizens and of obtaining for her merchants the guarantees obtained by others. It is for this and this alone that the Government has taken the measures necessitating a credit of 3,350,000 francs for the Chinese expedition. France is certainly anxious for the maintenance of the equilibrium in the Far East."

Germany stands also on the same lines, and this has been solemnly declared by no less a person than the German Emperor in his emphatic speech at Wilhelmshaven. His Majesty said:

"The Russians, the English, the French, or whoever they may be, they are all fighting for the same cause—which is that of civilization."

In dealing with the Chinese it is most important to show them that the Powers are acting in full concert, and that they are absolutely determined to carry out their work of suppressing the rebels, and also that they have no aggressive intention as to territory, unless they are forced by dire necessity to protect their respective interests.

A JAPANESE DIPLOMAT.

THE GATHERING OF THE STORM IN CHINA.

BY ROBERT E. LEWIS.

CHINA is not a savage land, her people are not barbarians. Her hoary civilzation, however, has rusted out, for civil order is a *sine qua non* in a self-governing, self-respecting State. It is my purpose to deal with lawless occurrences which have taken place in various parts of China during the last two years; which are matters of record, and about which there is no doubt or exaggeration. It might be concluded from these occurrences that all foreigners in China have been in imminent peril. But, in point of fact, the vast majority of merchants and missionaries, whether in port cities or in the interior, have been undisturbed in their rights. Nevertheless, it is also clear from the facts that no one knows when mob violence will stop at his door.

Lord Charles Beresford told us when here, and has since written down, the revelations of incapacity and supineness made to him by the high officials of China. Though this supineness has long been painfully apparent, yet no such official acknowledgment of it has ever before come to light. It shocks one to know that the Prince-President of the Tsung-li-Yamen, the Viceroys ruling Keang-su, An-hui, Keang-se, Hoo-pih, Hunan, Fuh-keen and Sze-chuen provinces, and others, admit their inability to protect foreigners or foreign interests in China. Lord Beresford was led to the conclusion that "there is no real security for commerce throughout the whole of China."

The outrages have not been directed against any one class of foreigners. Arson and murderous assault have been indiscriminately perpetrated upon diplomatists, consuls, missionaries, scientists, customs officers, and business men. Roman Catholic priests and convents, however, have been rather more often the victims of the malice of the people. In travelling in all parts of China many

of these outrages on foreigners have been personally investigated by the writer.

At Shasi, in Hoo-pih province above Hankow, mobs sacked and burned the imperial customs house and residence, the Japanese Consulate, a mercantile stores-ship, and the Swedish mission. The foreigners escaped in boats on the Yangtsze. The riot was, apparently, premeditated and carefully planned. On the same night, four hundred miles from Shasi, placards having called for the expulsion of the "foreign dogs," and the officials doing nothing to prevent outrage, the missionaries escaped from the mobs which held both the roads, and drifted away in a rowboat.

Near Peking, the chief engineer of the Imperial Railway, an officer of the British Legation, and a major of the English army, while inspecting a portion of the new railway, were attacked by Chinese soldiers, badly bruised, and left in a bleeding condition. Soldiers also attacked Mr. Dunston's house, and, killing one servant, looted the place. At Mentze, in Yun-nan, the French consulate was recently plundered, and the imperial customs burned to the ground.

The province of Sze-chuen was, in 1899, for months in a state of anarchy, and the officials in a state of innocuous desuetude. The rebellion of 8,000 men, headed by Yu-Man-tze, had for its express purpose the driving out of the foreign "dogs and goats." The brigands attempted to extirpate the Christians of the province. Father Fleury was captured by Yu-Man-tze, and, during the eight months of his captivity, was carried from place to place, and wherever Christians were found Yu had them brought before Father Fleury and murdered at his feet. Such instances as the following have been the order of the day in Sze-chuen. At Shun-ching, the mission house was torn to pieces, the mission buildings razed to the ground, the missionary hunted for his life. At Hopao-chang, the mission was looted, the chapel burned, two priests captured, two servants killed, one Christian family plundered. At Ho-chow, the buildings of the mission were burned; at Kwei-fu the mission ruined. The city of Keang-peh is across the river from the open port of Chung-king. A new dispensary had been opened, and two Chinese medical students were temporarily in charge of it. The place was looted and one student was killed. "The powerlessness of the mandarins at such a crisis is really astonishing, and one is forced to ask if they are just as powerless

as they appear to be." Lord Charles Beresford was told that Yu and his followers had burned four thousand houses and thirty chapels; that over 20,000 Catholics had been set adrift, and property destroyed to the extent of $4,150,000. This amount is undoubtedly over-stated, however.

An example of what such a state of affairs has meant to the individual may be seen in the case of Mr. Parsons, of the Church Missionary Society. He left Chun-king to go back to his post at Pao-ning, with an escort of four soldiers. In crossing a river in a ferryboat, he saw a body of troops on the opposite bank. They raised the cry, "Kill the foreigner." When the boat reached the bank his escort fled, and the boat was overwhelmed by soldiers belonging to Yu-Man-tze. Mr. Parsons was attacked with swords and knives, and, though he could swim but little, he threw himself into the river. Catching at a floating bamboo, he kept his head above water, and drifted with the stream, while the soldiers followed in a boat, prodding at him in the water. At length he got on board of a Chinese gunboat and was saved. But the officers and men of the gunboat showed no opposition to the rebels or their murderous assault, and did everything short of violence to keep him from getting on the boat.

Passing from Sze-chuen to Kwei-chow province, we must refer to the murder, on the public highway, of Mr. Fleming, of the China Inland Mission, and of the Chinese evangelist who was with him. "The evidence received from Kuei-yang proves that the murder was deliberately planned by the gentry and officials," and yet the demand of the British Minister at Peking that the governor of the province be degraded, was flouted. At the city of Pao-ching-fu in Hunan, last September, a missionary called at the prefect's Yamen. A mob of between four and five thousand men assembled and demanded the foreigner. He escaped at the rear in a boat. But the mob, in their attempt to get him, pulled down the first buildings of the Yamen's court. Penetrating to the inner court with lighted torches, they fired the great edifice of two hundred rooms, and plundered the chests in the treasury of $14,000.

In the north of An-hui, Ho-nan, and Keang-su provinces, there has been a serious armed rebellion. The walled cities of Shu-chou, Meng-cheng, Meao-erchi, and Ku-yang were besieged and fell. Niu, the leader, butchered about two thousand men, women and children at the capture of Ku-yang. The city gates of Hsu-chou

were "decorated with several hundred queues and scalps"—the Red Indian style of civilization! It is believed that over 50,000 people lost their lives in this rebellion, which was in the Yangtsze basin, as was also the one in Sze-chuen. In An-hui province, Mr. Cook, manager of the Pochishan coal mines, had trying times. Two hundred natives tried to hang him, and, failing in that, to throw him down the shaft of the mine. After a desperate struggle he escaped.

The working of silver mines near Ningpo has been fraught with danger. The Fenghua magistrate decided to settle matters with the town of Sun-gao. The result was that his soldiers were disarmed and imprisoned by the townsmen, the official himself was nearly stripped of his clothing, and his official chair was added to a bonfire. The foreigner in charge of the mine fled to the country. The course of the miner in China is a turbulent one.

The province of Shan-tung has been much disturbed during the year. Missions were burned, the houses of Christians pillaged, the Christians were harried, persecuted and murdered. Three Germans, officers and gentlemen, were murderously set upon by an unprovoked mob, and they saved themselves only after shooting down some of the rioters. Foreigners in the midst of this upheaval wrote: "The local officials are powerless to punish the offenders." "There is practically no guarantee for the safety of the lives and property of foreigners residing in the interior of China." This state of affairs resulted in German troops seizing and occupying a walled city or two, a hundred miles from the coast of Shan-tung. Their treatment of the Chinese was drastic but salutary, and as a result, order is being restored.

Still another open rebellion—this one in Southern China—has been quieted with difficulty. In Kuang-se province, about 7,000 men were in arms. The cities of Yung-hsieu and Peilin were "pillaged and dismantled," and many other places were laid low. The proclamation of one Chang is significant of the objective of this rebellion: "I, Chang, obeying the orders of Heaven to gather all the braves and heroes together, with a special view to seek revenge for the people, to drive away the foreign devils, and to protect China, have assembled over 300 philosophical scholars, about 3,000 military officers, and more than 30,000 brave soldiers." And a whole province in South China was under their sway for several months.

Turning from Southern China, I must refer to the region on the Yangtsze of which I-chang is the port city. Here rioting was mostly directed against the Catholic Christians. Chapels were burned, Christians robbed and their lands wrested from them. One priest, followed by 1,000 converts, travelled to I-chang for safety. The bandits had this legend on their banners: "Destroy the foreigner and advance the dynasty." They meant what they said, as the story of young, accomplished Father Victorian shows. This Belgian priest was located about 100 miles from I-chang. The bandits wrecked the mission, murdered the Christians, captured Victorian and hung him to a tree. "As this poor man hung from the tree to which he was tied, pieces were cut from his thighs and eaten by his tormentors. . . . Finally his body was cut open, from the chest to the bottom of the abdomen; he was disembowelled, and the various organs were taken out and eaten by these semi-civilized people, who at the same time drank his blood. He was also mutilated in a way that cannot be described, and his head was cut off." This was penned by a person at I-chang who saw Victorian's body.

And, later on, comes the premeditated assault on the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society at Kien-ning, in Fuhkeen province, near where the massacre occurred a few years ago. At Kien-ning the mob destroyed the church, the mission house, the dispensary, the leper asylum, looted the hospital, and beat the brains out of an aged Christian, throwing another Christian into a well. The officials gave Dr. Rigg and his associates no protection whatever, though the city had been placarded for several days to the effect that the foreigners were to be killed. Following the attack on the mission, bills were freely posted, in the name of the *literati,* calling on the people to "rise and kill every foreigner," and urging that the native Christians should be "hunted down like wild beasts or highway robbers, and rooted out until not one remains."

We return again to the consideration of the situation in North China. United States Minister Conger told me, a few months ago, that he was really apprehensive for the safety of Americans in Shan-tung and Chi-li. Since that time, the Righteous Harmony Fists have extended their organization, large numbers of soldiers and others have joined their ranks. The whole Manchu military force in Northern China is said to be in sympathy with them.

The Rev. Mr. Brooks has been murdered, hundreds of Christians have had their houses burned, while many have been killed in cold blood; portions of the Lu-han and the Tientsin-Peking railways have been torn up, and marines have been landed from the available ships of war.

I have written enough, though not all. What are some of the deductions? (1.) The instances cited have occurred in twelve out of the eighteen provinces of China; it is therefore not a local condition. (2.) These attacks have been made on all classes of foreigners. Foreigners were to be killed or driven out. (3.) The missionaries suffer most, because, according to treaty, missionaries only have the right to reside in the interior. (4.) Of attacks on missionaries, two-thirds, or more, are directed against Roman Catholics.

The Treaty of Tientsin (article VIII.) says: "Persons teaching or professing it (the Christian religion), therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities; nor shall any such peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the law, be persecuted or interfered with." Does it need more proof than has been adduced to show that this treaty protection is often without force? I know of no case of assault or pillage or murder where the Chinese authorities have lodged the claim that the foreigner thus maltreated had broken over his lawful rights. They confess negligence and attempt to make reparation, but that does not restore life? No missionary in China deserts his work for fear of outbreaks. Merchants do not look with favor on risks which are quadrupled and trade which is constantly disturbed. But the question which, we believe, deserves attention is this: What is to happen if civil order continues to become more chaotic, and the incompetence of the Chinese government is still more disgracefully shown? There are over one thousand missionaries in China. The American vested and business interests there are also great. Should there not be a clear national policy as to what America will, or will not, do to meet the catastrophe into which China is fast drifting? This is a question not of partition, but of civil and treaty rights. As long as China is treated as a "going concern," the line of operations is easily seen; but what is to happen when the government is recognized as a gone concern? That day seems to be approaching.

Shanghai, China, May, 1900. ROBERT E. LEWIS.

AMERICA'S TREATMENT OF THE CHINESE.

BY CHARLES F. HOLDER.

A DISTINGUISHED French diplomat recently said: "America is not the disinterested figure generally supposed. She will be forced to take sides in the partition of China if it comes, and will not submit to fill the mere office of a looker on in Venice. Moreover," continued the speaker, "the policy of America has been distinctly aggressive and anti-Chinese since 1868. The United States government has in every way outraged China, has broken its treaties time and again, and, if the history of these wrongs were written it would show that China has had reason for a declaration of war against the government of the States time and again. I know not what you think; but to a European outsider the United States has for years carried a chip on its shoulder; and the assumption is that it would welcome a war with China, that the opportunity might afford an excuse to acquire a port or colony in China for its commercial aggrandisement."

There is hardly an American reader who will not laugh at this rodomontade, but, while it may seem a waste of time to prove the futility of such suspicions on the part of foreigners as to the purposes which have animated us in our dealings with China, it is interesting to glance at our treaty relations with China from the standpoint of an alien, and note how we have carried out our obligations, and what our treatment of China has actually been.

Our first treaty with China was negotiated by Caleb Cushing, who as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary went to China in 1844, bearing a letter to the Emperor from President Tyler. But four years before then, the British fleet had bombarded the ports which had been sealed for centuries; and as a result, five ports were open at the time of Mr. Cushing's mission, and Great Britain was in full possession of Hong Kong, which had been ceded in perpetuity by the helpless and impotent nation.

Mr. Cushing had, in a large measure, discretionary powers, and after assuring the Emperor that America was not in sympathy with the attitude of Great Britain in seizing Hong Kong, he negotiated the Treaty of Wang Hiya, which constitutes the first act of official intercourse this country has had with China.

This treaty, which has always been of great benefit to us, gave Americans the right of residence at the treaty ports. This was considered by the Chinese a remarkable concession, and Mr. Cushing was given to understand that it was granted in appreciation of the friendly attitude of America, though it was a self-evident fact that Americans could not have been kept out. The treaty did not end here. By it, Americans obtained extra-territorial privileges which, among other things, gave them the right to be tried in their consular courts. Mr. Cushing also secured the insertion of what is known as the "most favored nation clause," which placed American citizens on a par with the citizens of other nations.

These were the first concessions obtained from the Chinese, the first clouds on the Celestial horizon suggestive of their ultimate undoing; the door once open, the cupidity of the entire commercial world was aroused. The concession of Hong Kong to Great Britain was but a sop thrown to delay the inevitable; and seventeen years after the opening of the doors of China we find England and France allied for the purpose of prying open the Chinese oyster still wider.

The attitude of America at that juncture is a matter of history, and it was commendable from a diplomatic and humanitarian point of view. We were invited by the Powers interested to make common cause with them against China, but we declined and sent a special envoy, in the person of W. B. Reed, to inform the Emperor that we were not in sympathy with the action of the Powers. Our position was criticised by England, whose wits expressed the opinion that America declined to join in the war, as a matter of economy, but sent a fleet up the Peiho in the wake of the ships of France and England, and secured all the commercial benefits without a corresponding expense.

This was, to a certain extent, true; as, after this war, we obtained our second treaty with China, while England and France paid the expense; their combined fleets forcing open six new ports, and our envoy, Mr. Reed, obtaining with them the right of trade and residence. This treaty begins as follows:

"There shall be, as there always has been, peace between the United States of America and the Ta-Tsing Empire and between their people, respectively. They shall not insult or oppress each other for any trifling cause, so as to produce an estrangement between them."

This was, surely, a gentle satire on future events, as Americans have undoubtedly treated the Chinese in America with studied disrespect. The Chinese have retaliated by making this country the dumping ground of their criminals, the great seat of their slave trade, and in many directions have dispossessed the American laborer.

The third treaty with China was consummated by Anson Burlingame, who was Minister to China in 1863; a compact which was at the root of all the labor troubles on the Pacific coast, and which dominated politics about the Golden Gate for three decades. At this time Senator Stanford, Mr. Huntington and other railroad men were figuring on the Pacific Railroad and needed cheap labor to accomplish it. Mr. Burlingame was requested to say to the Ta-Tsing government that America would welcome Chinese emigrants in unlimited numbers. Previous to this there was an unwritten law in the Orient that no Chinaman should leave his country, but the invitation of America brought about a change. The Ta-Tsing government recognized an opportunity to reduce its surplus paupers and criminals, and a treaty was readily agreed upon. It began as follows, and it is interesting reading in the light of later events:

"The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance; and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from the one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents."

At the invitation of our government the Chinese poured into this country in a human river, whose flow never flagged, and in 1867 the Chinese population of the Pacific slope was formidable and portentous. A cry went up, American labor sounded the alarm, and the abrogation of the famous Burlingame treaty was demanded. While attempts were being made in this direction, the hoodlum element of San Francisco determined to take time by the forelock and Chinamen by the queue, and what was known as the "sand-lot agitation," a protest against the third treaty, was begun. So intense was the excitement that the government was obliged to

interfere, and a special embassy, composed of James B. Angell, W. H. Trescott and John F. Swift, was appointed by President Hayes and sent to Peking to request a modification of the treaty, which a decade before Mr. Burlingame had used every device known to the skilled diplomat to obtain. Under some circumstances it would have been humiliating to the national pride, but the Pacific coast was aflame. Law and order were crushed under foot, and it was manifestly impossible to protect Chinamen in America; hence the modification of the treaty was demanded and received.

The modified treaty is of interest at this time in its bearing upon the Hawaiian Islands, now a territory of the United States. The first article reads:

"Whenever, in the opinion of the United States, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of that country, or of any locality within the territory thereof, the government of China agrees that the government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it."

The result of this treaty was the nominal stoppage of Chinese immigration, with the favored nation clause included, a feature which had constituted the essence of one of our early treaties. Up to this time China and the United States had been on terms of cordiality, but the new treaty did not satisfy the anti-Chinese party on the Pacific coast, and a series of outrages was begun, which, to the unprejudiced observer, suggest that the criticism of the French diplomat is not without reason, and that we have not observed the spirit of our treaties with China. In truth, for purely local political reasons certain rights of the Chinese have not been respected. Difficulties began to accumulate in 1882, when Congress took action on the Angell treaty, and passed an act, the first section of which states:

"That from and after the expiration of ninety days after the passage of this Act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is, hereby suspended for ten years; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborers to come, or having so come after the expiration of ninety days, to remain within the United States."

The first effect of this was noticed in China, where the Chinese began to retaliate against Americans, many of whom were obliged to take refuge in consulates, and a general uprising against for-

eigners was threatened. The records show that three years after the Chinese Restriction Act was put in force, 40,222 Chinese had returned to China, and but 18,704 had entered the United States. To illustrate the feeling at this time, it is told by a school teacher in a primary school in San Francisco, that the children having bought an American flag with their money, she asked them to select some sentiment to work upon it. One little boy raised his hand, and on being asked what he would inscribe on the flag, replied: "The Chinese must go." Such was the sentiment when even children were taught to hoot at and hurl stones at Chinamen.

In the election of 1888 each political party on the Pacific coast made the sentiment of this child its party cry. It was a local issue, but was soon made a national question by the astute leaders, who knew that by obtaining anti-Chinese legislation in Congress the party on the Coast would be aided. So a new treaty was prepared and submitted to the Chinese Minister and his government, then amended in the Senate, and finally, that it might not be too late for its intended effect upon the voters, the Democratic party in the House forced what is known as the "Scott Exclusion Act" through Congress, and it was signed by President Cleveland. In truth, so far as our former treaties were concerned, and looking at it from a non-partisan point of view, it was an outrage upon the proprieties, a gratuitous insult to a great yet defenseless nation. The act completely demoralized the Chinese in this country, which was the intention. By it twenty thousand certificates were declared null and void, twenty thousand promises, on the honor of the United States, that the holders should be allowed to return, were ruthlessly broken; and, to satisfy the clamor of irresponsible bands of hoodlums led by sand-lot politicians in San Francisco, the whole machinery of the government was prostituted that votes might be secured, and the act was passed by Congress while the treaty was pending. The action was so gross that it called forth criticism from the English press, and William M. Evarts voiced his indignation in a public address, saying that "it was the first time in the diplomatic history of this country of an intervention by legislative action while there was a treaty, negotiated by this government, pending for adoption by a foreign country." The incident was considered an insult by all the Powers, who professed to believe at the time, and with apparent reason, that we were

trying to provoke war as an excuse for taking a hand in managing the affairs of China. That Mr. Sherman resented the indignity thrust upon Americans is shown in the following utterance of his: "If Great Britain were to act thus toward the American people, he would not hesitate to vote either for the declaration of non-intercourse or war." Yet there was no hidden aggressive policy in the act. It was merely a vagary of what is known as American politics, where local politicians have the power, through Senators and Representatives, to force action and interfere in the diplomatic affairs of the Department of State. In a word, the political leaders of the Pacific coast succeeded in committing the entire government to an act that was a gross violation of the supplemental treaty of 1880.

It is not surprising, then, that the Great Powers affected to believe that the United States had ulterior motives.

It is interesting to note the dignified protest from the Chinese Minister at this last outrage. He said, in a letter to Mr. Blaine:

> "In my country we have acted upon the conviction that, where two nations deliberately and solemnly enter upon treaty stipulations, they thereby form a sacred compact from which they could not be honorably discharged, except through friendly negotiations and a new agreement. I was, therefore, not prepared to learn through the medium of that great tribunal (the Supreme Court) that there was a way recognized in the law and practice of this country whereby your government could release itself from treaty obligations without consultation with or consent of the other party to what we had been accustomed to regard as a sacred instrument."

It was a difficult matter for our astute and diplomatic Secretary to reply to this and other letters and protests, and still preserve the dignity of this country intact. Indeed, in some instances the Department of State was the laughing stock of Europe, notably in the case of the Denver riots. Chinamen had been shot down without cause, and a strong protest was made by the Chinese Minister, who, referring to the treaty, demanded that the guilty parties should be brought to justice, pointing out that in China such attacks against American citizens resulted in the beheading of the guilty parties. Mr. Evarts had but one reply to make, and it was that, under the Constitution, "Federal authorities could not interfere with the municipal affairs of a State; hence the United States government was not responsible," ending by referring the Minister to the Governor of Colorado.

This was a confession of weakness, and it was commented upon by the British and German press, while the reply of the Chinese Minister made all Europe smile. His reply was that the Chinese government had no treaties with Colorado, hence did not look to that State for justice. In the terse epigrammatic diction of the day, there was but one thing for Mr. Evarts to do, and, as a Democratic paper said, he "sawed wood," and the Denver affair, so far as compensation is concerned, still hangs fire.

What those who affected to believe that America was following out a well-defined policy of aggression called a "long line of abuses" followed, the chief of which was the Geary bill, a result of Pacific coast clamor, which was intended to bundle out the Chinese faster, and its form and various clauses brought many protests from the Chinese Minister, which, it is needless to say, were unavailing. The Geary bill was an extremely harsh measure. It provided that Chinamen who were arrested must prove that they were here previous to the passage of the bill, or go to prison for a year, and then be deported. All Chinese laborers in the States were obliged to apply to the Internal Revenue Collector for a certificate of residence. When Chinamen landed and there was any question regarding their right, and a writ of *habeas corpus* had been applied for to get them ashore, no bail was accepted, and they were thrown into jail—a proceeding which, if applied to citizens of any of the great European powers, would have resulted in war.

CHARLES F. HOLDER.

EDUCATION WILL SOLVE THE RACE PROBLEM. A REPLY.

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE TUSKEGEE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE, TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA.

"Will Education Solve the Race Problem?" is the title of an interesting article in the June number of The North American Review, by Professor John Roach Straton, of Macon, Georgia. My own belief is that education will finally solve the race problem. In giving some reasons for this faith, I wish to express my appreciation of the sincere and kindly spirit in which Professor Straton's article is written. I grant that much that he emphasizes as to present conditions is true. When we recall the past, these conditions could not be expected to be otherwise; but I see no reason for discouragement or loss of faith. When I speak of education as a solution for the race problem, I do not mean education in the narrow sense, but education which begins in the home and includes training in industry and in habits of thrift, as well as mental, moral and religious discipline, and the broader education which comes from contact with the public sentiment of the community in which one lives. Nor do I confine myself to the education of the negro. Many persons, in discussing the effect that education will have in working out the negro question, overlook the helpful influence that will ultimately come through the broader and more generous education of all the race elements of the South. As all classes of whites in the South become more generally educated in the broader sense, race prejudice will be tempered and they will assist in lifting up the black man.

In our desire to see a better condition of affairs, we are too often inclined to grow impatient because a whole race is not elevated in a short time, very much as a house is built. In all the history of mankind there have been few such radical, social and

economic changes in the policy of a nation as have been effected within thirty-five years in this country, with respect to the change of four million and a half of slaves into four million and a half of freemen (now nearly ten million). When all the conditions of the past are considered, and compared with the present, I think the White South, the North and the Negro are to be congratulated on the fact that conditions are no worse, but are as encouraging as they are. The sudden change from slavery to freedom, from restraint to liberty, was a tremendous one; and the wonder is, not that the negro has not done better, but that he has done as well as he has. Every thoughtful student of the subject expected that the first two or three generations of freedom would lead to excesses and mistakes on the part of the negro, which would in many cases cause moral and physical degeneration, such as would seem to the superficial observer to indicate conditions that could not be overcome. It was to be anticipated that, in the first generation at least, the tendency would be, among a large number, to seek the shadow instead of the substance; to grasp after the mere signs of the highest civilization instead of the reality; to be led into the temptation of believing that they could secure, in a few years, that which it has taken other races thousands of years to obtain. Any one who has the daily opportunity of studying the negro at first hand cannot but gain the impression that there are indisputable evidences that the negro throughout the country is settling down to a hard, common sense view of life; that he is fast learning that a race, like an individual, must pay for everything it gets—the price of beginning at the bottom of the social scale and gradually working up by natural processes to the highest civilization. The exaggerated impressions that the first years of freedom naturally brought are giving way to an earnest, practical view of life and its responsibilities.

Let us take a broad, generous survey of the negro race as it came into the country, represented by twenty savages, in 1619, and trace its progress through slavery, through the Civil War period, and through freedom to the present moment. Who will be brave enough to say that the negro race, as a whole, has not increased in numbers and grown stronger mentally, morally, religiously, industrially, and in the accumulation of property? In a word, has not the negro, at every stage, shown a tendency to grow into harmony with the best type of American civilization?

Professor Straton lays special stress upon the moral weakness of the race. Perhaps the worst feature of slavery was that it prevented the development of a family life, with all of its far-reaching significance. Except in rare cases, the uncertainties of domicile made family life, during two hundred and fifty years of slavery, an impossibility. There is no institution so conducive to right and high habits of physical and moral life as the home. No race starting in absolute poverty could be expected, in the brief period of thirty-five years, to purchase homes and build up a family life and influence that would have a very marked impression upon the life of the masses. The negro has not had time enough to collect the broken and scattered members of his family. For the sake of illustration, and to employ a personal reference, I do not know who my own father was; I have no idea who my grandmother was; I have or had uncles, aunts and cousins, but I have no knowledge as to where most of them now are. My case will illustrate that of hundreds of thousands of black people in every part of our country. Perhaps those who direct attention to the negro's moral weakness, and compare his moral progress with that of the whites, do not consider the influence of the memories which cling about the old family homestead upon the character and aspirations of individuals. The very fact that the white boy is conscious that, if he fails in life, he will disgrace the whole family record, extending back through many generations, is of tremendous value in helping him to resist temptations. On the other hand, the fact that the individual has behind him and surrounding him proud family history and connections serves as a stimulus to make him overcome obstacles, when striving for success. All this should be taken into consideration, to say nothing of the physical, mental and moral training which individuals of the white race receive in their homes. We must not pass judgment upon the negro too soon. It requires centuries for the influence of home, school, church and public contact to permeate the mass of millions of people, so that the upward tendency may be apparent to the casual observer. It is too soon to decide what effect general education will have upon the rank and file of the negro race, because the masses have not been educated.

Throughout the South, especially in the Gulf States, the great bulk of the black population lives in the country districts. In these districts the schools are rarely in session more than three

months of the year. When this is considered, in connection with poor teachers, poor school-houses, and an almost entire lack of apparatus, it is obvious that we must wait longer before we can judge, even approximately, of the effect that general education will have upon the whole population. Most writers and speakers upon the subject of the negro's non-progressiveness base their arguments upon alleged facts and statistics of the life of negroes in the large cities. This is hardly fair. Before the Civil War the negro was not, to any considerable extent, a denizen of the large cities. Most of them lived on the plantations. The negro living in the cities has undergone two marked changes: (1.) the change from slavery to freedom; (2.) the change from country life to city life. At first the tendency of both these changes was, naturally, to unsettle, to intoxicate and to lead the negro to wrong ideas of life. The change from country life to city life, in the case of the white man, is about as marked as in the case of the negro. The average negro in the city, with all of its excitements and temptations, has not lived there more than half a generation. It is, therefore, too soon to reach a definite conclusion as to what the permanent effect of this life upon him will be. This, I think, explains the difference between the moral condition of the negro, to which Professor Straton refers, in the States where there has been little change in the old plantation life, as compared with that in the more northern of the Atlantic States, where the change from country to city life is more marked.

Judging from close observation, my belief is that, after the negro has overcome the false idea which city life emphasizes, two or three generations will bring about an earnestness and steadiness of purpose which do not now generally obtain. As the negro secures a home in the city, learns the lessons of industry and thrift and becomes a taxpayer, his moral life improves. The influence of home surroundings, of the school, the church and public sentiment will be more marked and have a more potent effect in causing him to withstand temptations. But, notwithstanding the shortness of the time which the negro has had in which to get schooled to his new life, any one who has visited the large cities of Europe will readily testify that the visible signs of immorality in those cities are far greater than among the colored people of America. Prostitution for gain is far more prevalent in the cities of Europe than among the colored people of our cities.

Professor Straton says that the negro has degenerated in morals since he became free; in other words, that his condition in this respect is not as hopeful as it was during the early period of slavery. I do not think it wise to place too much reliance upon such a view of the matter, because there are too few facts upon which to base a comparison. The bald statement that the negro was not given to crime during slavery proves little. Slavery represented an unnatural condition of life, in which certain physical checks were kept constantly upon the individual. To say that the negro was at his best, morally, during the period of slavery is about the same as to say that the two thousand prisoners in the State prison and the city penal institutions in the city of Boston are the most righteous two thousand people in Boston. I question whether one can find two thousand persons in Boston who will equal these two thousand imprisoned criminals in the mere negative virtues. During the days of slavery the negro was rarely brought into the court to be tried for crime; hence, there was almost no public record of crimes committed by him. Each master, in most cases, punished his slave as he thought best, and as little as possible was said about it outside of his little plantation world. The improper relations between the sexes, with which the black race is now frequently charged in most sections of the South, were encouraged or winked at, under the slavery system, because of the financial value of the slaves. A custom that was fostered for three centuries cannot be blotted out in one generation.

In estimating the progress of a race, we should not consider alone the degree of success which has been actually attained, but also the obstacles which have been overcome in reaching that success. Judged by the obstacles overcome, few races, if any, in history have made progress commensurate with that of the colored people of the United States, in the same length of time. It may be conceded that the present generation of colored people does not compare favorably with the present generation of the white race, because of the reasons I have already given, and the further reason that on account of the black man's poverty of means to employ lawyers to have his case properly appealed to the higher courts, and his inability to furnish bonds, his criminal record is much worse than that of the white race, both in the Northern and Southern States. The Southern States, as a whole, have not yet

reached a point where they are able to provide reformatories for juvenile offenders, and consequently most of these are sent to the State prison, where the records show that the same individuals are often committed over and over again, because, in the first instance, the child prisoner, instead of being reformed, becomes simply hardened to prison life. In the North, it is true, the negro has the benefit of the reformatories; but the unreasonable prejudice which prevents him from securing employment in the shops and the factories more than offsets this advantage. Hundreds of negroes in the North become criminals who would become strong and useful men if they were not discriminated against as bread winners.

In the matter of assault upon white women, the negro is placed in a peculiar attitude. While this vile crime is always to be condemned in the strongest language, and should be followed by the severest legal punishment, yet the custom of lynching a negro when he is accused of committing such a crime calls the attention of the whole country to it, in such a way as is not always true in the case of a white man, North or South. Any one who reads the daily papers carefully knows that such assaults are constantly charged against white men in the North and in the South; but, because the white man, in most cases, is punished by the regular machinery of the courts, attention is seldom attracted to his crime outside of the immediate neighborhood where the offense is committed. This, to say nothing of the cases where the victim of lynch law could prove his innocence, if he were given a hearing before a cool, level-headed set of jurors in open court, makes the apparent contrast unfavorable to the black man. It is hardly proper, in summing up the value of any race, to dwell almost continually upon its weaker element. As other men are judged, so should the negro be judged, by the best that the race can produce, rather than by the worst. Keep the searchlight constantly focused upon the criminal and worthless element of any people, and few among all the races and nations of the world can be accounted successful. More attention should be directed to individuals who have succeeded, and less to those who have failed. And negroes who have succeeded grandly can be found in every corner of the South.

I doubt that much reliance can safely be placed upon mere ability to read and write a little as a means of saving any race.

Education should go further. One of the weaknesses in the negro's present condition grows out of failure, in the early years of his freedom, to teach him, in connection with thorough academic and religious branches, the dignity and beauty of labor, and to give him a working knowledge of the industries by which he must earn a subsistence. But the main question is: What is the present tendency of the race, where it has been given a fair opportunity, and where there has been thorough education of hand, head and heart? This question I answer from my own experience of nineteen years in the heart of the South, and from my daily contact with whites and blacks. In the first place, the social barrier prevents most white people from coming into real contact with the higher and better side of the negro's social life. The negro loafer, drunkard and gambler can be seen without social contact. The higher life cannot be seen without social contact. As I write these lines, I am in the home of a negro friend, where in the matter of cleanliness, sweetness, attractiveness, modern conveniences and other evidences of intelligence, morality and culture the home would compare favorably with that of any white family in the neighborhood; and yet, this negro home is unknown outside of the little town where it exists. To really know the life of this family, one would have to become a part of it for days, as I have been. One of the most encouraging changes that have taken place in the moral life of the negro race in the past thirty years is the creation of a growing public sentiment which draws a line between the good and bad, the clean and unclean. This change is fast taking place in every part of the country. It is one that cannot be accurately measured by any table of statistics. To be able to appreciate it fully, one must himself be a part of the social life of the race. The significance of it is all the more important when it is remembered that, only a few years ago, the colored woman who sustained immoral relations with some white man was envied and looked upon as a social leader. There are now few communities in the South where such a woman is recognized in the social life of the best colored people. This change is yet far from complete, but the tendency is strongly in this direction, and is growing and broadening. In a few more years the moral life of the negro will be greatly strengthened by that education which comes from the force of public opinion.

As to the effect of industrial education in the solution of the

race problem, we should not expect too much from it in a short time. To the late General S. C. Armstrong, of Hampton Institute, in Virginia, should be given the credit, mainly, for inaugurating this system of education. When the Hampton Institute began the systematic, industrial training of the negro, such training was unpopular among a large class of colored people. Later, when the same system was started by me at the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, in Alabama, it was still unpopular, especially in that part of the South. But the feeling against it has now almost completely disappeared in all parts of the country; so much so, that I do not consider the opposition of a few people here and there as of material consequence. Where there is one who opposes it there are thousands who indorse it. So far as the colored people are concerned, I consider that the battle for this principle has been fought and the victory won. What the colored people are anxious about is that, with industrial education, they shall have thorough mental and religious training; and in this they are right. For bringing about this change in the attitude of the colored people, much credit should be given to the John F. Slater Fund, under the wise guidance of such men as Mr. Morris K. Jesup and Dr. J. L. M. Curry, as well as to Dr. H. B. Frissell, of the Hampton Institute. That such institutions for industrial training as the Hampton Institute and the Tuskegee Institute are always crowded with the best class of negro students from nearly every State in the Union, and that every year they are compelled to refuse admission to hundreds of others, for lack of room and means, is sufficient evidence that the black race has come to appreciate the value of industrial education. The almost pathetic demand of the colored people for industrial education in every corner of the South is added evidence of the growing intelligence of the race. In saying what I do in regard to industrial education, I do not wish to be understood as meaning that the education of the negro should be confined to that kind alone, because we need men and women well educated in other directions; but, for the masses, industrial education is the supreme need. I repeat that we must not expect too much from this training, in the redemption of a race, in the space of a few years.

There are few institutions in the South where industrial training is given upon a large and systematic scale, and the graduates from these institutions have not had time to make them-

selves felt to any very large extent upon the life of the rank and file of the people. But what are the indications? As I write, I have before me a record of graduates, which is carefully compiled each year. Of the hundreds who have been trained at the Tuskegee Institute, less than ten per cent. have failed, and less than five per cent. have failed because of any moral weakness. These graduates, as well as hundreds of other students who could not remain to finish the course, are now at work in the school-room, in the field, in the shop, in the home, or as teachers of industry, or in some way they are making their education felt in the lifting up of the colored people. Wherever these graduates go, they not only help their own race, but, in nearly every case, they win the respect and confidence of the white people.

Not long ago, I sent a number of letters to white men, in all the Southern States, asking, among others, this question: "Judged by actual observation in your own community, what is the effect of education upon the negro?" In asking this question, I was careful to explain that by education I did not mean a mere smattering, but a thorough education of the head, heart and hand. I received about three hundred replies, and there was only one who said that education did not help the negro. Most of the others were emphatic in stating that education made the negro a better citizen. In all the record of crime in the South, there are very few instances where a black man who has been thoroughly educated in the respects I have mentioned has been even charged with the crime of assaulting a woman. In fact, I do not know of a single instance of this kind, whether the man was educated in an industrial school or in a college.

The following extracts from a letter written by a Southern white man to the *Daily Advertiser*, of Montgomery, Alabama, contains most valuable testimony. The letter refers to convicts in Alabama, most of whom are colored:

"I was conversing not long ago with the warden of one of our mining prisons, containing about 500 convicts. The warden is a practical man, who has been in charge of prisoners for more than fifteen years, and has no theories of any kind to support. I remarked to him that I wanted some information as to the effect of manual training in preventing criminality, and asked him to state what per cent. of the prisoners under his charge had received any manual training, besides the acquaintance with the crudest agricultural labor. He replied: 'Perhaps about one per cent.' He added: 'No; much less

than that. We have here at present only one mechanic; that is, there is one man who claims to be a house painter.'

"'Have you any shoemakers?'

"'Never have had a shoemaker.'

"'Have you any tailors?'

"'Never have had a tailor.'

"'Any printers?'

"'Never have had a printer.'

"'Any carpenters?'

"'Never have had a carpenter. There is not a man in this prison that could saw to a straight line.'"

Now, these facts seem to show that manual training is almost as good a preventive for criminality as vaccination is for smallpox.

We can best judge further of the value of industrial and academic education by using a few statistics bearing upon the State of Virginia, where graduates from the Hampton Institute and other schools have gone in large numbers and have had an opportunity, in point of time, to make their influence apparent upon the negro population. These statistics, based on census reports, were compiled mainly by persons connected with the Hampton Negro Conference:

"Taking taxation as a basis, the colored people of the State of Virginia contributed, in 1898, directly to the expenses of the State Government, the sum of $9,576.76, and for schools $3,239.41 from their personal property, a total of $12,816.17; while, from their real estate, for the purpose of the commonwealth there was paid by them $34,303.53, and for schools $11,457.22, or a total of $45,760.75—a grand total of $58,576.92.

"The report for the same year shows them to own 987,118 acres of land valued at $3,800,459, improved by buildings valued at $2,056,490, a total of $5,856,949. In the towns and cities, they own lots assessed at $2,154,331, improved by buildings valued at $3,400,636, a total of $5,554,976 for town property, and a grand total of $11,411,916 of their property of all kinds in the commonwealth. A comparative statement of different years would doubtless show a general upward tendency.

"The counties of Accomac, Essex, King and Queen, Middlesex, Mathews, Northampton, Northumberland, Richmond, Westmoreland, Gloucester, Princess Anne and Lancaster, all agricultural, show an aggregate of 114,197 acres held by negroes in 1897, the last year accounted for in official reports, against 108,824 held the previous year, an increase of 5,379, or nearly five per cent. The total valuation of land owned by negroes in the same counties for 1897, is $547,800 against $496,385 for the year next preceding, a gain of $51,150, or more than ten per cent. Their personal property, as assessed in 1897, was $517,560, in 1896, $527,688, a loss of $10,128. Combining the real and personal property for 1897, we have $1,409,059, against $1,320,504 for 1896, a net gain of $88,555, an increase of six and one-half per cent.

"The records of Gloucester, Lancaster, Middlesex, Princess Anne,

Northumberland, Northampton, King and Queen, Essex, and Westmoreland, where the colored population exceeds the white, show that the criminal expense for 1896 was $14,313.29, but for 1897 it was only $8,538.12, a saving of $5,774.17 to the State, or a falling off of forty per cent. This does not tell the whole story. In the first named year twenty-six persons were convicted of felonies, with sentences in the penitentiary, while in the year succeeding only nine, or one-third as many, were convicted of the graver offences of the law."

According to these returns, in 1892, when the colored people formed 41 per cent. of the population, they owned 2.75 per cent. of the total number of acres assessed for taxation, and 3.40 per cent. of the buildings; in 1898, although not constituting more than 37 per cent. of the population (by reason of white immigration), they owned 3.23 per cent. of the acreage assessed, and 4.64 per cent. of the buildings—a gain of nearly one-third in six years.

According to statistics gathered by a graduate of the Hampton Institute, in twelve counties in Virginia, there has been in the part of the State covered by the investigation an increase of 5,379 acres in the holdings of colored people, and an increase of $51,150 in the value of their land. In nine counties there has been a decrease in the number of persons charged with felonies and sent to the penitentiary from twenty-six in 1896 to nine in 1897.

I do not believe that the negro will grow weaker in morals and less strong in numbers because of his immediate contact with the white race. The first-class life insurance companies are considered excellent authorities as to the longevity of individuals and races; and the fact that most of them now seek to insure the educated class of blacks is a good test of what these companies think of the effect of education upon the mortality of the race.

The case of Jamaica, in the West Indies, presents a good example by which to judge the future of the negro in the United States, so far as mortality is concerned. The argument drawn from Jamaica is valuable, chiefly because the race there has been free for sixty-two years, instead of thirty-five, as in our own country. During the years of freedom, the blacks of Jamaica have been in constant contact with the white man. Slavery was abolished in Jamaica in 1838. The census of 1844 showed that there were 364,000 negroes in the Island. In 1871 there were 493,000, and in 1891 there were 610,579. In a history of Jamaica written by Mr. W. P. Livingston, who spent ten years studying the conditions of the Island, we find that, immediately after emancipation

in the Island, there was something of the reaction that has taken place in some parts of our country; but that recently there has been a settling down to real, earnest life on the part of a large proportion of the race. After calling attention to certain weak and unsatisfactory phases in the life of the Jamaica negro, Mr. Livingston says:

"This, then, is the race as it exists to-day, a product of sixty years of freedom; on the whole, a plain, honest, Anglicized people, with no peculiarity except a harmless ignorance and superstition. Looking at it in contrast with what it was at the beginning of the period, one cannot but be impressed with the wonderful progress it has made; and where there has been steady progress in the past, there is infinite hope for the future. * * * * * * The impact of Roman power and culture on the northern barbarians of the United Kingdom did not make itself felt for three hundred years. * * * * * Instead of dying off before civilization, he (the negro) grows stronger as he comes within its best influences."

In comparing the black race of Jamaica with that of the United States, it should be borne in mind that the negro in America enjoys advantages and encouragements which the race in Jamaica does not possess.

What I have said, I repeat, is based largely upon my own experience and observation, rather than upon statistics. I do not wish to convey the impression that the problem before our country is not a large and serious one; but I do believe that in a judicious system of industrial, mental and religious training we have found the method of solving it. What we most need is the money necessary to make the system effective. The indications are hopeful, not discouraging; and not the least encouraging is the fact that, in addition to the munificence of Northern philanthropists and the appropriations of the Southern State Governments from common taxation, with the efforts of the negro himself, we have now reached a point at which the solution of this problem is drawing to its aid some of the most thoughtful and cultured white men and women of the South, as is indicated by the article to which I have already referred, from the pen of Professor John Roach Straton, a representative of the best element of the South.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

STEPHEN CRANE.

FROM AN ENGLISH STANDPOINT.

BY H. G. WELLS.

THE untimely death at thirty of Stephen Crane robs English literature of an interesting and significant figure, and the little world of those who write, of a stout friend and a pleasant comrade. For a year and more he had been ailing. The bitter hardships of his Cuban expedition had set its mark upon mind and body alike, and the slow darkling of the shadow upon him must have been evident to all who were not blinded by their confidence in what he was yet to do. Altogether, I knew Crane for less than a year, and I saw him for the last time hardly more than seven weeks ago. He was then in a hotel at Dover, lying still and comfortably wrapped about, before an open window and the calm and spacious sea. If you would figure him as I saw him, you must think of him as a face of a type very typically American, long and spare, with very straight hair and straight features and long, quiet hands and hollow eyes, moving slowly, smiling and speaking slowly, with that deliberate New Jersey manner he had, and lapsing from speech again into a quiet contemplation of his ancient enemy. For it was the sea that had taken his strength, the same sea that now shone, level waters beyond level waters, with here and there a minute, shining ship, warm and tranquil beneath the tranquil evening sky. Yet I felt scarcely a suspicion then that this was a last meeting. One might have seen it all, perhaps. He was thin and gaunt and wasted, too weak for more than a remembered jest and a greeting and good wishes. It did not seem to me in any way credible that he would reach his refuge in the Black Forest only to die at the journey's end. It will be a long time yet before I can fully realize that he is no longer a contemporary of mine; that the last I saw of him was, indeed, final and complete.

Though my personal acquaintance with Crane was so soon truncated, I have followed his work for all the four years it has been known in England. I have always been proud, and now I am glad, that, however obscurely, I also was in the first chorus of welcome that met his coming. It is, perhaps, no great distinction for me; he was abundantly praised; but, at least, I was early and willing to praise him when I was wont to be youthfully jealous of my praises. His success in England began with "The Red Badge of Courage," which did, indeed, more completely than any other book has done for many years, take the reading public by storm. Its freshness of method, its vigor of imagination, its force of color and its essential freedom from many traditions that dominate this side of the Atlantic, came—in spite of the previous shock of Mr. Kipling—with a positive effect of impact. It was a new thing, in a new school. When one looked for sources, one thought at once of Tolstoi; but, though it was clear that Tolstoi had exerted a powerful influence upon the conception, if not the actual writing, of the book, there still remained something entirely original and novel. To a certain extent, of course, that was the new man as an individual; but, to at least an equal extent, it was the new man as a typical young American, free at last, as no generation of Americans have been free before, of any regard for English criticism, comment or tradition, and applying to literary work the conception and theories of the cosmopolitan studio with a quite American directness and vigor. For the great influence of the studio on Crane cannot be ignored; in the persistent selection of the essential elements of an impression, in the ruthless exclusion of mere information, in the direct vigor with which the selected points are made, there is Whistler even more than there is Tolstoi in "The Red Badge of Courage." And witness this, taken almost haphazard:

"At nightfall the column broke into regimental pieces, and the fragments went into the fields to camp. Tents sprang up like strange plants. Camp fires, like red, peculiar blossoms, dotted the night. * * * From this little distance the many fires, with the black forms of men passing to and fro before the crimson rays, made weird and satanic effects."

And here again; consider the daring departure from all academic requirements, in this void countenance:

"A warm and strong hand clasped the youth's languid fingers for an instant, and then he heard a cheerful and audacious whistling as

the man strode away. As he who had so befriended him was thus passing out of his life, it suddenly occurred to the youth that he had not once seen his face."

I do not propose to add anything here to the mass of criticism upon this remarkable book. Like everything else which has been abundantly praised, it has occasionally been praised "all wrong;" and I suppose that it must have been said hundreds of times that this book is a subjective study of the typical soldier in war. But Mr. George Wyndham, himself a soldier of experience, has pointed out in an admirable preface to a re-issue of this and other of Crane's war studies, that the hero of the "Red Badge" is, and is intended to be, altogether a more sensitive and imaginative person than the ordinary man. He is the idealist, the dreamer of boastful things brought suddenly to the test of danger and swift occasions and the presence of death. To this theme Crane returned several times, and particularly in a story called "Death and the Child" that was written after the Greek war. That story is considered by very many of Crane's admirers as absolutely his best. I have carefully re-read it in deference to opinions I am bound to respect, but I still find it inferior to the earlier work. The generalized application is, to my taste, a little too evidently underlined; there is just that touch of insistence that prevails so painfully at times in Victor Hugo's work, as of a writer not sure of his reader, not happy in his reader and seeking to drive his implication (of which also he is not quite sure) home. The child is not a natural child; there is no happy touch to make it personally alive; it is THE CHILD, something unfalteringly big; a large, pink, generalized thing, I cannot help but see it, after the fashion of a Vatican cherub. The fugitive runs panting to where, all innocent of the battle about it, it plays; and he falls down breathless to be asked, "Are you a man?" One sees the intention clearly enough; but in the later story it seems to me there is a new ingredient that is absent from the earlier stories, an ingredient imposed on Crane's natural genius from without—a concession to the demands of a criticism it had been wiser, if less modest, in him to disregard—criticism that missed this quality of generalization and demanded it, even though it had to be artificially and deliberately introduced.

Following hard upon the appearance of "The Red Badge of Courage" in England came reprints of two books, "Maggie" and

"George's Mother," that had already appeared in America six years earlier. Their reception gave Crane his first taste of the peculiarities of the new public he had come upon. These stories seem to me in no way inferior to the "Red Badge;" and at times there are passages, the lament of Maggie's mother at the end of "Maggie," for example, that it would be hard to beat by any passage from the later book. But on all hands came discouragement or tepid praise. The fact of it is, there had been almost an orgie of praise—for England, that is; and ideas and adjectives and phrases were exhausted. To write further long reviews on works displaying the same qualities as had been already amply discussed in the notices of the "Red Badge" would be difficult and laborious; while to admit an equal excellence and deny an equal prominence would be absurd. But to treat these stories as early work, to find them immature, dismiss them and proceed to fresher topics, was obvious and convenient. So it was, I uncharitably imagine, that these two tales have been overshadowed and are still comparatively unknown. Yet, they are absolutely essential to a just understanding of Crane. In these stories, and in these alone, he achieved tenderness and a compulsion of sympathy for other than vehement emotions, qualities that the readers of "The Third Violet" and "On Active Service," his later love stories, might well imagine beyond his reach.

And upon the appearance of these books in England came what, in my present mood, I cannot but consider as the great blunder and misfortune of Crane's life. It is a trait of the public we writers serve, that to please it is to run the gravest risk of never writing again. Through a hundred channels and with a hundred varieties of seduction and compulsion, the public seeks to induce its favorite to do something else—to act, to lecture, to travel, to jump down volcanoes or perform in music halls, to do anything, rather than to possess his soul in peace and to pursue the work he was meant to do. Indeed, this modern public is as violently experimental with its writers as a little child with a kitten. It is animated, above all things, by an insatiable desire to plunge its victim into novel surroundings, and watch how he feels. And since Crane had demonstrated, beyond all cavil, that he could sit at home and, with nothing but his wonderful brain and his wonderful induction from recorded things, build up the truest and most convincing picture of war; since he was a fas-

tidious and careful worker, intensely subjective in his mental habit; since he was a man of fragile physique and of that unreasonable courage that will wreck the strongest physique; and since, moreover, he was habitually a bad traveller, losing trains and luggage and missing connections even in the orderly circumstances of peace, it was clearly the most reasonable thing in the world to propose, it was received with the applause of two hemispheres as a most right and proper thing, that he should go as a war correspondent, first to Greece and then to Cuba. Thereby, and for nothing but disappointment and bitterness, he utterly wrecked his health. He came into comparison with men as entirely his masters in this work as he was the master of all men in his own; and I read even in the most punctual of his obituary notices the admission of his journalistic failure. I have read, too, that he brought back nothing from these expeditions. But, indeed, even not counting his death, he brought back much. On his way home from Cuba he was wrecked, and he wrote the story of the nights and days that followed the sinking of the ship with a simplicity and vigor that even he cannot rival elsewhere.

"The Open Boat" is to my mind, beyond all question, the crown of all his work. It has all the stark power of the earlier stories, with a new element of restraint; the color is as full and strong as ever, fuller and stronger, indeed; but those chromatic splashes that at times deafen and confuse in "The Red Badge," those images that astonish rather than enlighten, are disciplined and controlled. "That and 'Flanagan'," he told me, with a philosophical laugh, "was all I got out of Cuba." I cannot say whether they were worth the price, but I am convinced that these two things are as immortal as any work of any living man. And the way "The Open Boat" begins, no stress, plain—even a little gray and flattish:

"None of them knew the color of the sky. Their eyes glanced level, and were fastened upon the waves that swept toward them. These waves were of the hue of slate, save for the tops, which were of foaming white, and all of the men knew the color of the sea. The horizon narrowed and widened, and dipped and rose, and at all times its edge was jagged with waves that seemed thrust up in points like rocks.

"Many a man ought to have a bath-tub larger than the boat which here rode upon the sea. These waves were most wrongfully and barbarously abrupt and tall, and each froth-top was a problem in small-boat navigation.

"The cook squatted in the bottom, and looked with both eyes at the six inches of gunwale which separated him from the ocean. His sleeves were rolled over his fat forearms, and the two flaps of his unbuttoned vest dangled as he bent to bail out the boat. Often he said, 'Gawd! That was a narrow clip.' As he remarked it, he invariably gazed eastward over the broken sea.

"The oiler, steering with one of the two oars in the boat, sometimes raised himself suddenly to keep clear of the water that swirled in over the stern. It was a thin little oar and it seemed often ready to snap.

"The correspondent, pulling at the other oar, watched the waves and wondered why he was there."

From that beginning, the story mounts and mounts over the waves, wave frothing after wave, each wave a threat, and the men toil and toil and toil again; by insensible degrees the day lights the waves to green and olive, and the foam grows dazzling. Then as the long day draws out, they come toward the land.

"'Look! There's a man on the shore!'

"'Where?'

"'There! See 'im?'

"'Yes, sure! He's walking along.'

"'Now he's stopped. Look! He's facing us!'

"'So he is, by thunder!'

"'Ah, now we're all right! Now we're all right! There'll be a boat out here for us in half-an-hour.'

"'He's going on. He's running. He's going up to that house there.'

"The remote beach seemed lower than the sea, and it required a searching glance to discern the little black figure. The captain saw a floating stick and they rowed to it. A bath-towel was by some weird chance in the boat, and, tying this on the stick, the captain waved it. The oarsman did not dare turn his head, so he was obliged to ask questions.

"'What's he doing now?'

"'He's standing still again. He's looking, I think. . . . There he goes again. Towards the house. Now he's stopped again.'

"'Is he waving at us?'

"'No, not now! he was, though.'

"'Look! There comes another man!'

"'He's running.'

. . . . . .

"'Well, I wish I could make something out of those signals. What do you suppose he means!'

"'He don't mean anything. He's just playing.'

"'Well, if he'd just signal us to try the surf again, or to go to sea and wait, or go north, or go south, or go to hell—there would be some reason in it. But look at him. He just stands there and keeps his coat revolving like a wheel. The ass!'

"'There come more people.'

"'Now there's quite a mob. Look! Isn't that a boat?'

"'Where? Oh, I see where you mean. No, that's no boat.'

"'That fellow is still waving his coat.'

"'He must think we like to see him do that. Why don't he quit it? It don't mean anything.'

"'I don't know. I think he is trying to make us go north. It must be that there's a life saving station there somewhere.'

"'Say, he ain't tired yet. Look at 'im wave.'

. . . . . .

"'Holy smoke!' said one, allowing his voice to express his impious mood. 'If we keep on monkeying out here! If we've got to flounder out here all night!'

"'Oh, we'll never have to stay here all night! Don't you worry. They've seen us now, and it won't be long before they'll come chasing out after us.'

"The shore grew dusky. The man waving a coat blended gradually into this gloom, and it swallowed in the same manner the omnibus and the group of people. The spray, when it dashed uproariously over the side, made the voyagers shrink and swear like men who were being branded.

"'I'd like to catch the chump who waved the coat. I feel like soaking him one, just for luck.'

"'Why? What did he do?'

. . . . . .

"In the meantime the oiler rowed, and then the correspondent rowed, and then the oiler rowed. Grey-faced and bowed forward, they mechanically, turn by turn, plied the leaden oars. The form of the lighthouse had vanished from the southern horizon, but finally a pale star appeared, just lifting from the sea. The streaked saffron in the west passed before the all-merging darkness, and the sea to the east was black. The land had vanished, and was expressed only by the low and dread thunder of the surf."

"The Open Boat" gives its title to a volume containing, in addition to that and "Flanagan," certain short pieces. One of these others, at least, is also to my mind a perfect thing, "The Wise Men." It tells of the race between two bar-tenders in the city of Mexico, and I cannot imagine how it could possibly have been better told. And in this volume, too, is that other masterpiece—the one I deny—"Death and the Child."

Now I do not know how Crane took the reception of this book, for he was not the man to babble of his wrongs; but I cannot conceive how it could have been anything but a grave disappointment to him. To use the silly phrase of the literary shopman, "the vogue of the short story" was already over; rubbish, pure rubbish, provided only it was lengthy, had resumed its former precedence again in the reviews, in the publishers' advertisements and on the library and book-sellers' counters. The book was taken as a trivial by-product, its author was exhorted to abandon this produc-

tion of "brilliant fragments"—anything less than fifty thousand words is a fragment to the writer of literary columns—and to make that "sustained effort," that architectural undertaking, that alone impresses the commercial mind. Of course, the man who can call "The Open Boat" a brilliant fragment would reproach Rodin for not completing the edifice his brilliant fragments of statuary are presumably intended to adorn, and would sigh, with the late Mr. Ruskin for the day when Mr. Whistler would "finish" his pictures. Moreover, he was strongly advised—just as they have advised Mr. Kipling—to embark upon a novel. And from other quarters, where a finer wisdom might have been displayed, he learned that the things he had written were not "short stories" at all; they were "sketches" perhaps, "anecdotes"—just as they call Mr. Kipling's short stories "anecdotes;" and it was insinuated that for him also the true, the ineffable "short story" was beyond his reach. I think it is indisputable that the quality of this reception, which a more self-satisfied or less sensitive man than Crane might have ignored, did react very unfavorably upon his work. They put him out of conceit with these brief intense efforts in which his peculiar strength was displayed.

It was probably such influence that led him to write "The Third Violet." I do not know certainly, but I imagine, that the book was to be a demonstration, and it is not a successful demonstration, that Crane could write a charming love story. It is the very simple affair of an art student and a summer boarder, with the more superficial incidents of their petty encounters set forth in a forcible, objective manner that is curiously hard and unsympathetic. The characters act, and on reflection one admits they act, *true,* but the play of their emotions goes on behind the curtain of the style, and all the enrichments of imaginative appeal that make love beautiful are omitted. Yet, though the story as a whole fails to satisfy, there are many isolated portions of altogether happy effectiveness, a certain ride behind an ox cart, for example. Much more surely is "On Active Service" an effort, and in places a painful effort, to fit his peculiar gift to the uncongenial conditions of popular acceptance. It is the least capable and least satisfactory of all Crane's work.

While these later books were appearing, and right up to his last fatal illness, Crane continued to produce fresh war pictures that show little or no falling off in vigor of imagination and

handling; and, in addition, he was experimenting with verse. In that little stone-blue volume, "War is Kind," and in the earlier "Black Riders," the reader will find a series of acute and vivid impressions and many of the finer qualities of Crane's descriptive prose, but he will not find any novel delights of melody or cadence or any fresh aspects of Crane's personality. There remain some children's stories to be published and an unfinished romance. With that the tale of his published work ends, and the career of one of the most brilliant, most significant and most distinctively American of all English writers comes to its unanticipated *finis.*

It would be absurd, here and now, to attempt to apportion any relativity of importance to Crane, to say that he was greater than A. or less important than B. That class-list business is, indeed, best left forever to the newspaper plebiscite and the library statistician; among artists, whose sole, just claim to recognition and whose sole title to immortality must necessarily be the possession of unique qualities, that is to say, of unclassifiable factors, these gradations are absurd. Suffice it that, even before his death, Crane's right to be counted in the hierarchy of those who have made a permanent addition to the great and growing fabric of English letters was not only assured, but conceded. To define his position in time, however, and in relation to periods and modes of writing will be a more reasonable undertaking; and it seems to me that, when at last the true proportions can be seen, Crane will be found to occupy a position singularly cardinal. He was a New Englander of Puritan lineage, and the son of a long tradition of literature. There had been many Cranes who wrote before him. He has shown me a shelf of books, for the most part the pious and theological works of various antecedent Stephen Cranes. He had been at some pains to gather together these alien products of his kin. For the most part they seemed little, insignificant books, and one opened them to read the beaten *clichés,* the battered outworn phrases, of a movement that has ebbed. Their very size and binding suggested a dying impulse, that very same impulse that in its prime had carried the magnificence of Milton's imagery and the pomp and splendors of Milton's prose. In Crane that impulse was altogether dead. He began stark—I find all through this brief notice I have been repeating that in a dozen disguises, "freedom from tradition," "absolute directness" and the like—as though he came into the world of letters without ever a predeces-

sor. In style, in method and in all that is distinctively *not* found in his books, he is sharply defined, the expression in literary art of certain enormous repudiations. Was ever a man before who wrote of battles so abundantly as he has done, and never had a word, never a word from first to last, of the purpose and justification of the war? And of the God of Battles, no more than the battered name; "Hully Gee!"—the lingering trace of the Deity! And of the sensuousness and tenderness of love, so much as one can find in "The Third Violet!" Any richness of allusion, any melody or balance of phrase, the half quotation that refracts and softens and enriches the statement, the momentary digression that opens like a window upon beautiful or distant things, are not merely absent, but obviously and sedulously avoided. It is as if the racial thought and tradition had been razed from his mind and its site ploughed and salted. He is more than himself in this; he is the first expression of the opening mind of a new period, or, at least, the early emphatic phase of a new initiative—beginning, as a growing mind must needs begin, with the record of impressions, a record of a vigor and intensity beyond all precedent.

H. G. WELLS.

WHY GENERAL SHERMAN DECLINED THE NOMINATION IN 1884.*

BEING A LETTER, HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED, FROM GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN TO UNITED STATES SENATOR J. R. DOOLITTLE, OF WISCONSIN.

---

912 GARRISON AVENUE, ST. LOUIS, MO.,
June 10, 1884.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE,
RACINE, WIS.

My Dear Sir: This morning's mail brought me your letter of the 8th, and, though packing my trunk for a trip to Southwest Missouri—Carthage, Joplin, etc.—in fulfillment of a promise made my old soldiers two months ago, I think I had better answer you.

The Law compelled my retirement from the command of the Army because I was sixty-four years of age. I favored the law, because the average man of sixty-four or sixty-five is usually incapacitated for military service, which demands not only mental strength but physical. I had seen so many good officers cling to their commissions long after it was plain to all except themselves that their day had passed—conspicuously so Scott, Bonneville, etc.—that I really wanted to retire whilst I had sense enough, and before I could be subjected to the hints and flings that Sherman, naturally eccentric, was becoming old and obstructive. If too old to command an army of twenty-five thousand men, of course I

*Senator Doolittle was one of those who ardently desired that General Sherman should become a candidate for the Presidency. Feeling confident that the nomination of the great commander was assured, the Senator wrote him a letter offering suggestions as to points which it seemed desirable to cover in his letter of acceptance. General Sherman replied that he had forbidden the use of his name in the Convention, and Senator Doolittle responded in a communication of some length, in which he expressed great regret at the General's decision, and pointed out the services which the veteran might have rendered to the country as President. The letter printed above is General Sherman's answer to this communication.—EDITOR.

was too old to be the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. Therefore I notified my own brother, and all who were entitled to my confidence, that I must not be used by any political convention for *its* purpose and convenience.

During the Convention at Chicago I was notified by men high in authority that, in case there should be a deadlock as between the two strong candidates, Arthur and Blaine, my name would surely be used, whether I consented or not.

I may be eccentric, but I think I am not a fool, an ass, to be used by others at their will, and I simply confided to a friend, in position to act, that they had better not make too free use of my name, as I had old-fashioned ideas of freedom and the right of every man to shape his own destiny; that I was not in the habit of calling a council of war to throw off on it the responsibility, but had already decided for myself, and advised the Convention that if it used my name without my consent I might answer in terms which would damage it as well as myself. Of course, my name was dropped, and Blaine was nominated.

I know Blaine well and have since he was a boy of ten years of age. He is talented, as all admit, and as honest as the time calls for. He has been heavily taxed, not only by his immediate family, but by brothers, sisters, cousins and aunts, and he has been to them most kind and generous, as I *know*. Had he limited his action to his Congressional salary, his brothers and sisters would have been dependent on others, and he was forced to embark in private enterprises. He favored, rightfully, the building of the great Trans-Continental Roads, Congress aiding by the grant of alternate sections out for ten miles, doubling the price of the remainder, just as you or I or any honest owner would gladly do to increase the value of the general estate. I don't know that Blaine made any profit thereby, but I hope he did. This clamor against the Pacific Railroad Grants is to me the veriest demagoguery, for in 1865 I would have freely given all of Nebraska, Wyoming, Utah and Nevada, yea, been willing to throw in New Mexico, to any corporation which would have guaranteed to build *one* Pacific Road; now we have *four*. And they add more strength to the Union of this nation than all the Politics of both Republican and Democratic parties in the last fifty years.

Logan was a good soldier, and Blaine and Logan are fair can-

didates for the Republicans. Now let the Democrats put out a ticket of their best representative men.

And then fight it out.

It don't make much difference which wins—neither can do any good. The real question is, Which will do the *least* harm?

Our people insist on being governed by Parties full of virtuous professions, but slack of performance; and the time is opportune for a full and fair fight as between them. I am not entitled to a vote, and therefore disqualified from expressing my opinion, but I surely do account myself happy and fortunate in escaping so easily a danger I dreaded.

With respect, your Friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

IMPERIALISM AMERICA'S HISTORIC POLICY.

BY W. A. PEFFER, FORMERLY UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM KANSAS.

THE arraignment of the National Administration by certain of our citizens on a charge of imperialism, in the execution of its Philippine policy, brings up for discussion in the pending campaign some important questions relating to the powers, duties and responsibilities of government, among which are three that I propose to consider briefly in this article, namely:

First. Whence comes the right to govern? What are its sphere and object?

Second. Are we, the people of the United States, a self-governing people?

Third. Is our Philippine policy anti-American?

I.

As to the right to govern—the right to exercise authority over communities, states and nations, the right to enact, construe and execute laws—whence is it derived? For what purposes and to what extent may it be properly assumed?

In the Declaration of Independence it is asserted that:

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

But is it true that government, even in a republic like ours, derives its just powers only from the consent of the governed? Is it not a fact that at no time in our history have we either had or asked the consent of all the people within our jurisdiction, to the powers of government which we have been exercising over them? Is it not true, on the contrary, that we have been govern-

ing many of them not only without their consent, but in direct opposition to it?

The Constitution, framed to provide such a form of government as the signers of the Declaration had in mind, contains the following provision:

> "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

And this:

> "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a duty or tax may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

These two provisions were intended to apply and did apply to negro slaves, of whom there were in the country at that time about half a million, nearly one-sixth of the entire population; and they, as a class, together with our Indian neighbors and the free people of color, were all excluded from the ranks of those who participated in the institution of our new government. Their consent to anything done or contemplated in the administration of our public affairs was neither asked nor desired. Their consent or dissent did not enter into the problems of government. It made no difference what their wishes were, or to what they were opposed. A majority of such persons as enjoyed political privileges—they and they only—formed the new government and organized its powers, without regard to the disfranchised classes, as much so as if these classes had not been in existence.

And, in addition to the non-voting people, there were many white men in the States who, by reason of their poverty, were not permitted to vote, and hence could not take part in popular elections. It is, probably, safe to say that, of the whole population of the country, when the Constitution was put into effect, the number that had no part in the work of establishing the National Government, either for or against it, although they were subject to its rule, constituted at least twenty-five per cent.

Still more. In every one of the States, and among those persons, too, qualified to vote, there was opposition, more or less, to the inauguration of the new regime. North Carolina did not

ratify the Constitution till more than two years after the convention that framed it had adjourned *sine die;* and Rhode Island did not come into the Union till May of President Washington's second year.

There is no way of ascertaining exactly the number of voters who were opposed to the new plan, who did not consent to it, and who would have defeated it if they could; but, if these be added to the disfranchised classes, we have a total of at least one-third of the inhabitants of the country not consenting to the exercise of the governmental powers over them. Yet these powers were deemed by the majority that organized them to be just powers, and the said majority felt that they were justified in executing them.

Thomas Jefferson held "the vital principle of republics" to be "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority." But whence comes the right of a majority to rule? And may the majority of to-day determine the course of the majority of to-morrow? Had two-thirds of a population of less than four million in 1789 the rightful authority to lay down rules of government for a population of seventy-five millions in 1900—rules which we cannot change, save by revolution, unless we do it in accordance with forms prescribed by our ancestors more than a hundred years ago?

We all believe with Jefferson that the right of a majority to rule in a republic is not to be challenged; and the answer to these troublesome questions concerning the source of this undisputed right to govern can be found only in the theory, that government is one of the essential agencies provided in the beginning by the Father above for the work of subduing the earth and bringing all men to Himself. The thought is tersely expressed by St. Paul in his letter to the Romans: "There is no power but of God." "The powers that be are ordained of God." The ruler is a "minister of God."

Man's right to life, liberty and room to work in is inherent, and government follows as naturally as the seasons follow each other. As long as the individual man lives separated from his fellows, he needs no protection other than he is able himself to command; but when population increases and men gather in communities, governments are instituted among them in order to make these individual rights secure; and then new rights appear,

communal rights; for communities, as well as individual persons, have rights.

The necessity for government increases with the density of population, and the scope of its powers is enlarged with the extension of its territorial jurisdiction, the diversity of employments in which the citizenship are engaged and the degree of refinement to which they have attained. The trapper, with his axe, knife, gun and sack, pursues his calling alone in the wilderness; but, with settlement, the forest disappears, farms are opened up, towns laid out, neighborhoods formed, laws become necessary, and government begins.

It is not necessary, however, that we should agree on the origin of government, for we know that, as a matter of fact, governments in one form or another have existed ever since the beginning of recorded history; and we know, further, that under the operation of these governments ninety per cent. of the habitable surface of the globe has been reclaimed from barbarism. The whole world is to-day virtually within the jurisdiction of regularly organized powers of government, international law is recognized and enforced as part of the general code of the nations, and the trend of the world's civilization is toward free institutions and popular forms of government.

II.

As to whether we are a self-governing people, the answer to this question depends upon whether all classes of the population within our jurisdiction share in the work of governing, or whether, as in the ancient republics, only a portion of the people are to be taken for the whole for purposes of government.

In any age of the world, the character of government fairly represents the state of the world's inhabitants at that particular period. That a people are not far enough advanced to form a government for themselves and conduct its affairs in their own way is not a reason why they should not have any government at all. On its lower level, government may extend no further than the will of an ignorant despot who holds the tenure of life and property in his hands; but as men advance, they rise to higher levels and the sphere of government is enlarged. In the end it will, of necessity, embrace all human interests which are common.

The members of the Continental Congress, in declaring the

cause which impelled the separation of the colonies from the mother country, began the concluding paragraph of the Declaration in these words:

> "We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, etc."

The words "good people of these colonies" included only such of the people as at that time participated in the work of local government, excluding those who were opposed to separation. The Tories, and there were a good many of them, did not approve anything that the Congress did. They were regarded by the patriots as public enemies, and were kept under constant watch by committees of inspection and observation in every county. They were subject to arrest and imprisonment—even to banishment; and in many instances their property was confiscated. The Congress surely did not speak in the name of the Tories, nor by their authority.

The Articles of Confederation, under the provisions of which the Congress acted after March 2nd, 1781, recognized as its constituency only "the free inhabitants of each of these States." Slaves, though constituting nearly, if not quite, sixteen per cent. of the population, were not reckoned among the political forces to be respected. Indians, likewise, were excluded.

The Constitution of the United States opens thus:

> "We, the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

But not more than two-thirds of the population were represented in "We, the people," and a majority of the two-thirds assumed the responsibilities of government—rightfully, as all loyal Americans believe. The machinery of the Republic was set in motion in 1789, and the census taken the next year showed the total population to be 3,929,214, of which total number 757,208 were colored—mostly persons of African descent, who were nearly all slaves, and these, with the other disfranchised classes, as before stated, made up about thirty-three per cent. of the population that were not permitted to take part in establishing the new government.

Furthermore, when the Constitution was submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for their action, it was strenuously

opposed in some of them, and received unanimous support in only three—Delaware, New Jersey and Georgia. The majority in its favor was large in Connecticut and South Carolina, while in Virginia the majority was only ten votes, and in New York only three. The vote in five of the States stood thus: Pennsylvania, 46 to 23; Massachusetts, 187 to 168; Maryland, 63 to 11; New Hampshire, 57 to 46; New York, 30 to 27. North Carolina and Rhode Island were two years in making up their minds to accept places in the Union.

So we see that a majority of about two-thirds (and that may have been in fact less than a majority of the whole people) assumed to speak and act for all. The people of the United States have all along acted on that plan. We have gone even further than that. We have in some cases expressly authorized minorities to determine the gravest matters. The Constitution provides that "a majority of each (House of Congress) shall constitute a quorum to do business;" and "each House may determine the rules of its proceedings." The Senate now consists of ninety members; forty-six is a majority, constituting a quorum. Of this forty-six, twenty-four form a majority, and although it is less than one-third of the whole body, may pass any measure that is not required by the Constitution to receive a majority or a two-thirds vote—a treaty, for example. And it is the same in the House of Representatives.

And, although a majority of the electoral vote is required to choose a President of the United States, it has frequently happened that the successful candidate was opposed by a majority of the voters of the country.

In the matter of amending the Constitution, a majority of the voters may favor any particular amendment proposed, but it must be ratified by three-fourths of the Legislatures of the several States before it becomes law.

We not only have adopted the majority principle as a rule of government, but we have uniformly insisted upon acquiescence in minority rule in any and all cases where it has been so provided in advance.

We have but to look at our record to see that, from the beginning, we have excluded a very large proportion of our own people from all participation in affairs of government, and we have never accused ourselves of exercising unjust powers or undue au-

thority. This fact strengthens the belief that there is a source of power which does not lie in the people at all—a "higher power," if you please. The Declaration of Independence conforms to this view, in affirming that men are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," and in appealing to the "Supreme Judge of the world," "with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence."

III.

In order to determine whether our Philippine policy is anti-American, we must examine the testimony of American history, and see the record that Americans have made for themselves in their treatment of subject people in our own country.

Virginia and New England may fairly be taken as representative of the Colonies up to the time of the Revolution, in so far as the Indian population is concerned.

Patents to the London Company and to the Plymouth Company were issued in 1606 by King James I., authorizing them to "possess and colonize that portion of North America lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels of north latitude." What legal rights or privileges James had in America were based wholly on the discoveries made by English navigators. Rights of the native inhabitants were not considered in the granting of these patents, nor in the subsequent colonization.

The London Company colonized Virginia and the Plymouth Company and its successors colonized New England. In both cases landings were effected and settlements begun without consulting the people that inhabited the country.

As to Virginia, among the early acts of the Jamestown colony, under the lead of Captain Smith, was the procuring of food from the Indians by trading with them, and at the some time fortifying the new settlement against Indian depredations. Smith strengthened the fort in 1608, trained the watch regularly and exercised the company every Saturday. No organized opposition to the white settlement appeared during the first few years, though the Indians manifested their dissatisfaction in the arrest of Smith, whom they would have summarily put to death but for the intercession of the Chief's daughter. But in 1622, under Opechancanough, they attacked the settlers, killed several hundred of them, and devastated a good many plantations. They were finally

beaten back by the whites, many of them being unmercifully slaughtered, and the rest driven into the wilderness. Twenty-two years later, under lead of the same Chief, another war broke out, lasting two years, causing much loss of life and property on both sides, and resulting in the utter defeat of the Indians and the cession by them of large tracts of land to the colonists.

This policy was pursued to the end—whites advancing, Indians receding—up to the end of the colonial period, when the whole State, practically, belonged to the whites.

The Plymouth Colony early sent Captain Standish, with a few men, to confer with the natives and ascertain, if possible, the state of their feeling in regard to the white settlement; but the Indians eluded him and he learned nothing. The second year after this reconnoisance Canonicus, King or Chief of the Narragansetts, by way of showing how he felt about it, sent to the Plymouth people a bundle of arrows tied with the skin of a rattlesnake. As an answer to this challenge, the skin was stuffed with powder and bullets and returned. These exchanges of compliments opened the way for a peace treaty between the settlers and several tribes; but some of the chiefs were suspicious of the whites and formed a conspiracy to kill them off. The scheme coming to the knowledge of the colonists, it was frustrated by Standish and his company, who treacherously killed two chiefs. A treaty of peace with the Narragansetts soon followed this occurrence, and it remained in force until the Wampanoags, weary of encroachments on their lands by the whites, made war on them under the leadership of King Philip, in 1675.

Among the incidents of that war, and as showing the temper of the colonists, may be mentioned the destruction of the Narragansett fort and the subsequent capture and treatment of Philip. The fort sheltered about three thousand Narragansetts, mostly women and children. It was surprised during a snowstorm, the palisades and wigwams were fired, and the Indians were driven forth by the flames to be either burnt, suffocated, frozen, butchered or drowned in the surrounding swamp. History says that "500 wigwams were destroyed, 600 warriors killed, 1,000 women and children massacred, and the winter's provisions of the tribe reduced to ashes." "The Government set a price of thirty shillings per head for every Indian killed in battle, and many women and children were sold into slavery in South America and the West

Indies." Toward the last, Captain Church, the noted Indian fighter, headed an expedition to find Philip and destroy the remainder of the Wampanoags. Philip was hunted from place to place, and at last found in camp on the 12th of August, 1676. The renegade Indian who betrayed the Narragansett camp led Captain Church to the camp of Philip. The attack was made at night, while the Indians were asleep. Philip, in attempting to escape, was recognized by an Indian ally of the whites and shot dead as he stumbled and fell into the mire. His body was dragged forward, and Church cut off his head, which was borne on the point of a spear to Plymouth, where it remained twenty years exposed on a gibbet. According to the colonial laws, as a traitor, his body was drawn and quartered on a day that was appointed for public thanksgiving.*

With this policy steadily pursued to the end, when the time came for Americans themselves to turn upon their oppressors, there was little left of the Indian question in New England and Virginia, or in any of the States; but with the Declaration of Independence, the formation of the federal union and the establishment of a national government for the whole country, our Indian troubles were confined chiefly to territory belonging to the Union, regions acquired after the Union was formed, and hence national territories under the sole jurisdiction of the national government, though inhabited by Indians, whose rights to the soil had never been questioned. What has been our policy with respect to this subject race in our new territorial acquisitions, we shall now see.

The region bounded on the north by the Great Lakes, on the east by the Allegheny Mountains, on the south by the Ohio River, on the west by the Mississippi, out of which have grown the States of Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana, had been claimed under their charters by Virginia, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, but they ceded their claims to the United States.* The country so ceded was our first territorial acquisition, and became known as the Northwest Territory. A government was provided for it under the ordinance of 1787, and President Washington, in 1789, appointed General Arthur St. Clair its governor. The various tribes of Indians inhabiting that part of

*See "Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography," article, King Philip.

*Except a small portion reserved by Connecticut, afterward known as the "Western Reserve."

the country objected to the jurisdiction of the whites, just as some of the Filipinos have done in the Philippine Islands, and they made war on the whites under Michikiniqua, chief of the Miamis, as the Filipinos have done under Aguinaldo, chief of the Tagals.

Under date of October 6th, 1789, President Washington forwarded instructions to Governor St. Clair in which he said:

"It is highly necessary that I should as soon as possible possess full information whether the Wabash and Illinois Indians are most inclined for war or peace. . . . You will therefore inform the said Indians of the dispositions of the General Government on this subject, and of their reasonable desire that there should be a cessation of hostilities as a prelude to a treaty. . . . I would have it observed forcibly, that a war with the Wabash Indians ought to be avoided by all means consistently with the security of the frontier inhabitants, the security of the troops, and the national dignity. . . . But if, after manifesting clearly to the Indians the dispositions of the General Government for the preservation of peace and the extension of a just protection to the said Indians, they should continue their incursions, the United States will be constrained to punish them with severity."

The Indians were most inclined for war, as the Tagals have been, and a good deal of hard fighting, extending over five years, was done before they were brought to terms in a treaty. The battle at Miami Village, September 30th, 1790, between about 1,800 Americans under General Harmar, and a somewhat larger body of Indians, under various chiefs, resulted in a victory for the Indians, with a loss of 120 men killed and 300 wigwams burned. Another pitched battle was fought near the same place the next year. The Indians were again victorious, and the American loss was more than half the army—631 killed and 263 wounded. On August 20th, 1794, General Wayne, with 900 United States soldiers, routed the Indians in a battle near Miami Rapids, and a year later a treaty of peace was concluded, by the terms of which nearly the whole of Ohio was ceded by the Indians to the United States.

It will be observed that with five years of war we had got no farther west that Ohio. And these battles with the Indians in the Miami valley were more bloody than any ever fought by American armies with white men.

This long and bloody Indian war did not end our troubles in the Northwest. The Indians confederated under Tecumseh in 1811, and they were routed at the battle of Tippecanoe, by General Harrison. This practically terminated Indian hostilities in

the Northwest Territory, but Tecumseh stirred up resistance among the Creeks and their allies in our new acquisitions south of the Ohio, known as the Southwest Territory. The rebellion there began with the massacre at Fort Mims, on August 30th, 1813, in the Creek Nation, and ended with the battle of Tohopeka, on March 27th, 1814, where the Indians were defeated by troops under General Jackson. About 1,000 Creek warriors were engaged at Tohopeka, and more than half of them (550) were killed. Seven fierce battles were fought during the continuance of this brief war, with an aggregate loss to the Indians of 1,300 killed and an unknown number of wounded.

The Black Hawk war, in 1832, cost the lives of 25 Americans and 150 Indians.

The Florida war began in 1835 and lasted seven years, ending with the final defeat of the Indians.

Since the conclusion of the Florida or Seminole war our armed conflicts with Indians have been mostly in the West, on territory which we acquired by purchase from France and by cession from Mexico in concluding a two years' war with that country.

"Between 1846 and 1866 there were some fifteen or twenty Indian wars or affairs, in which it is estimated that 1,500 whites and 7,000 Indians were killed."

"In the actions between regular troops and Indians, from 1866 to 1891, the number of whites killed was 1,452; wounded, 1,101. The number of Indians killed was 4,363; wounded, 1,135."*

Our Indian wars have been expensive as well as bloody. It is estimated by the War Department that, excluding the time covered by our wars with Great Britain (1812-'14), and with Mexico (1846-'48) and with the Confederate States (1861-'65) three-fourths of the total expense of the army is chargeable, directly or indirectly, to the Indians; the aggregate thus chargeable is put at $807,073,658, and this does not include cost of fortifications, posts and stations: nor does it include amounts reimbursed to the several States ($10,000,000) for their expenses in wars with the Indians. The Indian war pension account in 1897 stood at $28,201,632.

Except when engaged in the other wars, the army has been

*These statistics are gathered from the Census Report on Indians, 1890.

used almost entirely for the Indian service, and stationed in the Indian country and along the frontier.

Such in general outline is Americanism as it has consistently exhibited itself in the policy followed by this country at the only junctures which are comparable to the Philippine situation at the present day. If it amounts to imperialism, then, indeed, are we a nation of imperialists without division.

But let us get closer to the subject. The case presented by the anti-imperialists against the present Administration is almost exactly paralleled in the history of Florida. Spain's title to the Philippines was as good as that by which she claimed Florida, for it had the same basis—the right of discovery; and her right to cede and convey her title was as perfect in the one case as in the other. In both instances, the inhabitants were, by international law, transferred with the land on which they dwelt.* Filipinos inhabited the Philippine Islands when Magellan discovered them in 1521, and when Villalobos, a few years later, "took possession of the group and named it in honor of King Philip II. of Spain," and they were there in 1898, when Spain ceded the archipelago to the United States, in consideration of closing a war and the payment of $20,000,000 in money.

The Seminole Indians inhabited Florida when that region was discovered by the early Spanish navigators, and they were there in 1819-'21, when Spain ceded the country to the United States in consideration of removing a just cause of war on our part, and a stipulation to settle claims against Spain to the amount of $5,000,000.

The treaty for Florida was concluded in 1819, but was not ratified by Spain till the second year thereafter; a territorial government was established on March 30th, 1822, the President, in the meantime, governing the Territory through the army. Florida remained a Territory twenty years, the State being admitted on March 3d, 1845. During the territorial period the army was needed there most of the time to suppress disorders in which the Indians were almost always mixed; and in 1835, the

*Am. Supreme Court, in the case of the American Insurance Company v. Canter, 1 Peters, 511, referring to the territory held by a conqueror, awaiting the conclusion of a treaty, says:

"If it be ceded by the treaty, the acquisition is confirmed, and the ceded territory becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed. . . . On such a transfer of territory, the relations of the inhabitants with their former sovereign are dissolved, and new relations are created between them and the government which has acquired their territory. The same act which transfers their country transfers the allegiance of those who remain in it."

war with the Seminoles began. Andrew Jackson was President during the first two years of this war, it continued all through Van Buren's term and extended a year or more into that of Harrison and Tyler. To suppress this rebellion of Osceola and his allies, the army, consisting of regulars, militia and volunteers, was employed seven years.

President McKinley is now doing in the Philippines just what was done by President Jackson and his successors in Florida, and he is doing it more humanely. Were they imperialists?

As to matters of government, Americanism means American rule in American territory. Americans govern by majorities—majorities of those who, by previous constitutional and statutory provisions, are authorized to govern, and whose administration of public affairs has been, as far as practicable, determined in advance by properly constituted authorities.

Beginning with the Pilgrims' compact, we have grown a republic, removing or surmounting all obstacles in the way of our development, until now we are in the forefront of nations. We have liberated the negro and given him the ballot. The Indians, of whom there are about as many in the country as ever, have to their credit in the national treasury a trust fund amounting to about $25,000,000; they are dissolving their tribal relations; the adults, under Government supervision, are learning to work at farming and other useful callings, their children are in Government schools, and all are in process of citizenization. Government Indian schools now number about 150, with nearly as many contract schools. Indian education is costing the Government about $2,000,000 a year.

The course of Americanism has been in the natural order, a little rough sometimes, it is true, but that, too, is in the nature of things. What these people call imperialism is only mirage in the heated air of politics—and it will entirely disappear when the snow flies again.

The trouble in the Philippines has been occasioned by Aguinaldo and his associates. Americans are there of right, and they ask nothing of the natives but to be peaceable, to obey the laws and to go ahead with their business; they will not only be protected in every right, but will be aided by all the powerful influences of an advanced and aggressive civilization.

W. A. Peffer.

BRITISH STRATEGY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL O. O. HOWARD, U. S. A. (RETIRED.)

It was in last December that the writer prepared an article for the North American Review entitled "An American General's View of the Situation in South Africa." Lord Roberts had just taken command. Having read his book, than which there is none more graphic, clear and straightforward—in the main an autobiography of an eventful army career, chiefly spent in India and its vicinity, and embracing a review of the exciting and terrible Sepoy Rebellion—I was prepared to predict what such a general would be most likely to do.

In general, the plan I had in mind has been carried forward from start to finish, for the campaign is now substantially ended. It has been suggested that it might be interesting to point out the deviations from the original plans, which in Lord Roberts's mind and mine were, evidently, substantially the same, which have occurred in the actual working-out of the details of the campaign.

In order to clear the country of the hostile force of Boers in his immediate front, and so make the line of railway from New London to DeAar safe for the transportation of supplies and troops, Lord Roberts planned to break across the Orange River, somewhere east of the railroad to Kimberley, evidently trusting to that strategic move to accomplish the desired result. This was wise; but, judging from things as they appeared from a distance, I should have sent a detachment as strong as possible, to drive out those commandos of Boers which were in his neighborhood and south of the Orange River. Lord Roberts evidently saw objections to this course—first, probably, the strength of the Boers in mountain fastnesses; second, the extraordinary character of their fighting, with their thorough mastery of modern arms and modern methods. They use open and very irregular lines. They have a

series of shelters which are practically in echelon with each other. Their marksmen cannot be excelled, and the individual Boer among them selects and prepares and defends his own cover, whether that be a log, a depression in the ground, a rifle-pit or a ledgy rock. Furthermore, the Boer is as brave and as tenacious as the English, Scotch or Irish. Again, he is thoroughly conversant with that peculiar country of kopjes, drifts and craggy mountains, as none of his opponents, until they had had actual experience there, could possibly be. Knowing this, doubtless Roberts was right, in his first movement, in ignoring these fierce occupants of the rough country between Stormberg and the Orange River.

Again, it is asserted that his primary intention was to make Kimberley, should he succeed in taking it, his new base of operations. I think, however, that was not his design, for it would have been too difficult to cover his communications from Cape Colony by Kimberley, for all his purposes.

As we all know, Roberts was eminently successful, beginning at Methuen's camp, in crossing the Riet River and passing between Cronje's besieging force and Bloemfontein.

Again, it was anticipated that the Boers would not wait to be assailed by a large army in flank and rear. Cronje's generalship was shown in his prompt retreat, while that of Roberts and Kitchener was displayed in so speedily enveloping his retreating force at the Modder River. With our maps made on a small scale, we do not realize the long and fatiguing marches which these movements necessitated. Lord Roberts's character and Kitchener's were brought into contrast at the so-called battle of Paardeberg. Kitchener was obliged to act with promptitude, and so ordered an assault which cost him a loss of twelve hundred men in killed and wounded, without securing any positive results. The Field Marshal, Roberts, arrived soon after to show him how better to accomplish a great purpose. It is said that Lord Roberts carefully reconnoitered the position and determined to make no further attacks, but to wait for the surrender that was sure to come. He naturally, however, made such a use of his artillery as would show Cronje the futility of a long delay.

After Cronje's capture, on the 15th of February, Roberts suffered the loss of his convoy of two hundred wagons, containing 500,000 rations. It was guarded by only one company of the

famous Gordon Highlanders—certainly an insufficient protection. This loss was doubtless due to two errors, probably not the Field Marshal's own. One was the leaving of any considerable force near at hand to the right rear of his column of march; and the other arose from that singular contempt for the ability and activity of the enemy on the part of so many subordinate British commanders, which in this case was doubtless responsible for the inadequacy of the guard. Even the Gordon Highlanders do not seem to have learned, like their adversaries, how to skirmish in open, irregular, individually protected lines. A small force of Boers, not exceeding two hundred men, by their unyielding, persistent methods, again and again accomplished vastly more than would be required to protect such a convoy.

In the execution of his plans, Roberts was very fortunate in the selection of his cavalry commander, General French. One writer says that "French covered more than 150 miles of country which was, for the most part, waterless, destitute of food for man or horse, and scorched by a burning sun." In doing this he disabled at least a third of his horses. The first thing he did was to strip his column of all unnecessary luggage; the second, to move so swiftly as to surprise the Boers; the third, to leave a body he was pursuing in a westerly direction, and, without further instruction, to put himself in pursuit of Cronje's main force, moving east, which had gained a night-march on him; and again, with clear-cut generalship, to decline battle with a view of putting his whole force between Cronje and Bloemfontein.

The advance of Roberts's army, now upwards of forty thousand men in three columns, he himself usually being with the centre, reminds one of Sherman's advance against General Johnston in the spring of 1864, all the way from near Chattanooga to Atlanta. In simple orders, both of these commanders named the points to be reached, which in no case appear to have been anticipated by the enemy. Roberts told what had been done, but he did not reveal what he was going to do. The left column, on the 10th of March, had a battle at Abraham's Krall. By this engagement that column was delayed and the other came to its assistance, having already passed the flank of the delaying force. Again and again, our several columns on "the march to the sea" thus helped each other without further instructions, and without substantially interrupting the march. On all direct roads, the Boer command-

ers were ready and waiting for Roberts's army, but he carefully effected a wide detour to avoid those bloody direct assaults which the Boers knew so well how to deliver.

On the 14th of March, Lord Roberts had full possession of the Free State capital, Bloemfontein, sending his right wing well out toward Thabanchu, his left wing out and forward toward Boshof, and his straight advance toward Brandfort.

Of course, a reasonable delay then became necessary, because the direct railway to Cape Town had to be put in order, and whatever hostile forces General Botha, the new commander who succeeded General Joubert, might send to his right or rear would have to be looked after. Quite a distance to the southeast there was an important town, Wepener, which was held by one of Roberts's garrisons. The Boer commander undertook to capture that garrison; but Roberts succeeded, as he had done in every battle of any importance, in displacing the beseigers by prompt reinforcement and saving the garrison. The only wonder is that better generalship was not displayed on the part of the Boers at this time. In my prospective contemplation of the campaign, I anticipated that General Joubert would be alive and in active command, but this was not the case. I anticipated that he would draw in the Boers, rapidly making the concentration in the vicinity of Kroonstad. The Vatch River, just south, with its branches, afforded the best practicable line of defense for the Boer commander, but the young general who replaced the veteran Joubert had no such plan; so that when General Roberts, after six weeks of rest, with his communications reasonably clear and his supplies brought up, began his northward march with seventy thousand available men, there was no concentrated force of any considerable strength to oppose him. True, in something of a panic the forces in Natal had been brought back, and those that got away from Kimberley, Mafeking, Stormberg, Wepener and other points were gathered somewhere in front of this advance. But General Botha's attention seems to have been attracted rather to the defense of Johannesburg and Pretoria than to attempting the only thing that could have promised him a reasonable success. Under like circumstances, Stonewall Jackson would have had a main body, pretty well in reserve, well entrenched, and would have sent out a strong mounted force to strike, first one wing, next the centre, and then possibly the other wing of Roberts's force, dealing such blows as

would disconcert any organized movement, and, if possible, draw on a general engagement near the defensive line of Kroonstad. It was something like this sort of defense that I anticipated. General Joseph E. Johnston made it on the Atlanta campaign against Sherman's advance, and with a much smaller army he did the same thing again in the Carolinas, gathering up fragments to deliver against us a last troublesome and confusing attack; but evidently no Boer generalship equal to such operations existed after the death of General Joubert.

Lord Roberts has displayed in his last movement, from the 23d of April up to his entrance into Johannesburg, on the 14th of June, and his taking possession of Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, four days later, the same consummate generalship throughout the march and in all the engagements. Never for an instant has he turned aside from the main object of his campaign, which has been to defeat his adversaries with the least possible loss, and to possess himself of the strong, strategic positions which must control the two States. The part played, under Roberts's orders, upon the flanks of the march, by Buller upon the one hand and the relieving force to Mafeking on the other, have been co-ordinate and co-operative with the operations of the central army, and successful. I had anticipated that General Buller would have pushed for the only remaining railroad which passes from Pretoria eastward to Lorenzo Marquez, but his force was not set free soon enough to warrant that. Therefore, a campaign from Pretoria as a new base may be necessitated to finish up the entire work of subjugation. The last report, however, is that Portugal has forbidden the importation into the Transvaal of any more supplies, and these are necessary for carrying on the war for a longer period.

To my mind, a guerilla strife in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State against the English nation, victorious as she now is, would be the height of folly.

The incidents of the South African campaigns and of the battles give evidence that mere brute courage in the fight, or skill in the use of arms, or tenacity in holding important positions, plays but a small part in winning victories, compared with intelligent and able commanding.

Lord Roberts and Joubert not only planned well, but they varied their plans to meet emergencies. Such examples of gen-

eralship as those of Roberts and Joubert demonstrate plainly, not only that a professional training for a General is a good thing, but that in great emergencies a large experience, which crowns years of faithful work, is most desirable, and that the possession of a character which will bring to the General the love and confidence of his soldiers is indispensable.

The British nation was fortunate, indeed, in being able to send to South Africa a man so well equipped as Lord Roberts, strong in body and mind, ripe in the long experience of active campaigning, chastened by heavy trials, and so large-hearted as to win the love of his subordinates and the respect of his enemies.

O. O. HOWARD.

SOME ABSURDITIES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BY T. P. O'CONNOR, M. P.

In one of Anthony Trollope's novels there is a pathetic picture of a great business man who had risen from poverty to wealth; who had transformed the whole face of his country, and enriched all its present and future generations; and yet who had experienced in all these mighty achievements nothing like the thrill of pleasure with which he heard himself referred to in the House of Commons as the "honorable member" for such and such a place.

This picture carries more to the imagination of one acquainted with the House of Commons than it could even to so keen a student of human nature as Mr. Trollope. And, besides, from Mr. Trollope's lack of personal acquaintance with the House, the picture lacked another, and perhaps an even more pathetic, feature. I have seen scores of these wealthy, self-made men enter the House of Commons, all betraying in their look the same consciousness of a triumphant climax to a prosperous career. The vanity has been too transparent to be anything but amusing; a revelation of that ambition for supremacy in wealth and rise in social position, which lies at the root of much of the life of this country. And you forgive all the exultation of those first hours in the House of Commons when you see this same man within a short time afterwards. It may be a few months; it may be a year; but it always comes. You observe that the face has grown downcast; that he who has been seen, as it were, glued to his seat for months, suddenly begins to be less frequent in attendance; or that, if he be in the House at all, he is to be found wandering about the lobbies and corridors, silent, distrait, with a certain suggestion of not belonging to the place, of finding himself a stranger and a nuisance there.

If you inquire into the cause of this change, so rapid and so complete, the successful business man will unburden his soul to you, and confess that he finds the House of Commons a disappointment. He entered with a high sense of its august glory, and of the tremendous part it has played in the history of the Empire and of the world; and, accordingly, he expected that he would find there the climax and the consummation of all those qualities which have made the commercial greatness of his country. Accustomed to great business transactions, to the promptness, rapidity and energy which are characteristic of English business life, he had expected to find the same methods practiced in the Englishman's chief and highest assembly. He finds nothing of the kind. On the contrary, he learns that the great object of the House of Commons is not how to do business, but how not to do it; that it consists of men who, for the most part, unless for a couple of hours each day, avoid the place as if it were infected with the pestilence; and that, of those who remain in the House and take a part in its proceedings, the majority are wearied, disillusioned men, who have lost nerve and hope and the freshness of their energies.

And coming to this conclusion, and finding that what is wanted of him is not the benefit of his vast experience, not his still huge energy, and not his still characteristic promptitude, but that he is expected to "loaf" about the House until the division is called, he becomes unhappy, and longs for the whirr of the familiar machinery, for the quickness and directness and eager employment of every moment in the old place of business; and, at the height of his glory and of his ambition—as is so often the case with human life—he is really at his most miserable moment.

There are many causes for this transformation of our prosperous and successful millionaire; but the one which, I am certain, accounts for it more than anything else, is the hours of the House of Commons. In these hours, I see the unhappy origin of the enervating and disheartening atmosphere of the place, and of many of the other phenomena which make it one of the most unbusinesslike and ineffective legislative instruments in the world.

Let me try to make those outside the House of Commons realize its methods of work. On four days of the week, it meets

at three o'clock; on one day, Wednesday, it meets at noon. On the four days, it adjourns usually at half-past twelve at night; on Wednesdays, it adjourns at six o'clock. It will at once strike anybody that there is something very foolish in beginning the work of the day at such a late hour as three o'clock. Men of really active minds and temperaments have usually finished their work at that hour. But this is only the beginning of the absurdities of the House of Commons.

The stranger entering the House at three o'clock would see, during the greater part of the session, a sight the meaning of which would be quite obscure to him. The Speaker sits in his chair like a graven image; the benches are practically deserted, as a rule; not a sound disturbs the stillness; you, somehow or other, get the impression of a tomb-like silence and suspension of life. Now and then, it is true, and on some days of the week, you hear a member get up and mumble something to the unlistening and empty benches, and there is another mumble from one of the clerks, and another from the Speaker, and that is all. What this means is that some private business—a small canal bill, or some of the other subjects which, by infinite absurdity, are heaped upon the shoulders of an overworked and overburdened assembly—has been thus decided. But very often there is not even this small modicum of business to be done, and the silence remains unbroken for the half-hour which elapses between the meeting of the House and half-past three; the Speaker remaining like a graven image, and the House deserted and silent.

Thus half an hour of the best time of the House—the time when it is freshest for work—is wasted. At half-past three, questions begin. I regard the power of asking questions as one of the very best features of our Parliamentary system. The questions are often foolish, frequently they are petty; often they touch on subjects which should be given to local assemblies, and rigorously excluded from the House of Commons. But still these questions enable every member, whether articulate or inarticulate, whether wise or unwise, great or small, to bring before the House every possible subject of interest that may be connected with the vast machinery of social life in the Empire; and this period shows the House in its best and most useful aspect—namely, as the Grand Inquest of the Nation.

Apart from this, the question time is the one which members

of Parliament most like. It is the one period of the evening when you may expect interest, excitement, a scene, a portentous, Ministerial announcement. And the consequence is that it is the one period in the evening when you can be certain there will be something like a full attendance in the House. Indeed, I lay stress on this fullness of attendance at this period of the evening to emphasize a point to which I will return shortly.

After question time, if there be a bill of any interest and importance before the House, there come the speeches by the leading men of the House. It is the time which is most favored by the occupants of the front benches. The prospect of these speeches is sufficient to keep the attendance still large. But if it should happen, as very often it does, that the first speakers are men of no particular note, then the House empties after question time. Or if it should happen that the business under discussion is of vast importance, and yet presents no hope of picturesqueness or general interest, the House again empties. For instance, the Navy estimates, the Army estimates, dealing as they do with the defence of the country—one of its supreme interests, and involving expenditure by tens of millions—are always debated in a House that is practically empty. I have seen millions of money voted by a House consisting at most of ten or fifteen members. Indeed, one might almost venture on the paradox, with regard to the House of Commons, that its attendance and its interest are in inverse proportion to the importance of the subjects which it is debating. A small personal squabble between two members will often bring to the House a crowded, excited and interested audience, while the interests of the Empire will leave the House cold and empty.

Indeed, in some respects, the House may be said to be unrepresentative of the mood or interest of the hour among the masses of the nation. A man in the armor of the fifteenth century could not be more unwieldy than the House of Commons is, under the machinery which it has inherited from olden and from very different days. There was a very remarkable illustration of this during the times of depression and anxiety through which the country was passing in the first months of the present war. Outside the House of Commons—nay, in the lobby, which was but a yard from its floor—there was but one subject uppermost in everybody's mind. To attempt to talk of anything but

the war and its fortunes would have been to abuse the patience and even the patriotism of any Englishman. But you passed from the whirring and noisy street, and even from the buzzing lobby, into the House itself, and you would find that body debating an electric or a gas or a railway bill, as though the fortunes of the Empire were of less importance than the price per thousand of the gas consumed by the inhabitants of the southern part of London.

When the main speeches of the evening are delivered, if there be any such speeches, the hour of half-past seven is reached, and then members become restive. If there be any chance of a division, they seek to rush it on by an outburst of turbulence, by trying to shout down every member who attempts to speak. But if that be found impossible, they rush to the lobby, obtain, if they can, a "pair," and then disappear to their homes and their other amusements or occupations. And then begins what is called the "dinner hour."

The public are quite familiar with the term. They can scarcely take up any description of a sitting of the House without finding some phrase to the effect that the speech was listened to by a small audience, as it was the "dinner hour;" or that such and such a member had the misfortune to be driven into the "dinner hour," or so on. But these phrases, suggestive as they are, do not give anything like an adequate idea of what the dinner hour in the House really means. It means that, from half-past seven in the evening till ten or half-past ten, three-fourths—I would not exaggerate if I even said four-fifths—of the members of the House of Commons are absent from the House. The absent members are as far away from the House, indeed, so far as knowing what is going on there is concerned, as if they were suddenly transported to another island. Nor is this all. Of the members who remain, very few are in the House itself. They also, though they cannot go to their homes, or to the theatre, or to the ball, have to dine; and under the overwhelming sense of boredom, and physical and mental depression which their enforced presence in the House involves, they remain as long as they can over the dinner table and in the smoking rooms. The very last thing they would think of is to go back to the House which they have just left and listen to anything that may be going on there. They know that, during that period, it is

only the smaller speakers of the House that will take any part in its proceedings. For their convenience, and to spare them the necessity of going into the House without adequate reason, there is, in several apartments of the House, a board on which the names of the speakers, as they rise, are given; and thus, if there be the sudden and unexpected phenomenon of a speech from one of the more important members, the member dining at leisure, or enjoying his cigar, gets due notice and can rush off to the House.

The Speaker, or the Chairman of Committees, takes a short vacation of half an hour during this period, and for that short interval the House is empty and idle. But for the rest of the time, the House goes on with its business. Men make speeches, Ministers push on supply; divisions are taken, members rushing in from their dinners or their cigars, when the electric bells that ring all over the House give them notice that a division is on; and, in short, everything goes on as if the House were really the House, and not merely a miserable remnant of it.

The newspapers continue, as a rule, to give the world outside a false impression of what the House is really like during this period of the evening. In papers like *The Times,* which still give lengthy reports, columns regularly and duly appear of the speeches that are made; and the public, reading these miles of reports, conjure up before their imaginations an excited and crowded assembly, that sits listening to words which must be wise because they are so fully reported. What occurs, as a matter of fact, is that for some hours every night there are but ten members in the House. Sometimes there are even fewer than the ten. I have seen a member addressing the House when there were but two others in the chamber in addition to himself. I have seen a member address the House when his only audience was the Speaker. Indeed, for some little time before and after the return of the Speaker or the Chairman from his half-hour's recess every night, there are rarely more than half a dozen members in the House.

It is an entire abuse of terms and confusion of ideas to speak of the House of Commons as really sitting and really existing under such circumstances. Of course, Ministers do not urge a reform. The smaller the audience, the more quickly they calculate they will get through their business, and to get through

business quickly becomes in the end the main ambition of most Ministers. For, like all spendthrifts, the House of Commons, which plays fast and loose with its time and resources, is always in arrears. With all the changes that have been made in the rules, there is the old block of business; now, as in the days of John Bright, you might as well try to pass ten busses through Temple Bar, as try to get business transacted with any rapidity in the House of Commons. But to take the trouble of electing those who ought to be the best and wisest men to a deliberative assembly, and then to constitute that assembly so that, during a fourth or a third of its hours, it shall be deprived of the attendance of these picked men, seems about as absurd an arrangement as the folly of man could devise.

I doubt if even Ministers will long continue to tolerate this state of things. It is harder upon them than upon any other body of members. Whatever happens, they have to remain in the House; they are the one section that can never afford to take even a brief holiday; a night out for them is as much a luxury and a rarity as for a domestic servant. There are some thirty-six to forty officials in the House of Commons. Forty members form the quorum, and thus it comes that, as these officials are in the receipt of salaries from the country, and as they just about form a quorum, they are expected to remain in the House throughout the entire evening. It is not that they are required to take part in debate; as a matter of fact, big and full-dress debates, with all the Ministers present, are almost things of the past. More and more every day it is becoming the custom of the House of Commons to leave a bill exclusively in the charge of one Minister. Whenever a Minister, indeed, intervenes during the debate on the bill of which his colleague is in charge, there is evidently the feeling that this Minister is guilty of an intrusion and almost an impertinence. During the nights, for instance, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was dealing with the Budget in Committee, the Chancellor sat on the treasury bench all alone. Not even the Secretary of the Treasury was there to keep him in countenance, or even to help him with some of the facts of the department to which they both belong. And, similarly, when the Telephone Bill was being carried through the House of Commons, Mr. Hanbury, the Secretary of the Treasury, was left all to himself; the Chancellor of the Exchequer rarely, if ever, put

in an appearance. Solidarity, in the sense of a body of men ready and present to help each other in debate, no longer exists in the House of Commons.

This means that the Ministers who don't happen to be in charge of a bill, remain outside the House. For some portion of the evening they imitate the ordinary member by sitting in the dining-room. After that they disappear, Heaven knows where. Up to a few years ago, the House of Commons had not apartments for most of the Ministers, and they either had to go back to their offices to work, or try to work in the library. Of recent years they are more favored. A certain number of apartments have been given over to them; but here again the absurd and unpractical spirit which rules over the House of Commons asserts itself. The Ministers are either in small cellars or small attics; either ten feet above the level of the Thames or in some inaccessible room which can only be reached by climbing long staircases.

And thus it happens that the Ministers have to spend nine hours nearly every night in the stifling and enervating atmosphere of the House of Commons. What does this mean? It means that the best energies and the best hours of the men who rule this Empire are, to a large extent, wasted and frittered away. Ministers are constantly breaking down under the strain, the more exasperating because it is so needless. At the beginning of the present session of Parliament, Mr. Wyndham, who was the second figure in the great department on whose energy, activity and skill the fortunes of the Empire depended, had to spend nine hours in the House every night for weeks. Sometimes he had scarcely the time even to snatch, or rather bolt, a meal. And this man was expected after that to be in Pall Mall in the morning, and to come there with all the freshness of his energies, all the clearness of his mind, all the steadiness of his nerves. He broke down, of course, after a while, and was confined to his house for days. In short, if in this hour of national stock taking, or perhaps I should call it national examination of conscience, Great Britain does not pay heed to the waste of time, of health, of careers, of efficiency which takes place in the House of Commons, it will fail to extirpate one of the causes that are devouring the best energies of the rulers of the Empire.

T. P. O'Connor.

THE PART OF THE PEOPLE AND OF THE STATES IN CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT.

BY WALTER L. HAWLEY.

A VERY large majority of the voters in this country believe that they have a constitutional right to help to elect Presidents of the United States by casting their ballots for electors who must obey their order as expressed at the polls. The fact is that the men who made the Constitution of the country evidently did not contemplate the election of Presidents by the people.

The letter of the Constitution makes the State the political unit in national elections, and it was not until 1880, ninety-one years after the election of the first President, that a full and free expression of the choice of the people of all the States of the Union for Chief Executive was recorded at the polls and carried into effect. The result of the popular vote of 1876 was set aside by an Electoral Commission, an act without constitutional authority.

The second section of Article II. of the Constitution of the United States provides as follows:

> "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of the Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress."

If the framers of the Constitution had intended that these electors should be elected by the people, they might have used the word "elect" in this section instead of "appoint." The men who go through the legal form of electing a President and Vice-President were for many years selected by the Legislatures in a number of States, and in South Carolina the custom was not discontinued until the Civil War. There was no record of a popular vote for President until 1824, and that year, in eight

of the twenty-four States then voting, electors were chosen by the Legislatures.

That the evident intention of the makers of the Constitution was to have Presidents elected by the States acting as political units, rather than by vote of the people, is apparent in the constitutional provision for an election when the vote in the Electoral College is a tie. In that event, the election of a President devolves upon the House of Representatives, each State having one vote; and the Senate, voting separately, elects the Vice-President, the votes of a majority of States constituting an election.

The political possibilities of this constitutional provision seem to prove that the election of Presidents by the people is merely a popular custom, permitted, but not ordered, by the fundamental law of the country. If the Electoral College of 1900 or any subsequent year should fail to elect a President and Vice-President, the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives and the Senate, respectively, and the following political possibility would be presented: One political party might have a majority of Representatives in Congress, yet have a minority representation from more than half the States. In that event, the minority party in the House of Representatives would elect the President, because the votes of South Carolina and Florida would count as much as those of New York and Pennsylvania. The same condition might exist in the Senate, and States represented by one Republican and one Democratic Senator might lose their vote in the selection of a Vice-President, if the two Senators failed to agree upon a candidate.

Under existing political conditions, it is an easy matter for one party to elect only a minority of the Representatives from more than half the States, and yet have a majority of the whole number in the House. In 1898, the State of Mississippi elected seven members of Congress, all of one political party, yet the total vote for all candidates in the seven districts was approximately 27,000; while in the Fourteenth District in the State of New York the successful candidate received 31,399 votes, and the defeated candidate 25,083. In the one New York district, the candidates of the two leading parties received more than twice as many votes as were cast for Congressmen in the State of Mississippi. There are thirty-four Congressional Districts in New York; yet, in the event of the election of a President by the

House of Representatives, the smaller State would be as powerful as the larger, and in the Electoral College Mississippi has nine votes, one-fourth the number of the Empire State. The terms "popular vote" and "majority rule" seem to be misnomers in a political situation where it is possible, in the election of a President, for 27,000 votes to offset 1,200,000. So the individual voter may well hesitate about proclaimng himself a sovereign in a national election.

Apart from the constitutional provision for an Electoral College and the method of counting the votes cast by the members of that body, our method of electing Presidents is one of political custom and precedent, having for all practical purposes the force of law. Very few of our Presidents have received a majority of all the votes cast by the people, and some of those who received the largest majorities of the electoral vote carried just one more than half of the States of the Union. In 1898, McKinley had a majority over all of more than a quarter of a million in the popular vote, a plurality over Bryan of 600,000, a majority of 95 in the Electoral College, and yet he carried only twenty-three of the forty-five States. The triumph of Cleveland in 1892 was classed as a political landslide; but with his large popular and electoral vote he carried only twenty-three States.

In the Electoral College of 1900, there will be 447 votes, and 224 will be necessary to a choice. If one of the candidates for President received the electoral votes of the twelve States of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas and Georgia, he would have 230 in the College, six more than would be necessary to elect. The other candidate might carry the thirty-three States remaining, and be seven votes short of the number requisite to make him President. The twelve States in this list elect 206 of the 357 members of the House of Representatives, a majority of fifty-five. On ordinary political divisions, the party carrying a State for its electoral ticket would elect a majority of the Congressmen from that State. Therefore, in the event of the failure of the Electoral College to elect a President, the party carrying a majority of the States, including all the small ones, would control the election in the House of Representatives, and elect the candidate who had polled a minority of the popular vote.

There is no law, save the binding force of custom and party loyalty, to compel a Presidential elector to cast his vote for the candidate of his own party, and no constitutional or statutory provisions for going behind the returns of the Electoral College, no matter what the popular vote might be.

Prior to 1800 candidates for President and Vice-President were not nominated by conventions or any other method; a majority of the electors were selected by State Legislatures, and as a rule they were left free to vote for any man regarded as a leader of the party to which they belonged. Beginning in 1800, the members of Congress representing the two political parties nominated candidates for President and Vice-President in caucus, the Constitution having been amended to provide for separate voting for each in the Electoral College.

This system was continued until 1820, when it was abandoned because there was no opposition to the re-election of President Monroe. In that year the popular interest in voting for President, even indirectly, seems to have reached a low ebb, because in nine of the twenty-three States electors were chosen by the Legislatures. The States so acting were Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, New York, South Carolina and Vermont. In 1824 an attempt to revive nominations by caucus of Congressmen failed, and four candidates were voted for in the Electoral College. Jackson received 99 electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. There was no election for President, although the Electoral College elected John C. Calhoun Vice-President. In eight States the electors were chosen by the Legislatures, and the popular vote in the other States as recorded was, Jackson, 155,872; Adams, 105,321; Crawford, 44,282, and Clay, 46,587. Jackson, the leading candidate of the Democrats, had a plurality of both the popular and electoral vote, but, for the second time in the history of the Republic, the election of a President was thrown into the House of Representatives. The Democrats were in a majority in both houses of Congress at the time; but each State had only one vote, and thirteen of the twenty-four States voted for John Quincy Adams. Seven States voted for Jackson, and four for Crawford. That election established the fact that, under our Constitution, it is possible for a minority party to elect a President of the Republic, when the election goes to the House of Representatives.

One of the results of the election of 1824 was to arouse popular interest in national contests; and, four years later, Presidential Electors were appointed by the Legislatures in only three States—Delaware, New York and South Carolina. In 1828, for the first and last time, party candidates for President and Vice-President were nominated by party caucuses in the Legislatures of the States. The total popular vote recorded in 1828, in twenty-one of the twenty-four States, was 1,156,328, an increase of more than 80,000 over the vote of 1824, showing that the voters of the country had become aroused to the possibility of defeating the will of the majority, by throwing the election of a President into the House of Representatives.

The political parties began effective organization by States and counties during President Jackson's first term, but the agitation against the Masonic order was responsible for the first national political convention held in this country to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. The Anti-Masonic party, as the agitators called themselves, held a convention in Baltimore on September 26th, 1831, and nominated William Wirt, of Maryland, for President, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. The National Republican, or Whig, party followed with a convention, also held in Baltimore, on December 12th, 1831, and nominated Henry Clay for President.

The first Democratic National Convention met in Baltimore on March 22d, 1832, and renominated Andrew Jackson for President, and nominated Martin Van Buren for Vice-President. That convention adopted the first national political platform, which was in the form of three resolutions declaring the party in favor of protection for American industries, internal improvements at the expense of the general government, and a civil service in Federal employment. Electors were elected by vote of the people that year in every State except South Carolina, but the comparatively new political privilege was not extensively exercised. The total recorded vote for President was less than 100,000 in excess of the vote of 1828, although New York and Delaware were added to the list of States selecting their electors by ballot. The popular vote for William Wirt, the Anti-Masonic candidate, was so small that no official record of it remains, although he received seven votes in the Electoral College

The Whig party held no convention in 1836, but through State

organizations, conventions and mass meetings nominated three candidates for President and three for Vice-President. The number of States had increased to twenty-six; and all of them, except South Carolina, elected members of the Electoral College by ballot. The total popular vote recorded slightly exceeded 1,500,000, of which Van Buren (Democrat) received 761,549, and W. H. Harrison (Whig) 736,656. In the Electoral College the former had 170 votes to 73 for Harrison.

National conventions, party nominations and direct vote for Electors had become the established rule by 1840, and the Tippecanoe campaign of that year did more than any previous event to arouse the interest of the voters in candidates and general issues. The popular vote went up at a bound, nearly 2,500,000 ballots being counted, with South Carolina alone clinging to the old system of Legislature electing Presidential Electors. While the plurality of Harrison over Van Buren at the polls was less than 150,000, he had 234 votes in the Electoral College to 60 for his opponent. Four years later, the increase in the popular vote was trifling, the total number of ballots recorded being less than 2,700,000. This vote did not pass the three-million mark in 1848, although four new States had been added to the Union and there were three regular candidates for President. The Free Soil party polled 291,263 votes for Martin Van Buren, but failed to carry a State or capture an electoral vote. In 1852, less than 3,200,000 votes were recorded, with thirty-one States in the Union. With a plurality of 214,000 in the popular vote, Franklin Pierce received 254 of the 296 electoral votes.

The popular vote in 1856 exceeded 4,000,000, and Buchanan's plurality over Fremont was nearly half a million, but he was in a minority of nearly 400,000 of the total number of votes cast. In the election of 1860, Lincoln received 1,865,913 votes to 2,814,968 cast for his opponents, but he had 180 votes in the Electoral College to 123 cast for Breckinridge, Bell and Douglas. The Legislature of South Carolina elected the Presidential Electors from that State for the last time, and with that election the old plan disappeared from the political system of the country.

Because of the conditions that prevailed in the South in 1868 and 1872, the popular vote of those years cannot be accepted as fully expressing the political views of all the voters of the Union. The vote of 1876 for Presidential Electors was, therefore, the first

time in the history of the country that the voters of every State, without the intervention of a Legislature, and free of military control or intimidation, cast their ballots for electors, and in that way expressed directly their choice for Chief Magistrate of the Nation. The recorded vote was 4,284,757 for Samuel J. Tilden, and 4,127,848 for all other candidates. Although Tilden had a majority over all on the face of the returns, the vote was set aside in three States, he was counted out by the Electoral Commission, and, as a matter of technical accuracy, it was not until 1880 that the voters of all the States expressed directly at the polls their choice for President and that their decision prevailed. After ninety-one years of effort to overcome legally the evident intent of the Constitution, and to bring about the election of Presidents by a system closely approaching a direct vote of the people, the first President so elected, James A. Garfield, was 300,000 votes short of a majority over all, the moral of which may be that, in republics, majorities do not always rule.

The love of system and order that is one of the dominant traits of the Anglo-Saxon is in a large measure the sustaining force of the Republic, but in even greater degree it has created an unwritten law of custom that compels the election of Presidents in an orderly way, that permits a reasonably fair expression of the wishes of the people. As a matter of written law, Presidential Electors, when they have received their certificate of election, are free to vote for their personal choice for President and Vice-President. That they do vote for the nominees of their respective parties is merely a matter of personal honor and party loyalty. In the early days of the Republic, when party lines were loosely drawn and there were no nominating conventions, Electors did sometimes vote for men who were not the accepted candidates of their party, but never in numbers sufficient to change the anticipated result in the Electoral College.

From the days when the voters were divided into organized political parties, and candidates and Electors were nominated by conventions, there is no record of an Elector having betrayed the trust reposed in him. In the event of a close election, however, the Electors of one State might easily change the result of the popular ballot, and the Constitution and laws of the country provide no legal method by which such a breach of party loyalty could be set aside. The man receiving a majority of the votes

of the Electoral College, if they are cast and recorded as prescribed by the Constitution, is the legally elected President of the Union, even if two-thirds of all the voters in the country had cast their ballots for another candidate.

The present system of electing a President has never been defended as perfect, or entirely satisfactory to the people; but in practice it has worked so well that changes are rarely suggested, and it is not probable that a new plan will be tried until political corruption has invaded the Electoral College and the action of the voters has been set aside by unfair and illegal methods. The unwritten law of custom is apparently stronger than the Constitution in our system of government, or at least in our plan of electing Presidents. The members of the Electoral College have never failed to obey the mandate of their party; but the recorded will of the voters and the College itself were set aside in 1876, yet peace prevailed and government by the people survived.

WALTER L. HAWLEY.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS BY DIRECT POPULAR VOTE.

BY JOHN HANDIBOE.

ONE of the most interesting problems which have confronted the American political student during the past twenty years is: Shall the President of the United States be elected by direct popular vote? Custom and tradition, the arch-enemies of reform, oppose the innovation, and deceive the public mind with the error-preserving assertion that "what was good enough for our fathers is good enough for us." Few things that were good enough for our fathers are now worthy to remain in actual use; for, as evolution, lke revolution, never goes backward, few things capable of improvement have remained unimproved. With everything else of practical utility bettered, with everything which time and usage have shown to be unsuited to present conditions and needs satisfactorily adjusted to them, it must be that the political and governmental regulations which arose out of the necessity of the past will be remedied in so far as they fail to meet in the best way the exigencies of to-day. There must be improvement in political relations, as well as scientific or mechanical affairs, or men cannot derive from the general advancement all the benefit they have a right to expect.

It is the purpose of this article to show that, though there has been improvement, in the past century, in the method of selecting Presidential nominees and in electing candidates, the improvement stopped short of its logical goal; and to illustrate the inequalities and crudities of the law as it has come down to us.

The men who framed the Constitution, while wise in many things pertaining to government and political relations, knew nothing about the election of a President, and were at a loss to

determine how that should be done. It was at first suggested that an executive of three men should be established, one from the East, one from the Middle States, and one from the South, as it was feared a single executive could not care properly for the interests of a section of the country to which he was a stranger. After considerable debate, a single executive was decided upon; and then came the question of how he was to be elected. It was agreed that he should not be elected by popular choice, because, the Constitution-makers believed, the country was "too large," and the people were "too ignorant" to be entrusted with such an important business; and it was feared that with the growth of the country a time would come when there would be no man of reputation sufficiently national to make him a desirable nominee, so that the people would be unable to agree upon any man for the office. It was decided that Congress should elect the President, who should serve for seven years and be ineligible for re-election. This plan, however, was not well received by the leading spirits of the country, because Congress had the power both of election and impeachment, and it was feared the President would become its creature. The arguments against the plan had weight with the makers of the Constitution. They, therefore, rescinded that method and substituted another, which fixed the Presidential term at four years and made the executive eligible to re-election. But the idea of popular elections was still repugnant; and, to prevent these, and still keep Presidential elections out of the control of Congress, in obedience to public demand, the idea of choice by Electors was evolved and adopted.

The States were empowered to appoint Electors, as the Legislature of each State should direct; and the Legislatures of the several States, therefore, appointed Electors. These Electors were clothed with sole power to select a fit man for Presidential candidate and to vote for him, the Electors of each State voting independently, without regard to the candidates or the vote of the electors of other States. The Electors of all the States voted on the same day, however, each Electoral body in its own State, the design in this being to prevent the Electors of all States coming together under practically the same influences that now control national conventions. Each Elector was master of his own actions in the choice of the Presidential candidate, and thus was relieved from the control of Congress or of political parties. This

was the law of Presidential selection and election as first definitely adopted.

But, while this law was intended to be definite, it could not be permanent. It did not give satisfaction long, the election of 1796 proving that it was possible to elect the President from one party and the Vice-President from another; and, as a consequence, though the fathers intended that no electoral vote should be pledged, and that the Electors alone should select a President, in 1800 the Republican members of Congress held a caucus for the nomination of Presidential candidates to be voted for by all Republican Electors. Jefferson and Burr being chosen, every Republican Elector voted for these candidates. The Electors were thus deprived of the power with which they had been originally clothed, and they have never recovered it. This was the first change toward popular control of Presidential elections and the conversion of State Electoral Boards into mere representatives of State pluralities.

The next change in the original plan of elections was made in 1804, when the Electors were empowered to cast two ballots, one for President and one for Vice-President. Prior to this time, one ballot, containing the names of two candidates, had been cast, the candidate receiving the greater number of votes being declared President and the other Vice-President. In this year, also, the Congressional caucus became a fixture; and, until 1824, all Presidential candidates were nominated by such caucus. In 1824, the people obtaining full control of State and local government, the State legislatures and State conventions began to make nominations, depriving the Congressional caucus of its power. At this time, also, the people began to select Electors by ballot. The new method of nominating did not give entire satisfaction, and the meeting of Protectionists in Harrisburg, in 1827, and of Anti-Masons in Baltimore, in 1831, paved the way to the popular national convention with such success that, in 1832, the Democrats and National Republicans adopted the national caucus for the nomination of candidates. The caucus, however, was a crude instrument and fell into disuse. In 1840, the national convention, nearly as we now know it, was created, and all Presidents elected since that time have been nominated by national conventions of the nominating parties.

We have seen, therefore, these successive methods of the selec-

tion and election of Presidential candidates—the untrammelled selection and election of candidates by the separate boards or "colleges" of Electors, appointed by State Legislatures, acting independently, each Elector voting for two candidates for President; the selection of candidates by Congressional caucus and election by appointed Electors; balloting separately for President and Vice-President; selection of Electors by popular vote; nomination of candidates by State conventions and Legislatures; nomination by national caucus; nomination by national convention. Thus, the whole intention of the framers of the Constitution has been swept away, with the sole purpose of giving the people fuller control of Presidential elections. There is no sanctity of tradition nor reverence of custom binding the people of to-day to the error of a century; especially since the people of former years corrected the error according to their lights, but corrected it only in part. Each change in the law as originally enforced fortifies the people of to-day in the earnest endeavor to make Presidential elections really popular, and tends to remove the feeling of many good citizens that to change this particular law would be almost treason. The evolution toward a really popular government has stopped at its most important stage.

It is worth while to consider some of the inequalities and crudities of the present law. Some time ago, in an article in the North American Review, Bishop Merrill pointed out one of the greatest of these. This is, in substance, that the individual inhabitant of a State having thirty-six Electors exercises, in the choice of a President, twelve times the power of the individual voter residing in a State having only three Electors. In the one State each voter casts a ballot for thirty-six Electors; and, if his one vote decide the election, he will have won for his party twelve times as many Electors as the individual voter deciding the election in the other State could possibly win for his party. The illustration applies with the same force to one hundred voters, or to one thousand, as to one. Indeed, the Bishop could have gone further, and said that a hundred voters in New York could overthrow the electoral votes of ten States, without regard to the popular pluralities of those States. In fact, in 1884, six hundred votes taken from the Democratic candidate and given to the Republican would have put New York in the Republican column. It may, then, be said that six hundred voters in New York gave

that State to Cleveland. These six hundred votes outbalanced the electoral votes of eight States, with pluralities aggregating 110,000, and an electoral vote of 33. These States were: Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont. The fact is thus demonstrated that, in each State, the individual voter's elective power is augmented or curtailed by a law which does not recognize the individual as a potential factor in a national election.

To remedy this inequality, the Bishop suggests that Presidential Electors be voted for separately by Congressional districts, instead of by a State ballot; each Elector being chosen by the Congressional district in which he resides, irrespective of the candidacy or the political fortunes of other Electors in his State. On the surface this seems to promise the needed corrective; but in fact it falls short of the necessities. It would, it is true, give each Congressional district an Elector of its political suasion, and elect a President of the same political faith as the lower house of the Congress going into office with him. But, although this would be a real and appreciable step in the direction of a reform the need of which the framers of the Constitution could not have foreseen, it does not go far enough. It promises to remove inequalities and leave the citizen untrammelled in the selection of a President, making one man's vote as valuable and as determinative as the vote of any other man anywhere. But this work it cannot perform, for it cannot reach and destroy the gerrymander. In nearly, if not quite, every State in which the dominant political party has had the opportunity, the Congressional districts have been so arranged and manipulated that a small plurality of the State vote may be made to yield a large majority of Congressmen. The gerrymander is, in this way, a pattern and an annoying imitation of the electoral system. Bishop Merrill's plan, were it adopted, would be manifestly unable to change this, and, therefore, unable to remove inequalities or correct crudities in Presidential elections.

A study of the figures of Presidential elections shows that the successful candidate gets an electoral vote for a smaller number of popular votes than his defeated opponent; and that, in his majorities, the successful nominee gets an electoral vote for a ridiculously small number of popular ballots. It has been declared with more or less vehemence, but with a great deal of sophistry, that "what is good for one is good for another" in the

choosing of electoral boards. The truth is that what is bad for one is bad for the whole country, in that what can be improved and is not may often become the instrument of defeating the will of the people, and in a popular government it is difficult to conceive of a more sinister occurrence. The following table will illustrate how the electoral system sets the popular will at defiance and has defeated it:

CANDIDATES.	Popular vote.	Electoral vote.	Ratio of electoral to popular vote. 1 to —.	Popular plurality.	Elec. toral maj'ty.	Ratio of electoral majority to pop. plurality, 1 to —.
1828—						
Jackson	647,231	178	3,636	138,134	95	1,453
Adams	509,097	83	6,134	....	....	....
1832—						
Jackson	687,502	219	3,139	157,313	170	925
Clay	530,189	49	10,820	....	....	....
1840—						
Harrison	1,275,017	234	5,449	146,315	174	841
Van Buren	1,128,702	60	18,811	....	....	....
1844—						
Polk	1,337,243	170	7,866	38,175	65	587
Clay	1,299,068	105	12,372	....	....	....
1848—						
Taylor	1,360,101	163	8,344	139,557	36	3,876
Cass	1,220,544	127	9,610	....	....	....
1852—						
Pierce	1,601,474	254	6,305	220,896	211	1,047
Scott	1,380,576	43	32,106	....	....	....
1856—						
Buchanan	1,838,169	174	10,564	496,905	60	8,281
Fremont	1,341,264	114	11,765	....	....	....
1860—						
Lincoln	1,866,352	180	10,368	491,195	168	2,924
Douglass	1,375,157	12	114,596	....	....	....
Breckinridge	845,736	72	11,746	....	....	....
Bell	589,581	39	15,117	....	....	....
1864—						
Lincoln	2,216,067	212	10,453	407,342	191	2,138
McClellan	1,808,725	21	86,129	....	....	....
1868—						
Grant	3,015,071	214	23,435	305,456	134	2,279
Seymour	2,709,615	80	33,870	....	....	....
1872—						
Grant	3,597,070	286	12,577	762,991	223	3,421
Greeley	2,834,079	63	44,985	....	....	....
1880—						
Garfield	4,449,053	214	20,790	7,018	59	119
Hancock	4,442,035	155	28,658	....	....	....
1884—						
Cleveland	4,911,017	219	22,425	62,683	37	1,694
Blaine	4,848,334	182	26,639	....	....	....
1888—						
Harrison	5,440,216	233	23,348	*	65	*
Cleveland	5,538,233	168	32,965	....	....	....
1892—						
Cleveland	5,556,918	277	20,061	380,810	132	2,885
Harrison	5,176,108	145	35,697	....	....	....
1896—						
McKinley	7,101,401	271	26,204	630,745	95	6,639
Bryan	6,470,656	176	36,765	....	....	....

The table begins with the vote of 1828, because there were no real elections by the people until 1824; and, as no candidate had a popular majority in that year, the House of Representatives

*Harrison did not have a popular plurality.

elected the President. In 1836, four Whigs ran against Van Buren, who won; the vote of the Whig party being thus dissipated, the election of that year is not included in the table. In 1860, Lincoln's closest competitor for the popular vote was Douglass; and Lincoln's popular and electoral votes are therefore compared with his. If, however, the reader be dissatisfied with this treatment of that election, the figures will show to him that Lincoln had a minority of 944,122 in the popular vote, and yet received 57 more electoral votes than all his opponents received. The figures for 1876 are omitted because, owing to the manner in which the election of that year was decided, they can be of no value here.

The table proclaims the failure of the electoral "college" system to give a method of electing the chief executive which can be depended upon to be fair and equitable at all times and under all circumstances. The case of Douglass, as illustrating its inequality, is an extreme one, it must be admitted, but one which, being recorded, is not beyond the possibility of repetition. That such a poor return of Electors for votes cast was shown to be possible should have been sufficient reason for a thorough change and improvement of election laws. But the significance of the result that year was unheeded; and, as a consequence, it was found possible, in 1876, by slight changes in the popular vote, to give an electoral majority to a candidate who even then was without a popular plurality. This was followed by the total collapse of the popular will and electoral "college" theory in 1888, when Cleveland, with a popular plurality of 98,017, was defeated by an electoral majority of 65. To sum it up: In every election the winning candidate receives more electors in proportion to his popular vote than the unsuccessful candidate; in every case, the proportion of popular votes necessary to win his excess of electoral votes is very small, and in every case the popular will, as represented by the popular vote, is enfeebled or wholly repudiated by the electoral choice. Here are the greatest inequalities of the present system, emphasizing its incompatibility with popular election of Presidents. For instance, how is it possible to harmonize the theory of equitable election laws, and the older theory of equal representation, with the fact that, in the contest of 1852, Pierce received one electoral vote for every 6,305 of popular votes, while for every 32,106 popular votes Scott got only one electoral vote? Or what more aptly illustrates the absurdity of the present system

than the election of 1860, when Lincoln received one electoral vote for each 10,368 popular votes, and Douglass got only one elector for every 114,596 votes?

It is apparent that the people are inclined to diminish the power of Electors, as shown in alterations in the conduct of elections; that the tendency of these alterations is toward a fuller exercise of individual rights by the people; that the present system, denuded though it be of some of its objectionable original garb, is still unsatisfactory; that it does not give the people the full enjoyment of suffrage which of right is theirs; that candidates as well as people are not equally represented in the electoral college, or are, because of the unfairness of the law, deprived of what, under a fair law, would be a victory. For such evils a remedy can be found only in an amendment of the Constitution which will do away with the electoral "college" and substitute for it a definite election by popular ballot. In no other way can there really be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. The popular ballot, untrammelled and unperverted by present Constitutional restrictions, will insure the election of the candidate receiving the highest number of votes. It will remove all the inequalities now complained of, but endured apathetically, and make the vote of the citizen of one State as potent as that of the citizen of another. It will make the most ingenious gerrymander powerless to affect the result. It will put the citizens of the small State on exactly the same footing as the citizens of the large State, without detriment to the interests of either. It will make the repetition of the returning-board episode unnecessary and impossible, and will prevent the election of a President by Congress, thus doubly assuring popular choice. It will check corruption, discourage vote buying, the concentration of vast sums of money for use in carrying certain desired States, put an end to colonizing for the same purpose, and to a great extent weaken, if not destroy, the vast system of blackmail now conducted under the name of campaign-fund contributions. Without a direct popular vote for President, a "government by the people" is somewhat mythical; with it we shall have a real republic.

JOHN HANDIBOE.

Eighty-sixth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 171: No. 3.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

September, 1900.

Imperialism and Christianity,
The Very Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D.,
Dean of Canterbury.

The Duty of the Gold Democrat . . . MELVILLE E. INGALLS,
President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway.

Nihilism and Anarchy . . . . . CHARLES JOHNSTON

The Assassination Mania . . . . . Dr. FELIX L. OSWALD

Catholics and American Citizenship,
The Rt. Rev. J. A. McFAUL,
Bishop of Trenton.

The Vain Hope of the Filipinos . . . . MARRION WILCOX

The Art of Robert Louis Stevenson . . . . G. W. T. OMOND

Confucianism in the Nineteenth Century . HERBERT A. GILES,
Professor of Chinese in Cambridge University.

THE OUTBREAK IN CHINA.

The Empire of the Dead . . The Rev. F. E. CLARK, D.D.,
President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor.

Commercial Aspect of the Yellow Peril, ALLEYNE IRELAND

The Root of the Chinese Trouble . . . . JOHN FOORD,
Secretary of the American Asiatic Association.

What the Chinese Think of Us . . . . STEPHEN BONSAL

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

LONDON:
WM. HEINEMANN, 21 Bedford St., W. C.

PARIS:
BRENTANO'S, 37 Avenue de l'Opéra.

Single Number, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, $5.

United States Mortgage & Trust Co.,

59 CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK

Capital $2,000,000 **Surplus $2,250,000**

Transacts a General Banking Business

Allows interest on Deposits subject to check
Is Legal Depositary for Court and Trust Funds
Acts as Fiscal Agent for Cities and Corporations

Buys and Sells Foreign Exchange
Issues Commercial and Travelers' Credits available in all parts of the world

Loans Money on Bond and Mortgage
Issues First Mortgage Trust Gold Bonds
Acts as Trustee, Registrar and Transfer Agent

Transacts a General Trust Business

OFFICERS

GEORGE W. YOUNG.....President
LUTHER KOUNTZE.....Vice-President
JAMES TIMPSON.....2d Vice-President
ARTHUR TURNBULL.....3d Vice-President
CLARK WILLIAMS.....Treasurer
WILLIAM P. ELLIOTT.....Secretary
RICHARD M. HURD.....Asst. Secretary
CALVERT BREWER.....Asst. Treasurer
ALEXANDER PHILLIPS.....Man'g For'n Dept.

DIRECTORS

Samuel D. Babcock

Wm. H. Baldwin, Jr.	Gustav E. Kissel
Frederick O. Barton	Luther Kountze
C. Ledyard Blair	Charlton T. Lewis
Dumont Clarke	Richard A. McCurd
Charles D. Dickey	Theodore Morford
William P. Dixon	Robert Olyphant
Robert A. Granniss	Charles M. Pratt
G. G. Haven, Jr.	James Timpson
Charles R. Henderson	Eben B. Thomas

George W. Young

Copyright, 1906, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO. All rights reserved.
Entered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails, as second-class

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXVI.

SEPTEMBER, 1900.

IMPERIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE VERY REV. F. W. FARRAR, D. D., F. R. S., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

In French, the word *"Impérialisme"* is used, according to Littré, to mean the opinion of "Imperialists"—that is, the opinion of those who supported the régime of the Emperor Napoleon and his successors. In English, the word "Imperialism" has the wider meaning of that view of national duty and policy which maintains that we are bound to uphold, even at the cost of war, and in spite of all hazards, the Empire over those vast regions which the Providence of God has placed under our dominion and immediate influence. Now, emergencies constantly arise amid the jealousies, ambitions and conflicting interests of nations, in which our Imperial position can only be maintained by arms. The question, therefore, arises in many minds, and presses heavily on the sensitive consciences of many earnest Christians, as to whether war—unless it be undertaken in pure self-defense—is ever justifiable. Those—and they are by no means few in number—who answer this question in the negative, usually defend their position by dwelling on the horrors of the battle-field, and asking how it can be possible for any one who professes to be bound by the

Copyright, 1900, by the North American Review Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

precepts of the Lord of Love to take any part in the perpetration of such horrors. They deny that any approval of war can be reconciled with the faith and profession of Christians.

Let us try to meet this question fully and fairly. We must, of course, assume that any particular war is itself undertaken on just grounds. Is it, nevertheless, the duty of Christians to suffer wrong rather than have recourse to so terrible an arbitrament?

It is easy for those who hold that war is anti-Christian to draw frightful pictures of the miseries which all war must necessarily involve. They have only to quote from the many descriptions of modern battles, when the shot and shell rush screaming through the air, and when many a dire wound is inflicted which may shatter all the hopes, and all the usefulness, of some young and gallant life. They may refer to some intensely pathetic incident—one only of very many—like that which happened to a young officer a short time since in the Transvaal, when, in the moment of victory, after he had defeated the enemy with far inferior numbers and won the Victoria Cross by his heroic gallantry, a bullet swept across his eyeballs, and not only inflicted terrible agony, but left him blind for life. Or they will dwell on the lifelong anguish of "the many who must inevitably suffer," the helpless widows and fatherless little ones, left thenceforth to maintain the hard struggle of life, with broken hearts, against adverse conditions. They ask whether the Saviour of the world permits His followers, under any circumstances, to shoot each other down by tens of thousands, by way of "relieving the oppressed and maintaining the cause of justice and equity between man and man?" Pursuing the same theme, they will describe the aspect of a battle-field when night has ended the combat, and men, some athirst and horribly mutilated by ghastly wounds, lie (as they do lie) shrieking and sobbing on the torn and blood-stained sod. They will quote the words of the Duke of Wellington after the splendid victory of Waterloo, that, next to a battle lost, nothing is more terrible than a battle won, and that the glory of victory cannot make up for the anguish caused by the loss of many friends. Or, perhaps, they will refer to the lines written by the poet after the battle of the Alma:

"Oh, the gallant hearts that are lying cold and still,
On the slopes below the summit, on the plateau of the hill!

Oh, the gallant hearts that are sobbing out their souls,
As the chilly night-wind searches through the burning bullet holes!
Oh, the writhing mass of pain, close-packed with the tranquil slain,
When the grey morn breaks again o'er the heights we dared to climb!"

And after they have harrowed our feelings to the uttermost, they will demand in triumph, How can you pretend to maintain that war can be a permissible remedy for human wrongs, when it inevitably inflicts, on myriads of the helpless and the innocent, miseries incomparably more intolerable than the grievances which it was designed to remove?

In spite of all this, we answer with entire conviction, that war, in any just and holy cause, is not only defensible, but is a positive duty. If all men were just, if all men loved each other, war would, indeed, be unnecessary; but, as law-courts and policemen and prisons are necessary, even in the polity of a Christian nation, so, while the world continues to be what it is, the suppression of all appeals to the decision of war would involve the certain and absolute triumph of robbery, oppression, greed and injustice. The occasional necessity for the resort to war, in order to settle serious national differences, is recognized throughout the whole of Holy Scripture. There are whole books of the Old Testament which ring with the clash of conflict. In the Prophet Isaiah, we read that "the Lord of Hosts mustereth the hosts of the battle"; and the Israelites, though they knew themselves to be the chosen people of God and under His special protection, yet felt themselves bound to gather together the armies with which He went forth to war. Nor is it otherwise in the New Testament. When soldiers, on their way to a campaign, came to John the Baptist, he did not give them the most distant hint that their very employment was unlawful, nor did he bid them return to their homes, but only commanded them to be just and upright. Our Lord never forbade war, from which He sometimes took His metaphors. He said: "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace."

War is but the collective form of the age-long, unceasing conflict of the human race against the usurpations of tyrannous evil. It is a fraction of that Armageddon struggle, described in the Apocalypse, in which the Son of God rides forth at the head of all His saints to subdue the machinations of the Devil and his angels. Every just and necessary war is but an episode in, and

a continuation of, that Divine Crusade. If, then, we almost hesitate to use the tremendous expression of one of the saintliest of English poets, if we shrink from saying with Wordsworth:

> "That God's most perfect instrument,
> In working out a pure intent,
> Is man arrayed for mutual slaughter;
> Yea, Carnage is His daughter,"

we yet venture to approve the words of another true poet, and to exclaim:

> "Peace, peace, peace with the vain and silly song,
> That we do no ill ourselves when we wink at others' wrong;
> That to turn the second cheek is the lesson of the Cross,
> To be learned by calculation of the profit and the loss—
> Go home, you idle teachers, you miserable creatures,
> The cannons are God's preachers when the time is ripe for war!
>
> "Peace is no peace, if it lets the ill grow stronger,
> Only cheating Destiny a very little longer:
> War, with its agonies, its horrors and its crimes,
> Is cheaper if discounted and taken up betimes.
> When the weeds of peace grow rank, we must plough the poisoned bank,
> Sow and reap the crop of peace with the implements of war."

Since, then, in the present condition of our fallen human nature, no means are open to us to stay the ruinous dominance of wickedness except war—adopted as the last resort, when all other means have been tried in vain—no Christian may need have any misgiving at taking part in that awful, yet final, arbitrament, in which the issues are left to the determination of the God of Battles. Hence it is that He Who brings good out of evil, and makes even the wrath of man abound to His praise, so often causes war, amid all its terrible accidents, to tend in a marked manner to the ennoblement of individual character. There has scarcely been any war in which some of the finest elements of virtue have not been educed. What splendor of self-sacrifice, what unflinching battle-brunt of heroism, what sense of the absolute supremacy of duty, does war call forth, even in the humblest and most ignorant soldiers! The youngest lad, from the poorest peasant cottage, is willing to take his life in his hand and sacrifice it, without a murmur, for his Queen and his country and his home. "Though he knows," said Kossuth, "that the glory of the victory will rest with the great leaders, and that where he falls

there he will lie, unhonored and unsung, yet such soldiers will charge unflinchingly on the batteries which vomit their cross fires into the dense ranks, and so they die by thousands, those unknown demigods!" We know Sir Francis Doyle's famous lines on the Private of the Buffs, who would not kowtow to his Chinese captors, because:

"He only knows that not through him
Shall England come to shame.

Poor, reckless, rude, low-born, untaught,
Bewildered and alone,
A heart with English feeling fraught
He yet can call his own:
And thus with eyes which would not shrink,
With knee to man unbent,
Unfaltering on its dreadful brink,
To his red grave he went."

Nor is it only the grandeur of a death-defying courage which such imminent peril evokes; it calls forth no less the tenderness of self-sacrifice. To mention but one of the many noble deeds which have been recorded during the war in the Transvaal—instances of men who have not held their lives dear unto themselves, if they could help to save others or even for a time alleviate their anguish—how beautiful is the anecdote of the common soldier, who, seeing his officer fall wounded on the battle-field, though he was himself unwounded, yet braved the perils of capture by the enemy, and spent the long, cold, wet night by the side of the wounded man, amid the drenching rain, in order, if possible, to keep him alive by the warmth of his own unwounded body!

But if, in so many thousands of instances, war thus calls forth the finest feelings of even the most ordinary men, it also, undoubtedly, has tended again and again to save whole nations from the eating canker of those vices which too often grow up in the long continuance of peace. No one has expressed this truth more eloquently than Mr. Ruskin. He says:

"A Nebuchadnezzar curse, which sends men to grass, like oxen, seems to follow but too closely on the excess or continuance of national power and peace. In the perplexities of nations, in their struggles for existence, their infancy, their impotence, and even their disorganization, they have higher hopes and nobler passions. Out of the suffering comes the serious mind, out of the salvation the grateful heart, out of the endurance the fortitude, out of the deliverance the faith. But when the more violent and external sources of suffering

cease, worse evils seem arising out of their rest; evils that vex less, but mortify more; that suck the blood though they do not shed it, and ossify the heart though they do not torture it. There is danger that enervation may succeed to rest, apathy to patience, and the darkness of foul thoughts and the noise of jesting words to the earnest purity of the girded loin and the burning lamp. Let us beware lest our rest be the rest of stones, which, so long as they are torrent-tossed and thunder-stricken, preserve their majesty, but when the stream is silent, and the storm passed by, suffer the moss to cover them, and the lichen to feed on them, and are ploughed down into the dust."

Let us apply but one more test. If it be unjustifiable for a Christian to take part in war, we should hardly look for saintly men among professional soldiers. Yet, in all ages, there have been many such. I need not go back to the years of ancient times, or tell of Abraham, and Joshua, and Gideon, and Barak, and David, and Josiah, and the warrior Maccabees. I will come down at once to modern times. If there are any who doubt whether a true soldier of Christ can devote himself to the military life—still more if there be any who fancy that there would be no chivalry, no gallantry, nor battle-brunt in the temper of man when he has to stand in awe of the sequel which follows death—I would say to them, with Edward Irving:

"I would try these flush and flashy spirits with their own weapons, and play a little with them at their own game—I can tell them of those who fought with savage beasts. And what do they talk of war? Have they forgot Cromwell's iron band that caused their chivalry to skip? or the Scots Cameronians who seven times, with their Christian chief, received the thanks of Marlborough, that first of English captains? or Gustavus of the North, whose camp sang Psalms in every tent? It is not so long that they should forget Nelson's Methodists, who were the most trusted of that hero's crew."

But we may come down to living memory. To mention but one name in the story of the Crimean war, was there ever a braver soldier or a more faithful and earnest Christian than Captain Hedley Vicars? In the Indian Mutiny, was there any man who did more to secure the dominion of England than Sir Henry Havelock, who, from the earliest days of his connection with the army, fearlessly defiant of godless sneers, had been accustomed to gather his young soldiers together, to make them total abstainers, and to join with them in prayer meetings? In those days, it was a rare thing for a young officer to show such religious courage, and the soldiers whom Havelock gathered around him

acquired the sneering nickname of "Havelock's Saints." But when, during the Burmese war, there was a sudden attack made by the enemy in the evening, it was found that the great majority of the men were more or less under the influence of liquor. The British General was in despair, and a terrible disgrace and disaster seemed to be imminent, when one of the officers said to the General: "Send for Havelock; his men are never drunk, and Havelock is always ready." Havelock was sent for, and what might have proved to be a terrible catastrophe was averted by the faithfulness and promptitude of him and his much ridiculed "Saints."

Again, need I allude to General Gordon? A braver soldier and a more consistent Christian never lived; and England owes him a debt of unending gratitude. Yet Gordon so little shrank from being known to be humbly faithful in the daily performance of his religious duties that every soldier in his camp was aware that there were certain hours of the day in which he must not be disturbed, because the white handkerchief was then fastened outside his tent, and that was a sign that he was engaged in private prayer, and in the study of the Holy Scriptures.

But it seems to me that I have said enough to prove my point, that a war waged in the cause of truth and right, though it may be a very terrible necessity, yet in human history still continues to be at times a necessary duty, even for the most Christian nation, and is in no way at conflict with the obligations by which every true Christian is eternally bound. Let me, then, conclude with the words of a most venerable and excellent prelate, the Archbishop of Armagh, who writes:

"They say that War is hell, the great accursed,
The sin impossible to be forgiven:
Yet I can look beyond it at its worst,
And still find blue in heaven.

"And as I note how nobly natures form
Under the war's red rain, I deem it true
That He Who made the earthquake and the storm,
Perchance makes battles too.

* * * * * * *

"Thus as the heaven's many-colored flames
At sunset are but dust in rich disguise,
The ascending earthquake-dust of battle frames
God's picture in the skies."

F. W. Farrar.

THE DUTY OF DEMOCRATS.

BY M. E. INGALLS, PRESIDENT OF THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO RAILWAY COMPANY.

WHAT has happened since November, 1896, to warrant a reversal of the judgment which the American people then pronounced at the polls? Under what conditions have we entered on the present Presidential campaign, and what, in this regard, is the duty of patriotic citizens, independent of partisan affiliation? To the Democrat who voted for Palmer and Buckner, as well as to the Democrat who voted for McKinley, four years ago, the situation to-day presents peculiar embarrassments. Preferring to act with his party, when possible, the patriotic Democrat must, nevertheless, answer the call of duty, no matter in what direction it leads him.

The second and supreme trial of the great financial issue, which never should have been dragged into partisan politics, will be made at the polls in November, 1900. This test will, I believe, be conclusive. What are the conditions under which it is to be made?

There is in the United States at the present day unparalleled prosperity, in which every citizen has a right to share. If any citizen is prevented from sharing in that prosperity, he is the victim of conditions which cannot be righted by the election of Bryan, strongly as he may be tempted to trust in that remedy. Under the gold standard we have become the leading creditor nation, and we are financing the world. We have produced three great crops in succession, and we are feeding Europe. We have had three years of unexcelled manufacturing industry, and we are finding a prompt and generous market all over the world. The American farmer, the American laborer and the American business man were never as prosperous as they are to-day. It

is by their suffrages that this Presidential election must be decided. In what direction do their interests lie?

The American farmer is selling for 37½ cents a bushel corn which it costs him 15 cents to produce. His wheat and cotton, his beef and pork are selling at profitable prices. He is spending his money in luxuries and enjoying himself. He is riding in railroad trains, and, as he looks from the car windows over the bountiful harvests, he is taking a new view not only of his native land, which was never fairer or happier, but is also thinking of his new markets and new "possessions" across the seas.

The laborer is to-day receiving more wages than he ever received before, and he is receiving them in a currency that is good all over the world. In many instances, undoubtedly, there must be a readjustment of wages, and the sporadic strikes now reported in various manufacturing centres point probably to the beginning of this readjustment. In my opinion, these and kindred difficulties will be safely and speedily settled.

This feeling of unrest in the bosom of the laborer, if it exists, is a protest against conditions which, while securing him good wages, seem nevertheless to rob him of his fair share in the general prosperity. In many ways, my sympathies are with him. It is to him that we must look for the ballots upon which his own industrial security depends, and it is to him, also, for that reason, that the argument upon the candidates and the issues of 1900 should be addressed. Now, can any sane man tell me how the laborer will help his condition, or the solution of the problems so vital to him, by voting to debase our standard of value and thereby reducing his own wages?

What has labor to hope from Bryan, ostensibly the friend of the dissatisfied, the champion of the aggrieved, and the chosen candidate of all the long-haired reformers in the United States? Does not the supreme salvation of labor depend, after all, upon preserving our standard of value, upon the non-partisan regulation of trusts, and upon the application to those great commercial aggregations, which are so peculiarly a product of this age, of a system of license and taxation? Is it not idle to denounce the trust as an evil, a menace to the national welfare? Is not the trust a natural and essential development of our time? A quarter of a century ago the word "corporation" implied an inherent reproach in the minds of exactly those citizens who to-day regard

the trust, which is the incorporation of corporations, with the same disfavor. Yet it is to the solution of the trust problem that the American business man, as well as the American farmer and laborer, must address himself. And in the solution of that problem he will find the present goal of patriotism.

The business man who does not inquire into the politics of his bookkeeper is asked by the supporters of Mr. Bryan to allow partisan politics to be injected into the circulating medium through which he carries on his business. He refused in 1896, as he will refuse, I believe, in 1900, to impute either Democracy or Republicanism to the dollar. He will say that it is not a political question, and that it should not be made such. Asking himself where he shall seek guidance in the casting of his ballot, he, like the laborer and the farmer, looks out upon prosperity unprecedented. He sees trade following the flag all around the world, and new markets opening to him under new national responsibilities. He realizes, as a business man, that these responsibilities must be grappled with and adjusted on a business basis. No policy of evasion or retreat can commend itself to him. Yet, into the field of partisan discussion he finds these responsibilities dragged, like the dollars from his counting-room, by the politicians who seek his vote. And, like the farmer and the laborer, he finds his next national ballot invested with unique importance.

What will be the reply of the American patriot, who is now asked to believe that his home and his pocket-book are staked on the next turn of the ballot, that a wrong decision spells ruin, and that he must decide issues of such moment as were never before submitted to the American electorate?

He will say that the real issues are, by no means, those set up by the politicians; that Bryan's election—which appears to me impossible—would no more mean permanent ruin than McKinley's will mean a safe deliverance from all our troubles. And quite different from those given by politicians would be his reasons why good citizens, irrespective of party, should vote for McKinley in November. That it is the duty of patriots to do so I have no doubt.

The safety of the American Republic is not menaced by a bogey, crowned with an imperial diadem of straw. The cry of imperialism is simply a pretext of the Democratic leaders to save themselves from the fatal blunder they made in 1896, the blunder

of dragging the dollar to the polls and endeavoring to degrade it. Imperialism is not the paramount issue, despite all efforts to make it so.

Now, as in 1896, the real issue is the Silver Danger. That is the peril threatening this country, not the imaginary evils attendant on the acquisition of new territory, which was the inevitable result of a war for which the shriekers against Imperialism were largely responsible. The only peril now threatening the United States is ruin and retrogression under Silver, the turning back of the wheels of progress and prosperity to the standards of China and Mexico, and the abandonment of our position as the greatest country in the civilized world.

Shall we go forward or shall we turn back? That is the question for the voters in November. Under McKinley we go forward, under Bryan we turn back.

The coming test of the Silver question at the polls must, in all human probability, be the final one. The will of the voters twice registered will not be the third time disputed. Each year that we preserve our present money standard gives it additional security. The American people do not like experiments with their currency, their school-houses, their churches or their savings-banks. A reversal of the popular verdict of 1896 would mean a reversal of all the achievements that make up our national prosperity. Bryan's election would mean that the sovereign people had decreed that our laborers shall be paid in silver, while our foreign debts must still be paid in gold.

Convinced as I am that the financial question is the paramount issue in November, 1900, as it was in November, 1896, it is worth while for Democrats who supported McKinley, as I did, four years ago, to ask what are the issues upon which our party could have appealed to the American people with fair prospects of success, and what we can contend for in future contests, after this economic and financial question is finally settled. To my mind these define themselves as reform in governmental administration, economy in governmental expenditure, the taxation and regulation of oppressive trusts and combinations, and the immediate enactment of a just and honest scheme of colonial government. These would have been issues upon which every patriot could have been honestly asked to vote. Why should we not set fairly about a reform in our old system of taxation, and, at the

same time, initiate a departure which might well result in throwing the cost of government upon those who can best afford it? Why should not these very trusts, which are to-day the chief obstacle in the way of the plain people's enjoying their share in the general prosperity, be controlled, and why should they not pay to the Federal Government a license tax which would speedily convert them into blessings? If they are to-day blessings in disguise, the mask is in many instances painfully opaque. The connection between the trusts and the tariff is shamefully in evidence, yet I have little doubt that many trusts are beneficial to the people at large and are permanent industrial institutions. They are the results of the evolution of business, and, like the things the good wife of New England threw into the soap boiler, the more profuse and offensive the scum that came to the top to be skimmed, the better the soap always came out in the end. Into our national trust pot we have thrown steel rails and stockings, wall paper and caramels, ice and flour, matches and sugar, and the boiling-up is wonderful, if not altogether agreeable. The net product will, I believe, be good. The skimming is still in progress. The clarified result may be reached without great difficulty, and proper taxation will go far toward making it useful.

Nor could that fairest of all taxes, the income tax, fail to be a long step in the right direction toward lightening the burdens of the private citizen. It should by no means be given up, simply because the last law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. I mean a fair and proper income tax, levied upon every citizen in proportion to his income, be it great or be it small—not a class tax, as was the last abortion. If such a law cannot stand the scrutiny of the courts, then there should be a Constitutional amendment permitting it.

After all, it is my opinion that the statesmanship of our land might well develop its ripest fruits in the solution of our colonial problems. Repudiating, as I believe they will, in November, the false issue of imperialism, the American people have nevertheless been confronted, ever since the annexation of Hawaii as a Territory, by the supremely important and far-reaching question of how their new possessions shall be governed. The Silver problem solved once for all, as it will be in November, the colonial problem at once becomes paramount. We must either give up Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines, haul down our flag, and shame-

fully abandon the righteous fruits of our prowess by land and sea, or we must prepare to govern these distant additions to our country fairly and honestly and capably. We must, at the same time, look to their future and our own, and remember the temptations to which they will be subjected, as well as those which may from time to time lure American statesmen, in search of votes in the United States Senate, to advocating the creation of alien States. Statehood is naturally the goal toward which the citizens of a Territory strive. Porto Rico and the Philippines have now, or will have in a brief time, as fair a title to the name and rights of Territories of the United States as the Hawaiian Islands have. When two Senators from Hawaii vote at the capital on the sugar tariff, the farmers of Indiana and Illinois will probably be heard in emphatic objection. So will the people East and West object when Presidential elections are decided by the voters of these far-off islands. It is impossible to conceive of a righteous discrimination against the Tagals of Luzon and against the half-breeds of Porto Rico in favor of the yellow men of Honolulu, alike alien in race, and divided from our continent and from the integrity of our Republic by boundaries of the seas. Yet, when we admitted Hawaii as a Territory, we set a precedent in favor of Porto Rico and the Philippines which it is difficult to disregard.

There lies the true danger attendant on our new acquisitions. That precedent must be disregarded. A perpetual, constitutional barrier must be erected against the Statehood of all our non-contiguous possessions. That supremely important problem is to be met and overcome, not by cowardly evasion or disgraceful retreat, for the American people will tolerate no such course. We must institute honestly and wisely and administer economically an American colonial system, worthy alike of our new possessions and of their mother country. We are not incapable of governing them. We are, as a nation, incapable of nothing.

I fully believe in the future of the American Republic and that we are wise and brave enough to bear the burdens and fulfill the task Providence has allotted us. Let us not falter at the threshold.

M. E. INGALLS.

NIHILISM AND ANARCHY.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

"The intellectual and physical strength of the nations and their labor and capital are in large measure diverted from their natural purpose and unproductively consumed.

"National culture, economic progress and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development.

"Economic crises are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the people find it ever harder to bear."

The Tzar's Peace Manifesto.

TWENTY years of comparative quiet following the vast conspiracy of Nihilism had almost led us to believe that the fires of social revolution were burnt out. We have recently had stern reminders that volcanic elements still seethe everywhere beneath the solid-seeming surface of Christendom. Two European countries have been swept from end to end by anarchist riots; an Empress has been stabbed; an Emperor has narrowly escaped assassination; and now we have to add to the list the tragical death of King Humbert.

If we take the murder of President Carnot as forming part of the same cycle of events, as it admittedly does, and add France to Spain, Italy, Austria and Germany, we shall have a total population of over two hundred millions affected, including Celtiberian, Gallic, Latin, Slavonic and Teutonic nations. Nor does this exhaust the area of unrest. We must add that England has been for months, and still is, in the throes of an economic war, where both sides have already lost scores of millions in the contest; while Russia, the remaining great Power of Europe, has for two years been devastated by famines which have desolated twenty provinces. This for Christendom alone.

It would be futile to deny that this is a condition of the utmost gravity; a condition evidently more formidable even than the darkest days of the Nihilist Terror; and, we are unfortunately

compelled to add, a condition in no wise relieved or exhausted by the present outbreaks, or less likely to produce eruptive elements in the future.

The comparison between European anarchy to-day and Russian Nihilism twenty years ago suggests two questions: Whether identical causes lie behind both outbreaks; and, even more interesting, Whether we are again face to face with a conspiracy, widespread, determined, far-sighted, and thoroughly organized, like that of the Terrorists of Russia.

The Nihilists had an army of active members; they had hosts of aiders and abettors even in the imperial household and the great Government departments; they had abundant funds; they had ramifications all through Russia, Siberia and Poland; they had groups in the Balkans and Constantinople; they had centres in Geneva and Paris; and at least a literary outpost in London. They were led by men and women of consummate intellectual force, high daring and entire devotion; like Vera Zassulich, who struck the first blow of militant Nihilism; Krapchevski, who stabbed a famous general of the Third Division, in broad daylight, in a metropolitan thoroughfare, and escaped; Dmitri Lisogub, who lived in poverty, giving all the large revenues of his estate to provide explosives, disguises, and the sinews of underground warfare against autocracy; Goldenberg, who attempted the Tzar's life, in the Crimea, and swallowed poison to escape arrest; Jeliaboff, who prepared the bombs which slew Alexander II., beside the Ekaterinski Canal; and Sophia Perovskaya, whose handkerchief gave the signal for his assassination.

Are there personalities like these in the background to-day, of whom the slayer of President Carnot, the stabber of the Empress Elizabeth, the would-be assassins of the Emperor William, and the murderer of King Humbert are but the tools? Are we in presence of a revival of the International, as conceived by Bakunin, Lasalle and Lavroff, as dreamed of by Hertzen and Krapotkin, and as played with by William Black, in "Sunrise," and by Henry James, in "Princess Casamassima,"—a close-knit union of the People of all lands against the Privileged, ardent with humane ambitions, and ready to lay down life for their ideals; a band of martyrs, taking as their motto: "Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne"?

We can give provisional answers to both these questions, and

they add to the gravity of the outlook. For while the Nihilist movement arose out of local and temporary causes,—a period of transition, affecting one country only,—the present outbreaks, and the very formidable forces behind them, are the fruit of conditions deemed normal and habitual, in no sense transitory, but certain rather to become steadily aggravated, under the operation of existent causes.

Nihilism grew out of the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, and the sudden spread of education which followed it. Russian society was disorganized; and then the floating elements were supplied with intellectual stimulants, and familiarized with the theories of the fashionable materialism of the day; and, at the same time, they were made to feel that there was no room for them in the State. They were taught the chemistry of the high explosives, and then sent forth from the schools to starve.

But the very bitterness of the conditions which engendered Nihilism was a guarantee of their non-continuance. The floods let loose, soon found their level; and the wisdom, beneficence and toleration which made the reign of Alexander III. one of the best in history have restored the social equilibrium of Russia, at least so far as the causes of Nihilism are concerned.

But none of this applies to the countries of Western Europe, where the red banner of anarchy is now raised. We must look elsewhere for the causes of the recent outbreaks. Let us begin with Spain, as most grievously afflicted, and as likely, for other reasons, to be uppermost in our thoughts.

The conditions of that once splendid land are pitiable. The symptoms to be accounted for are these: During three days in May, 1898, there was civil war in eleven provinces of the Peninsula; the people, desperate, leaderless, ineffectual, driven to insurrection by sheer starvation, gathering in the streets, to be shot down by the soldiers; accomplishing nothing by their protests but their own miserable end; and this, not in one region, but in all, from Asturias in the extreme north, to Cadiz in the south; from Leon and Sevilla in the west, through the inland provinces of Toledo, Jaen and Albacete, to Murcia, Alicante, Valencia and Barcelona,—that is, the whole Mediterranean coast.

Behind an outbreak like this, in a fertile country, whose inhabitants are industrious and thrifty, there must be very potent and deep-seated causes of mischief and disorganization; and the

more we examine the matter, the graver does it become, and the more sincere is our sympathy for the people of a grievously afflicted land. We find that, in spite of all their energy and courage, the Spanish peasants have for years been fighting a hopeless battle; that the drift of circumstances against their utmost efforts has been overwhelming; that the "riots" of May were but the last bitter outcry of desperation. The whole condition of the land is one of the utmost decadence; its evident misery the fruit not of one cause, but of many.

Spain has long been losing hopelessly in the battle of the modern world. And a moral rottenness lay at the root of this national disaster. Spain was afflicted with a curse of spiritual terrorism, that held the whole land in slavery; all the energies of progress were crushed, and the brightest intellects were stifled in dungeons or offered at the stake, as an "act of faith," by the Holy Inquisition. The hearts of men were crushed under that iron heel. So it came that, while other lands were striving forwards to wealth and national well-being, Spain, robbed of her moral energies, without guidance or enlightenment, without knowledge of the powers and processes of modern wealth, was left hopelessly behind in the race of nations, utterly unfit to contend with other lands where the rich reproductive powers of thought had been stimulated, not stifled. To the charge of the Holy Office must be laid the decadence of Spain; the utter exhaustion of her energies; the pitiful deaths of the rioters of May; and the strong seeds of anarchy left to grow rank in the hearts of their survivors.

And to this moral injury we must add a material one, at the hands of the same ecclesiastical powers. When the monasteries were suppressed, two generations ago, a startling fact was disclosed. It was found that the revenues of the church in Spain were almost three times the entire revenues of the state, and that one-fifth of the whole population was engaged in the service of the church. And this drain on the resources of the land had lasted for centuries; this enormous tax had been paid, generation after generation, by the peasantry and artisans of Spain; and they had received no material return whatever. It was a sheer economic loss lasting through centuries. No wonder, then, that they have found it impossible to build up any solid prosperity; no wonder that, after generations of heroic struggle, of incessant toil, they find themselves starving to-day, throughout the length and

breadth of the Peninsula, with but the one escape of insurrection, hopeless and fruitless—of deaths by the bullets of their own sons in the Spanish army.

These two causes are adequate in themselves to account for any amount of misery; but we must add two others, of hardly less galling weight. As they more or less affect the whole of Europe, we may speak of them in more general terms.

The exactions of the church in Spain affirmed and sanctioned the principle that the actual cultivators of the soil, who alone drew forth the riches of the earth, must give up a large part of the fruit of their labor, not in exchange for commodities, but without any return whatever,—unless we count as such the spiritual benefits of the Inquisition. To give up the greater part of their wealth, all beyond a mere starvation wage, century after century, and to receive nothing at all in exchange,—this was the fate of the entire peasantry of Spain, of the entire peasantry of Europe, throughout the Middle Ages. It is the condition of the largest part of Europe to-day.

What the church thus practised and sanctioned, the territorial nobility readily imitated. So that we have for centuries had two populations in Europe: first, the actual cultivators of the soil, and then, above these, a second population, producing nothing, but claiming the best fruits of the earth from its cultivators, and carrying out this exaction at the point of the sword; and, further, offering no return whatever to the producers.

We have become so used to this that it seems natural and normal. In reality, it is an enormous injustice. Or, to speak in the passionless language of science, it is an economic disability, against which no country can bear up in competition with freer lands. It is this tremendous disability which has left Europe at the mercy of America; and, while Count Goluchowski has seen the danger, and warned the Cabinets of Europe of its existence, he has either ignored, or he has been blind to, the real cause. The cultivators of Europe cannot compete, because they are compelled to give up a great part of the fruits of their toil, and must therefore put such high prices on the rest to pay expenses that they leave the market practically in the hands of America. Failing to sell, they must give up, starve, protest, and fall, like the bread-rioters in Spain and Italy. For a bread-rioter is simply a man dying of starvation.

To the operation of this cause, we must assign the ruin of agriculture in England. Compelled to pay rents—that is, private taxes—of ten, twenty, or, as in the hop-gardens of Kent, fifty dollars an acre, the farmers have been literally beggared, with the result that they are throwing up their farms, and whole counties are lying fallow. And the heart-breaking struggle they go through, before deciding that they have failed, is as pitiful in England, the richest country in Europe, as it is in Italy or Spain, two of the poorest; while the causes in all three are identical.

And it is characteristic of suffering humanity that this vast injustice, in itself, was never sufficient to call forth a protest. No protest was heard until injustice brought starvation,—the one thing that always makes man vocal and articulate. The cause of the protest was not injustice, but destitution resulting from the competition of a rent-free land.

In Spain, the territorial nobility, with claims to be thus supported by the peasants, amounts to something over a million, out of a population of sixteen millions. And we need hardly point out that the nobles have insisted all along on being supported on a very different scale from that which the peasants were able to afford for themselves. A mere equality between laborer and idler was not to be thought of. The contrast between castle and hut tells its own tale.

We are not called to pronounce upon the morality of this principle, on which a whole epoch rested. Our duty is to show that it is one of the causes of anarchy, or starvation vocalized; because, as an economic disability, it does in actual operation condemn the whole agricultural population of rent-paying countries to failure in the competition of the world's markets; and this failure means starvation, with pitiable protests against starvation, such as have called for the military in Spain and Italy to silence protest in death.

And, as if the burden of suffering humanity were not yet great enough, there is another cause of anarchy in Spain, and indeed in all Europe, as grievous as those which have gone before. It is excessive taxation, and especially that part of taxation which goes to pay the interest of national debts. In Spain, this debt amounts to seventy dollars a head for the whole population. But only the producers in reality pay; and we may estimate the number of male adults amongst the producers at about two million. This

raises the debt, for each male adult producer, to between five and six hundred dollars, the interest of which must be paid year by year. And under the principle of usury, this debt, though paid off in full four times every century, is yet owed in full, and is handed down from father to son as a perpetual legacy.

But this principle of excessive taxation bears even more heavily on Italy; so that we may continue to consider it, in relation to that almost bankrupt land. We are justified in saying that the whole political structure of Europe was built up by the sword; through the conquests of older nations by the Normans, the Goths, the Vandals, the Lombards and their congeners. They spread over the original population, as that second layer of which we have spoken, extorting the better part of the fruit of the soil by armed force. Thus relieved from material cares and toil, the territorial nobles had leisure to quarrel amongst themselves; and the history of Europe is the tale of their quarrels. The peasants paid thrice over, with their goods, with their lives, with their degradation. From amongst these struggling masses, a few great families rose, asserting the right to levy on the produce of one or another piece of territory; these successful families formed the dynasties of to-day, and the tracts over which their levies extended are the modern European lands. The standing armies of Europe are the direct outcome of the rivalry of the great successful families; one army for the Bourbons in France; another for the Hapsburgs in Austria; another for the Spanish branch of the Bourbons; another for the Hohenzollerns; and so on.

Thus it befell that, when United Italy was handed over to the illustrious representative of the House of Savoy, Italy, too, must have a standing army, not to be behind the rest of the "first families" of Europe. The principle that countries are made for their dynasties was once more affirmed. And Italy was forced to live up to a style beyond its means, with the result that the land is practically bankrupt; the peasants are heartbroken; and the outbursts of anarchy from the Alps to Naples and the south bear pathetic testimony to evils too heavy to be borne. What the maintenance of their retinues by the first families of Europe means to the rest of the population has recently been set forth on unimpeachable testimony, which I cannot do better than repeat:

"The intellectual and physical strength of the nations and their labor and capital are in large measure diverted from their natural pur-

pose, and unproductively consumed. National culture, economic progress and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development. Economic crises are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the people find it ever harder to bear."

These are the words, not of some obscure fanatic, but of the most powerful ruler in Christendom.

And all this, we cannot insist on it too often, is wholly the legacy of the armed pillage of the Middle Ages, and the struggles between the great successful families for the right to levy on the produce of different areas; not dreaming, of course, of making any return.

The question of taxation brings up another evil besides that of enormous, unproductive expenditure: namely, the tendency of the governing classes to multiply offices, for the sole purpose of drawing salaries. And this evil bears very heavily upon Italy and Spain. The process of expropriating the peasant is made as costly as possible—for the peasant. It is the coat following the cloak; though the despoiler seems to bear up well against remorse.

In view of these multiplied causes, we can only wonder that the outbursts of anarchy in Italy and Spain have been so limited, so brief, so futile. And their futility leads us to believe that there is no really strong leading behind them. In this, anarchy differs from Nihilism; for the strong personalities of the leaders were the marked feature of the Nihilist movement, and the chief means by which it held the interest of the world. The peasants who died in eleven provinces of Spain, and in a score of Italian cities, fell as sacrifices, not as soldiers in a warfare where there was any hope of victory. It is not conceivable that, under existing circumstances, they could face the army even of Italy or Spain.

What must happen, then? For the causes at work are, as we saw, normal and habitual. And we must suppose that suppression by armed force will also continue. Therefore, one of two things must happen: either the peasantry will continue to be pushed to, and across, the verge of starvation, protesting, and being shot down, until there is an end of them, and national bankruptcy causes the extinction of both army and peasantry; or the soldiers, peasants themselves, will throw down their arms, and we shall have a vast social upheaval all over Europe. Outbreaks like those in Italy and Spain do nothing to cure the conditions which cause

them. They are only symptoms of coming bankruptcy and ruin. The nation and the army rest on the peasant's back; if that be broken, all must fall.

If we turn to Austria, we shall find an additional element of disintegration—race injustice. Only a generation ago, the Magyars won their rights; it is melancholy to see that they are to-day as bitterly opposed to a recognition of the equality of the Slavs as are the Germans. Bohemia was robbed of her independent kingship by means as base as any history tells of; and only Spain under the Inquisition offers a parallel to the religious persecution of the Czechs by the Hapsburgs. And while feeling the utmost sympathy for the heavy sorrows that recent years have brought to the House of Austria, we cannot but remember that there is a Nemesis in history; and that this famous House has not been armed with justice and tolerance, mercy and gentle charity; it has too often been a scourge to mankind, and its subject provinces again and again preferred the scimitars of the Moslems to the tender mercies of the House of Hapsburg.

So that in Austria, also, the causes that engender anarchy are steadily at work. And should any temporary cause lower the margin of subsistence below the starvation limit, we may confidently look for uprisings throughout the Dual Monarchy as pitiable as those of Italy and Spain; with this difference, that Austria can always count on sending to any province troops which are practically of a hostile race.

In Russia, the means of subsistence have fallen below the limit, in nineteen provinces; yet there is no anarchy, no insurrection. We must except Russia, in respect of everything we have said of anarchy. For there the spiritual conditions are different; and, therefore, like causes produce unlike effects. The Russian has not that sense of individualism which leads to protest. His theory of life is different. A large part of his interest lies in the other world. This is too large a theme to more than touch on; for one proof of it, we have the admitted fact that the peasantry of Russia took no part in Nihilism, a movement which was rather academic than popular. From the modern life of Europe, the Russian peasantry stands apart.

When we come to consider the causes of anarchy in France and Germany, we must introduce an entirely new element in addition to those already enumerated in considering the situation existing

in the other countries referred to. And this addition suggests reflections of the utmost gravity.

It would not be wrong to say that the causes we have hitherto spoken of are a heritage from the Middle Ages; and that, with the passing of the mediæval world, they, too, will gradually pass away. Ecclesiastical tyranny, which exercised such a blighting influence over Spain, has received a death-blow. Two generations have passed since the monasteries throughout the Peninsula were suppressed. They are not likely to be reinstated. And so with the levies of territorial nobilities; the conditions of the modern world are making their continuance an impossibility. The great landowners are condemned to see their domains lie fallow; and, with every new territory brought under cultivation in younger lands, this principle will bear more heavily on the territorial nobility of Europe.

We may also hope to see excessive taxation gradually corrected, and one burden lightened by the extinction of national debts through the establishment of sinking funds. And, if the Tzar's splendid dream be carried out, we may hope to see some lightening of the burden of the army, already so fatal to Italy.

Can we, then, look forward confidently to a time when, through the fading of mediævalism, anarchy, and the causes which produce it, will become things of the past?

When we turn from Spain, Italy and Austria to Germany and France, we find an answer; and it is unfortunately in a negative sense. Modern conditions remove the old evils, only to bring evils of their own. The first cause of anarchy, lying behind the secondary causes we have examined, has been carried forward into our modern life, and is as active as ever. That first cause is injustice.

The burden of ecclesiastical tyranny was based on injustice—a levy on the producer, with no material return. And to perpetuate this injustice, and the intellectual condition which alone would submit to it, the basest means were used; persecution defended those formulas of theology which were the title-deeds of the church.

The principle of rent, the life-spring of territorial nobilities, was also based on injustice—the knight with the sword, as against the peasant with the spade. The low-browed peasantry of Europe bear witness to the moral degradation which accompanied and made possible this injustice.

Excessive taxation, especially for the maintenance of armies, was not less unjust. The peasants gave their goods and lives to settle quarrels they had no part in, the disputes of the great successful families as to who had the right to practise extortion on the peasants of other lands.

This principle of injustice has come forth anew in the modern world. It is everywhere present in the relations between capital and labor, between the artisan and the manufacturer. And in this form, it is the new element of anarchy in Germany and France. I do not pretend to settle a question of ideal justice, or to decide what share should go to labor, and what to capital, of what they jointly produce. It will be enough to show the principle on which division is now made. The manufacturer and the capitalist reduce the share of labor to the lowest limit; they take advantage of the law of competition to wring from the laborer the largest quantity of work for the lowest wage. In other words, in bargaining with the laborer, they work on him through his fear of starvation. Under the influence of competition, the workman must give his toil for what will just keep him alive; otherwise, there are poorer than he to take his place. And the manufacturer and the capitalist take advantage of this bitter law of want, in all their bargains with their employees. The result is that while the employer of labor grows daily richer, the laborer can never rise above the starvation limit; nor can he see the slightest hope for his children.

If the factory makes no profit, he loses his work and livelihood; but if it makes a profit, he has no compensating gain. Every particle of that profit, beyond the mere living wage settled by competition, goes into other hands; and there is not the faintest prospect, under existing conditions, that this will be altered for the better. So that, under existing conditions, the laboring class is doomed to toil for a mere subsistence, in perpetuity; doomed, at the same time, to see another class grow rich through that ill-paid toil. That is the cause of modern anarchy, of anarchy in countries like Germany and France, which are passing out from those shadows of mediævalism that still hang over Austria, Italy and Spain.

And this leads us to a consideration as gloomy as it is possible to imagine, and which we have not yet seen suggested, though it is sufficiently obvious. Labor has been trying conclusions with

capital in England, and labor has been defeated. In 1898, after twenty weeks of struggle, of suffering and privation, the colliers of South Wales went back to work, practically on the masters' terms. The total loss was estimated at six millions sterling; the men's share in that loss at about half that sum. They sacrificed about the same sum in the engineers' strike; so that these two contests cost the labor of England twenty-five million dollars. And that with defeat!

In the struggle from mediæval to modern conditions in politics, it is the glory of England to have discovered and applied constitutional means. England is now attempting constitutional means in the struggle between labor and capital. And, so far, England has failed. And we have cause to fear that, as the whole world has been influenced by England's constitutional success in politics, so the whole world will be influenced, in a contrary sense, by England's constitutional failure in economics. The alternative is anarchy; a war longer and fiercer than any the world has seen, fought in the dark, with weapons forged by modern chemistry and electricity.

Behind the secondary causes of anarchy, as ever, lies the primary cause: the failure of justice between man and man; the willingness to take advantage of another's necessity for our own profit. There is no cure but true and generous dealing, giving to others the measure we desire for ourselves.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

THE ASSASSINATION MANIA: ITS SOCIAL AND ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

BY DR. F. L. OSWALD.

THE cure of social, as of physical, disorders has often been baffled by the obscurity of their cause; and the very name of Anarchism may have tended to complicate the problem of its expurgation. Insanity admits of no political remedies. If the international league of malcontents and millennium-mongers were really trying to realize their ideals by the abolition of organized government, the investigation of their complaint should be delegated to an expert in mental pathology.

Like the homicidal sectarians of Mohammedanism, the King-slaying fanatics have profited by that appearance of intellectual incompetence. It did not seem worth while to controvert the ravings of madmen, whose tenets could hardly fail to be refuted by the logic of practical experiments. That the adoption of their name was suggested by an anticipation of that convenient mistake may be doubted, but their four last crimes have at least revealed the true significance of their conspiracy. It is not a revolt of lawlessness against order, but of misery against happiness, of hunger against eupeptic beatitude. The four most prominent victims were not selected as representatives of despotism, but as representatives of social prerogatives.

Hence, also, the suggestive fact that the assassins were natives of the country where the contrasts of wealth and poverty have reached their most cruel extreme. Compared with such autocrats as Nero and Commodus, the statesmen of modern Italy were paragons of liberalism. But the Cæsars, for three centuries and a half, paid an enormous license for the privileges which their successors arrogate by right of descent. Their government was a mutual-benefit contract between rulers and subjects. A sum ex-

ceeding a million dollars a day was set aside for *panes et circenses*—free circus games and the free distribution of corn and oil. The Circus Maximus was crowded three times a week, and at least once a month the prodigious expenditure was augmented by special donations, intended sometimes to aid the celebration of national holidays, but oftener to conciliate the good-will of the masses. Every Roman citizen could claim his share of the free commissariat, or receive its commutation value in coin; and the gate fee of the luxurious public baths was so small that a compromise payment of a few *sesterces* would admit dozens of impecunious applicants. In consideration of such inducements, the descendants of Cato could afford to connive at the incidental pranks of their rulers, many of whom added social to financial liberality, and renounced private amusements to avoid the very appearance of exclusiveness.

In the Middle Ages, free shows were limited to ecclesiastical pageants, but not a few of the warlike princes were munificent to the degree of prodigality; and Italy, at that time, was a sparsely settled country abounding with mountain parks and free hunting grounds.

Forests, fun and freedom have now vanished together. Italy has become a treadmill, where hundreds of thousands can by incessant labor just earn enough to toil another day. The prospect of reaching a land where they can enjoy a few leisure hours between sleep and drudgery impels whole families to stint themselves in food to save the price of an emigration ticket. Holidays, in the ancient sense of the word, are known only from tradition in some agricultural districts of the peninsula. I have seen Spain and Northern Africa, but never anything to resemble the dreariness, the joylessness and hopeless squalor of some villages in Southern Italy.

The enjoyments of the privileged classes, on the other hand, have become more comprehensive from century to century. Science has aided art in beautifying the country seats of the Apennines. In the Euganean Hills there are villas rivalling in splendor the palaces of the Spanish Moriscos, and surpassing them in the matter of domestic and sanitary contrivances, literary treasures and curiosities of natural history. Where the Bembos and Medicis had ten topics of conversation, the Cavours and Lamarmoras have a thousand. Game has been gleaned from

the wilderness of the mountains and fenced in the hunting preserves of the rich. One by one, the means of secular enjoyment have become class privileges. The thermæ of Caracalla are in ruins; municipal regulations bar the poor from the bathing waters of the corporation limits. Hunters, caught red-handed without a license costing five dollars a month, are jailed like highway robbers. Dancers, picnickers, arrangers of musical entertainments are charged another license. The right of free assembly has been curtailed to prevent indignation meetings. Before orators can harangue a crowd, they have to apply for a magistrate's permit, and deposit a *caution*, to cover the probable amount of a fine, in case the police censor should see fit to complain. The dog-tax has eliminated the poor man's pet. The privilege of fishing, like that of hunting, has to be paid for in advance.

Thus, deprived of more pleasant pastimes, Pietro Farina has had time to brood over the problems of existence, with such results as might have been anticipated.

For a long series of centuries, the government of legitimate kings, with their prestige of divine sanction, claimed an infallibility that expiated its arrogance by fostering a belief in legislative omnipotence. The crowned representative of Providence pretended to hold the keys of national weal or woe; so, if things went wrong, his government must be to blame, and, in extremes of woefulness the victims of hard times may really have conceived the idea of seeking relief in the plan of abolishing government altogether. How far further reflection has modified their views on that point may be inferred from the disputes of their leaders. But they all agreed that the injustice of existing social arrangements had become insupportable, and that, complaints having proved unavailing, the problem of reform must be attempted by more drastic means.

That the battle-cry of tyrannicide was a mere pretext has been abundantly proved by the history of the last twenty-two months, as well as by the proximate causes of the French Revolution, and of the conspiracies against the lives of numerous European sovereigns and statesmen. The "discouragement of oppression by making the trade of the oppressor a perilous one," was, indeed, a shibboleth of many anarchistic orators; but almost whenever those theories were supposed to have ripened into action, the wrath of the perpetrators was really excited by sins of omission,

rather than of commission,—and often only by the mere vague suspicion of such negative sins.

King Humbert was, all in all, about the most liberal sovereign in Europe—easy-going, jovial, nervously averse to harsh enforcements of his prerogatives, a philosopher, but doing his best to hold the balance of justice between the clericals and secularists, fond of fun, though at his own expense, affable, always accessible to petitioners and reform projectors. But the fact remained that his rule had failed to relieve the frightful distress of the lower classes. Times were still as hard as during the last three years of his father's reign, when dozens of villages were depopulated by mass-emigration, because the inhabitants could no longer live and pay their taxes. What right had he to be junketing at Monza or bantering the custodian of the Museo Borbonico, and attending masked balls, while thousands of his subjects were perishing from actual starvation? "How did he dare to be fat while we shrivelled?" said an attendant at the execution of Louis XVI.

That he was a representative gentleman was also the only crime of President Carnot, as of Premier Canovas, who, though an active promoter of reforms, had contrived to accumulate a little bric-a-brac, while so many of his countrymen had to sell their furniture for bread. Carnot, in his own way, was even a leader of democratic progress, an opponent of despotism in church and state. But he kept a coach and several liveried flunkeys, and for the time being came as near to kingship as circumstances in France would permit. His country-lodge of Montbrissot, too, testified against him; he had found time for the enjoyment of leisure, while there were bread riots at Marseilles. His intellectual abilities only aggravated his demerits. There was no excuse for his failure to initiate a much-needed millennium.

In the case of the Empress of Austria, the absence of direct provocation was even more evident. For the last three years of her life, she had abstained from all personal interference in politics. Two of her chamberlains had been discharged to save money for travelling expenses. She had accepted a loan from her brother-in-law to erect a monument to Heinrich Heine, the apostle of mental emancipation. The poor old lady really represented nothing but poetical ideals; but she had established a fairy-palace on the island of Cyprus and managed to enjoy life after a fashion, though mainly by a triumph of mind over the persistent

spite of fortune. The tragic fates of her son and her royal kinsman had failed to pay her debt to Nemesis.

The selection of her person as the object of a brutal vendetta reveals, indeed, the ugliest by-purpose of anarchistic conspiracies —the chance for the gratification of a blackguard's spite against intellectual superiority. The First Consul, during the era of his military miracles and reconstructive achievements, was repeatedly attacked by plotters who spared him in his subsequent rôle of a self-seeking dictator. Frederick the Great made more enemies by his epigrams than by the appropriation of Silesia and Poland. The Romans, who had endured the ruffian Sulla and did their best to endure the monster Tiberius, revolted against the dictatorship of Divus Julius. President Balmaceda of Chili, a scholar, philosopher, philanthropist and patriot, was hounded to death by the very classes of the populace he had tried to befriend. They must have been warned by a misgiving that the land of the Spanish-American nations would not look upon his like again, but were tired of listening to the acknowledgment of his merits, as the ostracizers of Aristides expressed it with cynical candor.

Incidentally, the "age of assassinations" also suggests a suspicion that the prospect of death has lost its terrors for a large class of criminals. Sanguinary conspiracies were almost as frequent during the middle of the fifteenth century, and again at the beginning of the seventeenth, but the plotters preferred to lurk in ambush or used poison instead of steel. The constructor of the "Infernal Machine" was victimized by his own contrivance, but only through the accident of being delayed in a crowd, as he took to his heels a moment after applying his match. Our latter-day reformers by assassination make no attempt to avoid their doom, and, indeed, they have mostly executed the programme of the Junta under circumstances that precluded the chance of escape.

Did they court notoriety at the price of martyrdom? It is more probable that they were done with life, and merely preferred indirect to direct methods of suicide. "This planet of ours is so large that I never urge anybody to leave it," says a British satirist, "but to those who insist to go I should always like to represent the expedience of not wasting themselves. Select a worthy travelling companion and earn the gratitude of mankind without extra expense."

Even thus, life-weary anarchs of the Bresci and Luchesi type

may have availed themselves of the chance to attain the approval of their Junta brethren, without delaying their predetermined departure more than a few weeks. Luchesi, in fact, admitted his regret that his calculations in that respect had been thwarted by the Swiss vote for the abolition of the death penalty. He had dismissed his hopes of the present life, as well as his fears of the future, and was impatiently ready to go; but he lacked the courage to make his own quietus, except by means of which fate had now inopportunely deprived him.

Switzerland might thus, after all, offer the safest refuge to retired sovereigns, and Mr. Welker, the editor of the *Berner Bund,* seriously proposed to extend that advantage to other countries, "by barring the privileges of the Stygian ferry to political assassins." Lock them up in Fort Spielberg, he says, or let the Provost Marshal of Irkutsk get his claws in their wool, but do not play their game by assisting them to cast off the burden of life. Let them know that, if they murder in haste, they will have to repent at leisure.

The plan of curing the assassination mania by the prescription that abated garroting has found advocates in Austria and Great Britain, but would still more decidedly involve the risk of mending the trump cards of the maniacs by furnishing them a pretext to rave against revivals of Oriental barbarism. Knouted Nihilists so invariably become popular heroes that the advisers of the present Tzar have induced him to abolish physical aggravations of the doom that obliterates their memory in the convict mines of the Far East.

The Swiss plan is the best. The arrangements of modern prisons make suicide almost impossible to wards of the Death Watch, and civilized nations should agree to subject convicted anarchists to the same system of surveillance. Life-weary desperadoes may become less ready to run amuck if they know that mankind will compel them to bear the yoke of existence with added burdens.

F. L. OSWALD.

CATHOLICS AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

BY THE RIGHT REV. JAMES A. M'FAUL, BISHOP OF TRENTON.

HISTORY now records almost a century and a quarter of the national existence of the United States. This period has been characterized by a well-nigh uninterrupted and unexampled material prosperity. The thirteen original States have become a mighty nation, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf. Recently, the American Eagle has stretched out his pinions over new territory, and problems, undreamed of by the statesmen of the past, confront this generation. This vast tract of country is peopled by diverse nationalities; but, such is our capacity for assimilation, that in one generation, or at most in two, immigrants of all nationalities become Americans, energetic and progressive, vying even with those in whose veins flows the blood of the Revolutionary Fathers in all qualities which contribute to the greatness of a nation.

Immigrants have never tired of relating the tyranny which they endured in the Old World, and have deeply instilled into the minds of their offspring love for this land which, they firmly believe, was reserved by Providence, as a refuge from civil and religious oppression, and as a soil wherein liberty and the rights of man should be so deeply planted, so ardently cherished in the hearts of the people, that they shall never more perish from the face of the earth. Among these immigrants were many children of the Catholic Church; they, in most instances, had even greater reason than their fellows to love America, for the hand of tyranny had dealt most cruelly with them in an endeavor to crush out of their hearts every aspiration after civil and religious freedom. We do not wonder, then, that they read with avidity the history of America, and blessed the day when, guided by Heaven, Columbus planted upon the shores of the New World the cross of Christ,

the symbol of Christianity and civilization; nor are we unprepared to learn that they stood shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots in the days that tried men's souls, bared their breasts to the storm of lead, and died for American liberty.

History abundantly testifies to the position taken by Catholics in favor of independence. "The Roman Catholics," says Lossing, "who were more numerous in Maryland than in any other colony, were generally the friends of liberty; and that province was among the earliest to approve the acts of the Continental Congress."*

When Washington was elected first President of the United States, the Catholics offered a congratulatory address which contains the following passage:

"This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account; because, whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well founded title to claim from her justice, equal rights of citizenship, as well as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct; rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships."†

The Father of his Country thus replied:

"As mankind become more liberal they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government; or the important assistance which they received from a nation [France] in which the Roman Catholic religion is professed."‡

It is unnecessary to refer to the other wars in which our country has engaged, in proof of Catholic valor, nor to the part taken by Catholics in the arts of peace. That they have faithfully supported the Constitution and signally contributed to our national greatness, is beyond dispute; and we, their descendants, rejoice exceedingly that there is no part, from base to pinnacle, of the magnificent structure of American freedom to which our sires and ourselves have not given a full share of labor and sacrifice.

In thus co-operating in the establishment of America's foundation, strength, and greatness, we have felt that we have been performing our duty to God, as well as to our country; for we do

*"Washington and the American Republic," Vol. I., p. 464.
†Brent, "Biographical Sketch of Abp. Carroll," p. 146.
‡Sparks, "Life of Washington," Vol. XII., p. 178.

not doubt that the founding of these United States, their Constitution, their progress, their prosperity, are but the unfolding of the designs of the Most High. Indeed, we recognize it as certain that every nation, in its unwritten Constitution born with the people, of which the written Constitution is the more or less perfect expression, manifests its mission, and the destiny for which it has been formed by the Almighty. The Christian student of history is convinced of this truth, although he may not, in every instance, find it possible to give to a people its due setting, amid the historical fragments of ages and events.

Convinced that men came from God by creation, and go back to Him by grace, by sanctification, and that the race must continue until the heavenly thrones, left vacant by the defeated and fallen hosts, shall have been filled by the regenerated children of men, he realizes that, in laying the foundations of the world, God had a determined purpose in view, and that He guides and directs all things toward its accomplishment.

In a beautiful mosaic, every stone has its appropriate place, its requisite color, its due relation to the whole and to the adjoining parts. When the entire design has been completed, under the hand and mind of the skillful artist, then only is the full effect perceptible; so, in the history of the world, in the career of nations, in the creation and sanctification of men, every event, every act, has its proper bearing, and tends toward the building up and the bringing to perfection of the chief end of the Almighty—His own glory and the eternal welfare of men.

It is true that, when we approach man, a new factor, free will, enters into the attainment of a nation's destiny; and, therefore, nations, like individuals, may culpably fail to comply with God's will. But the great general plan of Providence is always accomplished. As the tiny stream, trickling down the mountain side and running through the meadows, joined by other streamlets, becomes a river, and, diverted from its course by the handiwork of man, here turns a mill, there slakes a city's thirst, ever seeks the ocean's unfathomable depths; so human events, shaped and controlled by Omnipotence, and moving always onward, bring the divine plan to ultimate perfection.

Who can doubt the providential mission of the Hebrews; the care, guidance and preservation exercised over them by Jehovah, all looking forward to the great, pivotal event of the centuries, the

birth of the Messiah? The thinker will not be inclined to deny that Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome held their special places in the designs of Heaven. It is evident that the Romans broke down the barriers between nations, and prepared the world for the sowing of the Gospel seed.

America, too, has her mission and her destiny. God has singled her out among the nations to accomplish His most cherished designs for the freedom, the elevation and the sanctification of the individual and of society.

One of the brightest minds which this country has produced thus outlines the mission of the United States:

"The American Republic has a mission, and is chosen of God for the realization of a great idea. It has been chosen not only to continue the work assigned to Greece and Rome, but to accomplish a greater work than was assigned to either. * * * Its idea is liberty, indeed, but liberty with law, and law with liberty. Yet its mission is not so much the realization of liberty as the realization of the true idea of the state, which secures at once the authority of the public and the freedom of the individual—the sovereignty of the people without social despotism, and individual freedom without anarchy. * * * The Greek and Roman republics asserted the state to the detriment of individual freedom. * * * The American Republic has been instituted by Providence to realize the freedom of each with advantage to the other."*

Convinced of the reality and the sublimity of America's mission, rejoicing that he participates in it, the American Catholic sings with an enthusiastic patriotism not surpassed by that of any of his fellow-citizens:

"My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above."

Beyond doubt, the rights, the principles of liberty and of justice set forth in the American Constitution, and guaranteed to all citizens, justify these sentiments and these aspirations.

The author already mentioned thus refers to the rights secured by the Constitution:

"Our government is a free government; this is its boast. It is so in fact; not precisely because it is a popular government, for the people may play the tyrant as well as kings and emperors, and the arbitrary

*Brownson, "The American Republic," pp. 4 and 5.

will of a majority is as incompatible with true liberty as any other arbitrary will; but because it is founded on the principle that all men are equal before the state, and that every man has certain inalienable rights, called with us the 'Rights of Man,' which it is bound by its very Constitution to recognize and protect. * * * Among these rights is the right of conscience, or the right before the state of every citizen to choose his own religion, and to worship God as his own conscience dictates, so long as his conscience is not made a pretext for violating the equal rights of others, disturbing the peace, or outraging public decency. As all are held to be equal before the state, this right of conscience must be held by the government sacred and inviolable in the case of every citizen, or subject of the state. * * * My religion is my conscience; my conscience is my right, and included in that liberty which the state recognizes, and is instituted to protect. Every citizen can say as much of his religion. * * * My church is my right, is included in my right as an American citizen; and she has the right to be here, because I have the right myself to be here, and to have my own religion. My right to have my own religion is my right to have that religion, as I am bound by it in conscience to hold it."*

These logical conclusions from the Constitution of the United States apply as well to the Constitutions of the several States. They are just as explicit in declaring that there shall be no discrimination against American citizens by reason of their religion, and that their religion shall be fully protected.

In the light of these principles, which I consider incontrovertible, Catholics, as American citizens, have rights even when there is question of their religion. I do not expect those who are ignorant of the nature, tendencies and mission of the Republic, and blinded through prejudice to their own infidelity to the sacred truths underlying the Constitution, to admit the reasoning of the learned authority whom I have quoted at some length. His conclusions, however, will be admitted and valued by all who are qualified to speak on the subject, by all thoughtful, conscientious Americans, lovers of the Constitution, anxious to see its God-given principles develop, and to assist in the fulfillment of our country's mission and destiny.

The question now naturally arises: Are Catholics in the United States permitted to enjoy their Constitutional rights in their integrity; are they allowed the free exercise of their religion; does the flag guarantee and protect them in rights equivalent to those of every other citizen; are there any grievances of which, as American citizens, we ought to complain? Here I shall direct attention to our religious rights in penal, charitable and

*Brownson's Works, Vol. XII., pp. 20, 21, 23.

educational institutions under public control. Nothing can be more reasonable than our demands regarding liberty of conscience in these institutions. We ask that the priest be allowed to preach the Catholic doctrine to Catholic adults, and to teach Catholic children the Catholic catechism; to offer Mass, so that Catholics may be present at it; to administer the sacraments; and that Catholics shall not be compelled to listen to non-Catholic teaching, nor to participate in any worship except their own. In a word, we claim for Catholic clergymen the right to enter our State institutions, at seasonable times, to give the benefits of the Catholic religion to Catholics, and we demand that the system of worship and of religious teaching at present existing in many institutions—a system which leads to proselytism—shall be abolished.

The Constitutions of the United States and of the several States guarantee the rights of conscience to the inmates of public institutions. Why, then, are Catholics obliged to be present at non-Catholic prayers and instructions? Why should clergymen be subjected to annoyance, and often to harshness, when bringing the Catholic inmates the consolations of religion? It is true we have succeeded in gaining a portion of our rights in some institutions, but this has been the result of a long and arduous struggle against injustice.

Hence, in my letter to the Ancient Order of Hibernians, assembled in National Convention, this year, in Boston, I advised that they, in union with other societies composed of Catholics, should endeavor to procure a proportionate representation of Catholics on the Boards of Management of all public institutions. This is necessary if we are to enjoy freedom of conscience; for, as only a Catholic can fully appreciate our position in relation to religious worship, religious instruction, and moral training, especially in reformatories, he alone is qualified to obtain and protect our Constitutional rights.

At the same time, and in my Trenton address to the Knights of Columbus, I referred to the treatment of our Indian Schools, and to strengthen my position I quoted from a letter, issued with a view to obtaining funds, which bore the names of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishops Ryan and Kain:

"Despite the fact that Religious Orders and other Catholic bodies have equipped schools for the education of the Indian children, in full

confidence that the government would not reverse its recognized and successful policy of subsidizing these schools—yet in the height of their success and in spite of their doing the work cheaper and better than the government itself could do it, we find that the subsidy has been for the greater part and will eventually be entirely withdrawn, and that these well founded works of Catholic benevolence, begun in good faith and with great expenditure of time and money, are to be abandoned to their fate."

Fanaticism opposed our legitimate demands, and the cry went forth: "The schools are sectarian." This is the old subterfuge to which our enemies constantly resort. They would rather have the Indian children grow up without religion than taught the tenets of the Catholic Church. Many otherwise well-informed persons are deceived by the term "non-sectarian." There is no form of religion to which it can apply, since every religion has some sort of worship and doctrine, and, therefore, even in the sense of the bigots, it is sectarian. To be non-sectarian would require the absence of all religion. To dilute Christianity beyond recognition, and to call it non-sectarian, is to fall back upon that refined paganism so common in this age, and to oppose Christianity itself.

How inconsistent are the fanatics! They are daily clamoring for the conversion of the inhabitants of our new possessions to a faith that is rapidly undermining its own foundation, the Bible; while at home the poor Indians are doomed to extinction, and millions of our countrymen are left without Christian teaching.

Spain has many a crime to answer for; but she has allowed the Church to sit down like a mother, amid the children of the forest and the plain, to save the native races, and teach them the doctrines of Christianity and the arts of civilization.

On the Amendment brought up this year, giving the Secretary of the Interior the right to extend the contract with certain schools for Indian pupils, because the government possessed inadequate accommodation, Senator Vest spoke as follows:

"The only objection I could possibly make to it is that the amendment does not go far enough. * * * There are people in this country, unfortunately, who believe that an Indian child had better die an utter unbeliever * * * than to be educated by the Society of Jesus or in the Catholic Church. I am very glad to say that I have not the slightest sympathy with that sort of bigotry and fanaticism. * * * Some years ago, I was assigned by the Senate to duty upon the Committee on Indian Affairs, * * * to examine the Indian schools in Wyoming and Montana. * * * I crossed that great buffalo expanse of country,

where you can now see only the wallows and trails of those extinct animals, and I went to all these schools. I wish to say now what I have said before in the Senate, * * * that I did not see in all my journey * * * a single school that was doing any educational work worthy of the name of educational work, unless it was under the control of the Jesuits. I did not see a single government school * * * where there was any work done at all."*

During this year, there was under consideration, in the House of Representatives, the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill. Representative Fitzgerald, of Boston, in showing the inconsistency of certain appropriations, thus expressed himself:

"A great hue and cry have been raised in various sections of this country during the past ten years as to the propriety of Congress making appropriations which some people choose to term sectarian; and, in certain sections of the country, this matter has been made an issue, with the result that the members of this House, when matters of this kind have been discussed, and questions of this nature have come before the House, have voted in accordance with the promises made in their district before they came to the House, and not at all in accordance with the principles of justice and fair play which should characterize the proceedings of this body.

"I find in the present appropriation bill which is up for consideration at the present time, in the matter of appropriations for private charities, $4,000 given to the Women's Christian Association, and $1,000 for the Young Women's Christian Home, organizations and associations which are essentially religious in every particular; and yet no question has ever been raised by this House or by the Committee as to the propriety of making these appropriations. No charge of sectarianism has ever been advanced upon the floor of this House against either of these institutions; yet every member must admit that religious teachings and religious training are the essential factors, and justly so, in the work of both these institutions. * * * What is the condition of affairs here in this District? There is a man occupying the position of Superintendent of Charities, who is, in my opinion, one of the meanest bigots in the United States. * * * This is the man to whom this House of Congress has turned over the care and custody of the orphan children of this great city. * * * To whom must we look to protect these children, to guide them, to bring them up as they should be brought up? The Board of Children's Guardians. * * * These children are taken by this man, Lewis, to be placed in suitable homes in different parts of the country; and, with a man of his narrow views and prejudices, what guarantee is there that a child of Catholic parents will be placed in a Catholic family?"*

In relation to this bill, Senator Vest said:

"I have been of the opinion * * * that every sort of charity and every sort of school that kept the boys and girls of the country out of the penitentiary, out of the house of correction, out of the jails, and

*Cong. Record, Vol. 33, n. 94, p. 4120.
*Cong. Record, Vol. 33, n. 146, p. 7411.

made of them honest, industrious, law-abiding citizens, ought to be encouraged, and that whenever it was done, if what was done inured to the benefit of public order and public decency, the Congress of the United States should encourage that work, and should have it done in the best and most economical way."*

Alas, the Constitution plays strange antics under the influence of unscrupulous manipulators. To-night, we go to bed firm in the belief that the appropriation to certain institutions will be continued, to-morrow we awake to find this cannot be done, because they are "sectarian."

We have been accused of opposition to the present system of public schools, and we certainly look upon it as detrimental to the best interests of the United States. Let no one imagine, however, that we are opposed to a system of public education; on the contrary, we contend that it is absolutely necessary for the permanency of free institutions. What we object to is education without religion; the payment of taxes for the support of schools to which we cannot conscientiously send our children. Religious education is even more necessary than secular, even if we value only the temporal welfare of the individual and society. We shall, however, be told: "Teach religion in your churches." No one, I presume, will accuse Catholics of neglect in this matter, and yet we are satisfied that such teaching alone is insufficient.

There are three great educators: the home, the church, and the school. Even these, powerful as they are, acting under the most favorable circumstances, are sometimes unable to cultivate the degraded and the obstinate. Great, then, is the danger to be feared from a defective system of schools. Consider the result to which this system has contributed, as shown by the present religious condition of the United States. Our population is over seventy millions. There are from ten to twelve millions of Catholics, and the most enthusiastic Protestants do not claim beyond eighteen or twenty millions. The remaining millions acknowledge allegiance to no Church whatsoever.

I am far from maintaining that the public-school system is the sole cause of this religious indifference. It is clear, however, that people cannot be made religious without teaching them religion. When we reflect that men without religion are, as a rule, men without morality, religious education assumes great importance in the eyes of every patriotic American. Tell me not of isolated ex-

*Cong. Record, Vol. 33, n. 126, p. 5978.

amples of men who have scoffed at religion, and yet have lived apparently pure lives, have respected the rights of their fellow-men, and have been faithful to their family relations. Such qualities are not products of irreligion. They have sprung from Christian enlightenment, from the influence of the principles of Christianity, which have permeated society during the past nineteen centuries.

Religion is absolutely necessary for the perpetuation of our free institutions, and the Catholic puts himself on record as an ardent patriot, when he raises his voice in its defense, and declares that our schools should be devoted to religious as well as to secular education.

Speaking of the influence of religion on social institutions, Mr. Bryce says:

"No one is so thoughtless as not to sometimes ask himself what would befall mankind if the solid fabric of belief on which their morality has hitherto rested, or at least been deemed by them to rest, were suddenly to break up and vanish under the influence of new views of nature, as the ice-fields split and melt when they have floated down into a warmer sea. * * * So sometimes, standing in the midst of a great American city, and watching the throngs of eager figures streaming hither and thither, marking the sharp contrasts of poverty and wealth, an increasing mass of wretchedness, and an increasing display of luxury, knowing that before long a hundred millions of men will be living between ocean and ocean under this one government—a government which their own hands have made, and which they feel to be the work of their own hands—one is startled by the thought of what might befall this huge, yet delicate, fabric of laws and commerce and social institutions, were the foundations it has rested on to crumble away. Suppose that all these men ceased to believe that there was any power above them, any future before them, anything in heaven or earth but what their senses told them of; suppose that their consciousness of individual force and responsibility, already dwarfed by the overwhelming power of the multitude, and the fatalistic submission it engenders, were further weakened by the feeling that their swiftly fleeting life was rounded by a perpetual sleep. Would the moral code stand unshaken, and with it the reverence for law, the sense of duty towards the community, and even towards the generations yet to come? * * * History, if she cannot give a complete answer to this question, tells us that hitherto civilized society has rested on religion, and that free government has prospered best among religious peoples."*

Irreligion, indeed, has not made such progress among us as to bring about these dire results, but its seeds are sown and cultivated by a system of education, which has been instrumental in leaving

*"The American Commonwealth," Vol. II., p. 597.

millions without the blessings of Christianity. Still, if our fellow-countrymen must have this school system, to quarrel with them is useless. We should, however, not be prevented from enjoying its benefits in so far as our conscience will permit. I am far from presuming to speak for the Catholic hierarchy of this country; nevertheless, I would suggest that our parochial schools be left just as they are, that a Board of Examiners be appointed to determine whether our teachers impart the secular education required by the State, and then let payment be made for each child's secular education. The State is not required to pay for religious education, nor to support in any way the Catholic Church; it is asked simply to grant Catholics full participation in all their Constitutional rights.

Here let me introduce another subject. Why were not several Catholic members appointed on the Commissions to our new possessions? They could have appreciated the civil and religious conditions of those countries, and suggested suitable measures for their adjustment. I do not hesitate to affirm that for a non-Catholic, even with the best disposition, it would be morally impossible to render an impartial report, or to make just recommendations.

Instead of approaching, in the spirit of a broad and enlightened statesmanship, the problems presented, the prejudices against our government sown by the Spaniards were allowed to be increased by the conduct of our soldiers, and the desecration of the churches wherein the solemn rites so dear to a Catholic people had been daily performed.

Another outrage is the Cuban Civil Marriage Law. A petition has been presented to General Wood asking for a repeal of the order issued in May, 1899, by General Brooke, whereby civil marriage alone is declared legally valid. How could an American so far forget the traditions and laws of his own country as to inflict this importation from the infidel governments of Europe upon a Catholic people? Why not have the same law there as in the United States, and declare that marriage solemnized before a minister of religion shall be recognized as legal by the civil authorities? This thoughtless, careless act of legislation demonstrates to a nicety the utter disregard, among a certain class in this country, of the rights of Catholics.

Again, we are entitled to a greater number of chaplains in the

army and navy. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there are only three Catholic chaplains in the navy, notwithstanding that a large proportion of the marines are of the Catholic faith; in the army there are but four Catholic chaplains.

In the late war, many a brave Catholic lad breathed forth his soul to his Creator without the consolations of that religion which planted patriotism in his heart, simply because the men in authority ignored our religious rights. These are some of the grievances under which Catholics labor, and they are certainly serious enough to justify a movement towards redress.

I cannot claim the honor of first suggesting concerted action among Catholic societies. This subject has been widely discussed for several years, and I thought proper to draw the attention of two of the largest organizations composed of Catholics to such a movement, since it certainly is our duty to select some legitimate means of obtaining our rights under the Constitutions of the States and the nation. Language cannot more plainly declare than my Boston letter and my Trenton address, that I have not the remotest idea of promoting or even suggesting a Catholic political party. It will be necessary, of course, to have organization; all societies composed of Catholics should endeavor to touch at certain points, so that, while each retains its identity and pursues its own aims, there may be a bond of union enabling them to exert a concerted influence; but the formation of a political party is not contemplated.

Our position is simply this. We are American citizens, entitled to certain rights, and these we must possess. Bigotry shall not be allowed to deprive us of the exercise and enjoyment of any of them. We ask no favors, we beg no privileges; but we demand that our religion shall not be made a bar to the attainment of our rights under the Constitution. It is not to bring our religion into politics that an appeal is made to the Catholic laity of America; on the contrary, it is to keep religion out of politics. American citizens, because they are Catholics, are discriminated against, and we are determined to unite for the purpose of defending ourselves against this un-American bigotry. Nor is this a movement to obtain political office for Catholics, as such; it is, however, a campaign of education, and it extends to non-Catholics as well as to Catholics. We shall not stand alone in this struggle. I have the greatest confidence in the intelligence and justice of my fellow-

countrymen; I feel assured that all true Americans will assist us to the utmost of their ability by legitimate methods to redress grievances, to obtain our rights, and to resent insult to our religion.

My experience leads me to the conclusion that a policy of silence has been very detrimental to our interests. That great man, General Grant, is related to have given the following advice regarding a certain question which was brought to his knowledge: "These people," said the President, "get together, call meetings, get up petitions, and send deputies down here, and thus they often secure their object. Now, that is what you Catholics should do. Do as they do. Get together, make out a statement of your case, and back it with as much force as you can muster." This advice is applicable to local boards, State Legislatures, the National Congress, and other departments of government.

In what channels shall the influence of this movement, or organization, manifest itself? This question will be answered in due time. Able leaders will determine upon legitimate, honorable, and Constitutional methods, as the cause grows and prospers, and passes beyond the stage of theory and suggestion to that of practice and action.

JAMES A. MCFAUL.

THE FILIPINOS' VAIN HOPE OF INDEPENDENCE.

BY MARRION WILCOX, EDITOR OF "HARPER'S HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES."

Mr. James Anthony Froude once protested, in very civil terms, against a besetting sin of his fellow historians. "In life," he wrote, "as we actually experience it, motives slide one into the other; and the most careful analysis will fail adequately to sift them. In history, from the effort to make our conceptions distinct, we pronounce upon these intricate matters with unhesitating certainty, and we lose sight of truth in the desire to make it truer than itself."

Precisely this desire to make the truth truer than itself seems to have urged on both friends and foes of the Administration's Philippine policy, with the result that, as we read the speeches and essays on this subject which have received the largest share of public attention recently, we find the conceptions of each advocate and partisan "distinct," indeed—so distinct that the confusion of mind produced by their flat contradictions, when taken all together, is rather appalling, in view of the urgency of the matter to be decided. Thus, Mr. Hoar, in his speech delivered in the United States Senate on April 17th, 1900, said that he for one was ready to answer the question, "What should we do in this difficult emergency?" He would declare now "that we will not take these islands to govern them *against their will*." But Colonel Charles Denby, late United States Minister to China, and member of the Philippine Commission, writing in June, 1900, under the caption, "Do We Owe Independence to the Filipinos?" asserted that the war was waged, practically, by a single tribe of natives, while the majority of the Filipinos were friendly to us. "If that be so," he reasons, "how far shall the doctrine that we must have the consent of the governed be construed to extend? Does it mean that we

must have the consent of all the governed, or does it mean the majority of the governed?" Again, Mr. Carl Schurz, replying to Senator Foraker, placed the responsibility for beginning hostilities upon President McKinley, charging him with having substantially declared war against the Philippine Islanders, striving for their freedom and independence, and with having provoked—directly provoked—an armed conflict. On the other hand, turning to the much quoted volume of the last annual report of military operations, which is devoted chiefly to campaigns in the Philippines, we come upon the commanding General's statement: "Never since the time Aguinaldo returned to Cavité, in May of 1898, and placed himself under the masterful spirit of Mabini, had he the slightest intention to accept the kind offices and assistance of the United States, except as they might be employed to hold Spain throttled, while he worked the scheme of self-aggrandizement;" that his plans were ripe for an outbreak, and that the publication of the views and intentions of the American Government (the particular act referred to by Mr. Schurz) was seized upon as a pretext that had been "eagerly waited for." I might easily give a score of such examples, if that would make the moral plainer. The facts are accessible—the very same set of facts, at the service of all—and the confusion is quite unnecessary. We have only to stop trying to make the truth truer than itself.

In this paper, I shall outline a single subject in Philippine history, having in mind especially a difference of opinion or of teaching that may be bluntly stated thus: The Americans promised, and did *not* promise, that the Filipinos should have independence. Rather than undertake to reconcile conflicting views on many points, let us confine our attention now to the most interesting question of all.

The war appears to us a thing of recent origin, growth and subsidence; but, if we take the natives' point of view, we shall realize that history scarcely records a more protracted struggle. The Spanish occupation, beginning in 1565, when Legaspi landed in Cebú, was extended to include Manila and a little of the adjacent territory in Luzon five years later; then the old Spanish adventurer declared that the small native town at the mouth of the Pasig River should be the capital of the archipelago, and proclaimed the sovereignty of his royal master over the whole group

of islands. This was only his bold-hearted promise, however, destined to be never perfectly justified. He did not announce an accomplished fact, but rather laid upon his successors the obligation to increase their holdings by attacking one tribal leader after another and conquering each district separately. If the natives had ever established at Manila, or elsewhere, a central government which all recognized, the task would have been comparatively easy; for on the overthrow of an old ruler a new master might readily have taken his place. Instead of this, we have the spectacle of a European nation attempting, decade after decade, through more than three centuries, to cultivate a sense of nationality which at the outset had not even germinated—to bring together under one ruler all the distinct elements of the population, though each hated and mistrusted all the others, loving its own freedom with savage intensity.

We have abundant evidence that the inter-tribal hatred was more intimate and ineradicable than that aroused by the Spaniards, and this we should assume were direct proof not at hand, for we know that the principal divisions of the population represent earlier invasions, successive waves of infinitely more cruel conquest. Spain's rule, in itself considered, was not by any means altogether and always intolerable, though we find Senator Hoar saying: "The people of the Philippine Islands have never submitted themselves willingly to Spain; there has been no time for two centuries when they would not have been free from the yoke if they could; their history has been a history of cruelty and oppression on one side, of resistance and the aspiration for freedom on the other"—a too emphatic statement, which was probably due to confusing the Spanish administration in the Philippines with that in Cuba. But in Cuba the Indians were exterminated, scarcely a trace of them remaining; whereas the native population of the Philippines has increased ten-fold, certainly, and probably twenty-fold, since Legaspi's day. The crimes of Spanish officials at Havana were so impressed upon the imagination of Americans in 1898, that our people, reasoning from the known to the unknown, have quite naturally assumed the existence of equal enormities in the government at Manila; whereas the temptation to adopt cruel methods was not presented by the comparatively poor dominion in the East Indies. The Spanish force in the Far East was at no time commensurate with such an undertaking, and

the original design of Philip II., to conquer the islands in order to Christianize the natives, gave its shaping to the Spanish policy. A well-trained observer, Sir John Bowring, Governor of Hong Kong, gave his impression of the state of affairs, during an interval of peace half a century ago, in his book, "A Visit to the Philippine Islands" (London, 1859). "The government," he says, "with some remarkable exceptions, appears to have been of a mild and paternal character." If this judgment errs somewhat on the side of leniency, it may for that reason help us to recognize the truth in regard to the old régime, which lies between the "cruelty and oppression" of Senator Hoar and the "mild and paternal character" of Sir John.

We shall be misled if we persist in believing that Spanish folly was the sole or chief cause of native opposition; the cause is to be sought in the very nature of Tagálog and Visayan and "Moro" Malays, Ilocanos, highlanders brown and black, and all the rest—people, in brief, divided and dispersed among hundreds of islands, in dense forests, among inacessible mountains. We know how such conditions, anywhere in the world, foster a spirit of independence. Of course, there has always been secret or open resistance in some quarter, so that each year produced its plot, each generation its revolt. Thus, in 1622, the natives of Bohol Island "threw off the yoke," as Mr. Hoar would say, and, under a leader named Dagóhoy, held their own against the Spanish troops for thirty-five years; thus, the eastern provinces of Mindanao maintained a guerilla warfare from 1629 to 1632. Sámar islanders in 1649 resisted the government's attempt to press them into the King's service (as descendants of the same stiff-necked people refused to take orders from Aguinaldo in 1899); that revolt spread to Albay Province in Luzon, to Masbate Island, to Cebú—even to Zamboanga, in Mindanao. Nearly the whole of central and northwestern Luzon was aflame with revolt in 1660, when the armed followers of the rebel chief, Andrés Malong, numbered forty thousand men. And so to the end of the seventeenth century and through the eighteenth a series of violent outbreaks may be traced; and when we reach the nineteenth century, we recall Novales's attempt to seize the capital in 1823, the disturbances in Cebú in 1827, the riots which culminated in the murder of the Spanish governor of Negros Island in 1844, the Cavité insurrection in 1872, and that most important revolutionary movement

which began in 1896. As we review this series, we find that the immediate causes of these outbreaks—the provocations or pretexts—were as diverse as possible, while their common factor was simply the savage or half-savage impulse to fight against any effort to curtail the traditional freedom, especially when the aim of such efforts was to bring the native tribes into relations of concord with hereditary foes—and with each other.

The insurrection of 1896 must be considered by itself, for that occurred after the natives had begun to learn organization, and, through their participation in the Philippine Assembly, which Spain conceded to them thirty years ago, to crave a full measure of political equality, of which they had just a taste; nor should we forget the rather tantalizing vistas that had been granted to an earlier generation, when deputies or representatives from the Philippines sat in the Spanish Cortés, at various times between 1809 and 1837. Finally, some of the barriers that separated tribe from tribe had been broken down; there was a glimmer, here and there, of a *common* aspiration—a drawing together upon rare occasions, though still with suspicion and reluctance. Señor Mabini prefers to link together the movements of 1872 and 1896, as though the agitation had been practically continuous; he speaks of the work of "young Filipinos," who, as students in Spain, sought to make known the real wants of the Philippine people, and who founded a paper in which they demanded "the promulgation in these islands of the Spanish Constitution, and complete assimilation of the same on equal terms with any of the Spanish provinces on the continent." The Spaniards turned a deaf ear to these demands, he tells us, on the ground that they were proffered by a few "idealists," and saying, always at the instigation of the friars interested in maintaining the *status quo,* that the people were still in a savage state—that is, in effect, they had not undergone the evolution in character which would enable them to make good use of the privileges claimed.

In other words, to the heterogeneous and very unmanageable mass of the people, who knew nothing of the Spanish Constitution, nor wished to hear of it, were superadded small groups of men who had travelled and read; enthusiasts whose enthusiasm in most cases was perfectly genuine, though their ideas and phrases, borrowed from the French Republic and our own, seemed strangely, rather pathetically, out of place. And now, how plainly the

several classes or elements stand out from their troubled background, if we will but look: the handful of idealists (for the Spanish characterization was just) whose names became familiar as martyrs, members of Aguinaldo's Cabinet, or insurgent generals; the densely ignorant majority, fixed in their hostility to any invasion; a wavering, half-educated minority, easily influenced, without principle, now friends, now foes, in sudden, shameless transition; last of all, the friars, naturally upholding the order they themselves had established (and in which some of them had sinned egregiously), attacked as obstructionists by all advocates of change! With the first element alone have we had diplomatic intercourse; of the second element, our soldiers have killed large numbers, though as yet a small percentage; from the third element, we have appointed local rulers and magistrates, who have collected funds for the support of the insurrection, while safeguarding themselves, their families and near friends under the Stars and Stripes; the duty of dealing with the fourth element is one of the difficult tasks assigned to Judge Taft and his associates on the present Filipino Commission.

If I were writing as a dramatist or a novelist, I should like to represent the situation otherwise; for it would make an appeal of classic simplicity, convincing, admitting of only one reply, if I should say that an entire people had united in an aspiration, looking to us for its fulfillment. But we are at the moment obedient to facts. The Filipino people have never united, either in war or in peace, for protest or for appeal. We have never negotiated with them or questioned them as a whole, or through individuals who could be properly regarded as the authorized representatives of a majority. They have never told us what they wish or expect, and we do not know what is the real desire to-day of those uninterpreted millions, except as we may search the records, sincerely trying to understand their permanent characteristics and the history of their relations with the Spaniards and each other.

To win recruits for the movement among people of their own class, the idealists founded Masonic lodges at Manila, and organized the Philippine League; but comparatively little was effected by secret societies, until one was formed which made its appeal to the lower orders by a crude ritual based upon ancient, savage customs. This was the Katipunan Society, otherwise known as K. K. K., these initials representing the words *Kalaastaasan Ka-*

galanggalang Katipunan, signifying "the very exalted and honorable union." Even this, though it throve remarkably during the years 1893-96, fell far short of the proportions of a national movement: many thousands of members were enrolled, but they were chiefly Tagálogs, inhabiting a few provinces of southwestern Luzon. Denunciation and imprisonment of the ringleaders forced matters to a crisis; violent methods of repression begot violence, and on August 30th, 1896, the first serious engagement of the insurrection took place—the beginning of that final revolt against the Spaniards which was to be transformed into a movement against the Americans. And, as such things happen everywhere, a popular leader had been found—a young man, the secret of whose power was that, in his character, he more nearly resembled the mass of the natives than did the clever *mestizos* who have been characterized, in the reports of our officers and the letters of our correspondents, as "the brains of the revolution."

Aguinaldo showed the quality of his leadership in his first proclamation, dated at Old Cavité, October 31st, 1896, by calling upon the people to support a republican government "like that of the United States of America;" but at the end of the fighting, in the secret treaty of Biac-na-bató, he was forced to admit a temporary defeat and the indefinite postponement of his ideal. The recognition of a Philippine Republic, as a sovereign state, seemed, in December, 1897, more remote than ever; for the leaders of the revolt went into exile, the patriotic forces, for their part, agreeing to disband, give up their arms, and abandon the places held by them, while the government promised little more than a programme of reforms. Measured by a Western standard of promptness, neither party quite lived up to the agreement. The insurgents cherished thoughts of further resistance during the months when the government was "creeping like snail unwillingly" toward the realization of the concessions. But, on the other hand, we must remember that one of the clauses of the Biac-na-bató treaty, according to both the Filipino and Spanish versions of it, provided in effect for an amnesty of three years, during which period the promised reforms should be introduced and developed. This shows plainly enough that neither party expected, or had the right to expect, immediate fulfillment. In point of fact, the whole matter was thrown into the background by the great events of the next spring. It is, therefore, not merely uncharitable, but obvi-

ously unjust, to lay stress upon the non-performance of difficult conditions which, in the most favorable circumstances, could not have been hurried. A more important point for our consideration is this: The Americans came upon the scene when such matters were still pending, when vital questions were still open, and while heartburning and rancor were increased through fear of new injuries and treacheries. We shall misapprehend some of the manifestations of hostility toward American troops and American measures, unless we bear in mind that a movement begun against the Spaniards had not altogether ceased in May, 1898; that its forces only waited for such a signal as Aguinaldo's return to show that they utterly repudiated the hollow treaty of Biac-na-baté; and that, inevitably, much of the hatred with which the Filipinos regarded their ancient enemy was transferred to a new object when Merritt's army supplanted Augustin's. At least among the more ignorant natives, there was such prejudice as they would have displayed if their enemy had changed merely in name—not in nature, practices or motives.

The idealists had played their best trump, and had lost; the inherited protest against foreign domination had been intensified by personal experience, and one more failure had been added to the long list of futile efforts.

What happened then seemed to them a miracle. From the other side of the world, a nation which had been the idealists' model suddenly interposed; a people representing to their minds all that was generous, disinterested and chivalrous (they have written out their views in full to this effect, and we may read them in their public documents) would fight with them against a common enemy, and would compel success! Nearly six months filled with illusions followed—months of vain hope, for which you will scarcely find a parallel by searching the stories of nations.

Major-General E. S. Otis says, in the "Annual Report of the Major-General Commanding the Army:"*

"It is well known that a small band of men, natives of Luzon, and leaders of the rebellion of 1896 against Spain, were induced by the latter country, through a money consideration, to remove permanently from the islands. It is also well known that, after the destruction of the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila, and the blockade of that city by the United States' naval forces, a number of these men returned to the vicinity of Manila, and undoubtedly with the aid and consent of the agents of the United States government. They were doubtless

*February, 1900, Part 2, page 365.

encouraged by citizens of the United States, and others, acting without authority, to attempt the organization of what they were pleased to denominate an independent government for the Philippine people, they themselves to become its controlling element."

Now let us ask, Who were these "agents of the United States" and "citizens of the United States" who aided and consented to the return of Aguinaldo and his associates, or encouraged them to organize an independent government? The "others" are not important, except to partisans who are vainly and quite unnecessarily attempting to shift responsibility to English shoulders.

On May 5th, 1898, Mr. E. Spencer Pratt, Consul-General of the United States at Singapore, sent to the Department of State at Washington a copy of the Singapore *Free Press,* containing a report of the departure of Aguinaldo to join Commodore Dewey, and stated that the facts were, in the main, correctly given. That report contained the following sentence:

"General Aguinaldo's policy embraces the independence of the Philippines, whose internal affairs would be controlled under European and American advisers. American protection would be desirable temporarily, on the same lines as that which might be instituted hereafter in Cuba."

We need not inquire more closely what passed between the two men at Singapore, or what professions were made by this "agent of the United States." We may wholly disregard Aguinaldo's version of the promises that were held out to him. All we need to do, at present, is to plant our feet securely upon firm ground, as it were, of admissions contrary to self-interest. Subsequently, at Hong-Kong, there were interviews in the course of which another "agent" of the United States, Consul-General Wildman, discussed with Aguinaldo the probable course of the American government; and, as the precise nature of the assurances then exchanged is in dispute, we confine ourselves here also to facts which are of record. Thus, on June 10th, 1898, Aguinaldo addressed an appeal to President McKinley "in the name of this people, which trusts blindly in you . . . to leave it free and independent;" in the proclamation of June 18th, he asserted that the aspiration of his whole life, the final object of all his wishes and efforts, was the independence of the people of the Philippines; on June 23d, he issued a decree whose first article stated that the aim of the revolutionary government should be "to fight for the independence of the Philippines, until it shall be expressly recognized

by the free nations, including Spain, and to prepare the country for its organization as a true republic." On June 25th, Mr. Wildman wrote to Aguinaldo from Hong-Kong:

"I have vouched for your honesty and earnestness of purpose to the President of the United States and to our people, and they are ready to extend their hand to you as a brother, and aid you in every laudable ambition. I give you my assurance that you can always call upon me to act as your champion, should any try to slander your name. Do not forget that the United States undertook this war for the sole purpose of relieving the Cubans from the cruelties under which they were suffering, and not for the love of conquest or the hope of gain. They are actuated by precisely the same feelings toward the Filipinos."

We should also cite, in this connection, a remarkable passage in a letter written by Aguinaldo on August 1st, 1898, in reply to one from Mr. Williams, who had been United States Consul at Manila until the beginning of the war with Spain:

"I have full confidence in the generosity and philanthropy which shine in characters of gold in the history of the privileged people of the United States, and for that reason, invoking the friendship which you profess for me and the love which you have for my people, I pray you earnestly, as also the distinguished generals who represent your country in these islands, that you entreat the government at Washington to recognize the revolutionary government of the Filipinos, and I, for my part, will labor with all my power with my people that the United States shall not repent their sentiments of humanity in coming to the aid of an oppressed people. Say to the government at Washington that the Filipino people abominate savagery; that, in the midst of their past misfortunes, they have learned to love liberty, order, justice, and civil life, and that they are not able to lay aside their own wishes when their future lot and history are under discussion. Say also that I and my leaders know what we owe to our unfortunate country; that we know how to admire and are ready to imitate the disinterestedness, the abnegation, and the patriotism of the grand men of America, among whom stands pre-eminent the immortal George Washington. You and I both love the Filipinos; both see their progress, their prosperity, and their greatness. For this we should avoid any conflict which would be fatal to the interests of both people, who should always be brothers. In this you will acquire a name in the history of humanity and an ineradicable affection in the hearts of the Filipino people."

After reading this, we do not need to be told that Mr. Williams had suggested to the writer that annexation to the United States was scarcely indispensable to the happiness and glory of the islands; to get its full meaning, however, we must remember that the writer was the head of a government which already ruled in fourteen provinces of Luzon; that our navy had, a few weeks be-

fore, turned over 1,300 prisoners to the Filipinos "for safe keeping," as Admiral Dewey puts it; and that our army was being placed under obligations to the forces surrounding and besieging Manila, "without which," Aguinaldo wrote to General Otis, "you might have obtained possession of the ruins of the city, but never the rendition of the Spanish forces, who could have retired to the interior towns."

The leader of the first military expedition from the United States to the Philippines, General Thomas M. Anderson, whose command entered the Bay of Manila on the 30th of June, 1898, was in a position to learn the views actually entertained by Aguinaldo at the outset, as distinguished from those adopted by the revolutionary government and expressed through its president when their affairs were in a desperate condition. He has told the readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that the Filipinos certainly thought that American agents and citizens "acting without authority," had given assurances that a Filipino government would be recognized, "probably inferring this from their acts rather than from their statements;" and, in his account of an official call that the native chief paid him, "coming with cabinet and staff and a band of music," occurs a passage unrivalled for *naïveté* in the literature of the subject. He says that Aguinaldo "asked if we, the North Americans, as he called us, intended to hold the Philippines as dependencies. I said I could not answer that, but that in one hundred and thirty years we had established no colonies. He then made this remarkable statement: 'I have studied attentively the Constitution of the United States, and I find in it no authority for colonies, and I have no fear.' It may seem that my answer was somewhat evasive, *but I was at the time trying to contract with the Filipinos for horses, carts, fuel, and forage.*" General Anderson also says that the insurgents, before consenting to withdraw from their positions in the suburbs of Manila (August 14th, 1898) insisted upon receiving a promise "to reinstate them in their present positions on our making peace with Spain," and that General Merritt, while stating that he could not give such a pledge, told them that they could rely on the honor of the American people.

On this occasion, General Merritt made known the terms of his proclamation to the Filipino people. "The government established among you by the United States Army is a government of military

occupation"—thus his proclamation reads; directions are given and assurances offered which shall hold good "while our military occupation may continue," and General Merritt declares that he has received "instructions from his government to assure the people that he has not come to wage war upon them, nor upon any party or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights." It would not have required at the time a lively imagination to foresee the flattering push that sufficed to make these smooth, round expressions of amity roll toward the goal of native desire; and we are not in doubt as to the interpretation actually put upon them, for we may read in the Malolos manifesto of January 5th, 1900, that "the American General, Señor Merritt, himself corroborated the determined and declared intention [of Aguinaldo] to make war upon the Spaniards for the reconquest of our liberty and independence in the proclamation which he addressed to the Filipinos, . . . the declaration being clearly and expressly made therein that the naval and land forces of the United States came to give us our liberty."

The conduct of General Otis in this matter was irreproachable. No feature of the account of events prior to February 4th, 1899, which he gives in his very full report, deserves more attention than the scrupulous care with which he explained to the native leader, reiterating this statement when he found opportunity, that neither he himself nor any other American officer, civil or military, had been authorized to promise that the United States would recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands—that the action of Congress must be secured before even the Executive could proclaim a definite policy, and that the policy to be proclaimed must conform to the will of the people of the United States, expressed through their representatives in Congress In effect, therefore, the commanding General warned the revolutionists to wait for a decision which would be rendered in 1900. In a letter sent on September 8th, 1898, to Aguinaldo at Malolos, he wrote:

"Thus have I endeavored with all candor and sincerity, holding nothing in reserve, to place before you the situation as understood by me, and I doubt not by the Republic which I represent. I have not been instructed as to what policy the United States intends to pursue in regard to its legitimate holdings here, and hence I am unable to give you any information on the subject."

The amended proclamation of January 4th, 1899, he says, was

regarded by the better class of natives as the first authoritative announcement of the attitude which the United States assumed toward the islands.

Although not the first, far and away the most enduring, impression of American intentions in regard to the future control of the Philippines was made upon the Filipino mind by the gallant gentleman who destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. That fleet seems to us a rather poor affair, but for generations it had represented Spanish power; these were the cruisers and gunboats that had put an end to the scourge of Moro piracy. Not the Spanish army, but the fleet and the friars had dominated the archipelago. From many sources we have evidence of the universal esteem in which Admiral Dewey was held by the natives. He typified America for them: any American's saying, caught up by the people as especially favorable to their cause, of a noble and generous sound, might eventually be ascribed to him; and such ascriptions are entirely familiar, requiring no further explanation to ourselves, who will scarcely let a pithy saying rest until it has been attributed to Lincoln, or a jocose story set sail unless Senator Depew gives it clearance.

Admiral Dewey, in reply to that one of Aguinaldo's public statements which was singled out for especial notice in this country, although it is perhaps the least important—the appeal addressed to "the civilized nations" and issued from Tarlac on September 23d, 1899, not long before the disintegration of the revolutionary government—wrote a short letter which was read in the United States Senate on January 31st, 1900. "I never promised," the Admiral declared, "directly or indirectly, independence for the Filipinos. . . . He [Aguinaldo] never alluded to the word independence in any conversation with me or my officers." The emphatic and explicit denial contained in this letter seemed to dispose of the insurgents' contention, so far as Admiral Dewey was concerned, and its practical effect was to discredit the entire appeal, according to the dictum, *"falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus,"* until the subsequent publication of the admissions by Generals Otis and Anderson made a further study of the subject imperative. The phrase "directly or *indirectly,*" in the sentences quoted, is, indeed, almost a challenge to criticism. In this connection we must read from pages 111, 114 and 117 of the Appendix to the Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation for the

year 1898. A decree issued by Aguinaldo and dated at Cavité on June 18th, 1898, contained the following paragraph:

"In the face of the whole world, I have proclaimed that the aspiration of my whole life, the final object of all my wishes and efforts, is your independence [i. e., that of the people of the Philippines], because I have the inner conviction that it is also your constant longing, since independence for us means the redemption from slavery and tyranny, the recovery of lost liberty, and the admission to the concert of civilized nations."

A "Message of the President of the Philippine Revolution," dated at Cavité, June 23d, 1898, concludes with the words:

"Such a people [i. e., the people of the Philippines] is called to be great, to be one of the strongest arms of Providence to direct the destinies of humanity; such a people has sufficient resources and energy to free itself from the ruin and annihilation into which the Spanish government has plunged it, and to claim a modest but honorable seat in the concert of free nations."

These documents were sent to Admiral Dewey by Aguinaldo on July 15th, 1898, and two days later were forwarded to Washington by the Admiral with the indorsement, "For the information of the [Navy] Department, George Dewey." Again, in a dispatch from Admiral Dewey to the Secretary of the Navy, sent from Hong-Kong, July 22nd, 1898, we may read: "The following is for the Secretary of War. . . . *The people expect independence.* [Signed] Anderson, commanding. Dewey."

The comments of those whose sympathy with the natives' aspirations or whose antagonism to the Administration gives them the character of advocates, rather than of dispassionate judges, are easily surmised:—Indirectly or by implication, the promise referred to was made; inasmuch as both the Navy Department and War Department had been informed of the insurgents' aspirations, and inasmuch as the presumption in favor of granting independence was so strong, our government was committed, by its temporizing course, to acceptance of the natives' views. Such is a point of view that has much to recommend it, especially if it helps us to accept as a debt of honor the obligation to do for the Filipinos, not necessarily what a few dreamers may demand, but more and better than the mass of the people can ask or think.

But do we not here come upon an illustration of the peril of "losing sight of truth in the desire to make it truer than itself"?

In justice to the Filipinos and to ourselves, in view of the

evidence, we can say no less, no more, than that some Americans promised, while America did not promise, that the Philippine Islands should have independence. When Mr. Schurz writes that the history of the world does not furnish "a single act of perfidy committed by any republic more infamous than that which has been committed by President McKinley's Administration against our Filipino allies," and invites Senator Foraker to "ransack all his knowledge of the annals of mankind for an act of treachery more base and infamous," the bad results of over-emphasis may be seen not merely in a certain resentment aroused (if at the moment one's sense of humor happens to be mislaid), but also in a tendency to attach even undue importance to General Otis's warning and to the circumstance that the assurances, offered by persons not authorized to give them, were received by persons not truly representative.

Have we any reason to believe that the Filipinos *could* establish a good government for themselves—that the kind of republic their *mestizo* leaders claim the right to institute would bring to them the blessings they desire? Does the history of such experiments in tropical and sub-tropical countries encourage us to believe it would be less than downright cruelty to leave them to their own devices? Frankly, I fear that such adjectives as "base" and "infamous" might, with a rather terrible appositeness, be employed to characterize the act of a nation, familiar as our own with the details of the story of republican experiments in Central and South America and the West Indies, knowing how idle it is, as a rule, to look for good government of the tropics by the natives of those regions, knowing also, as we do now, that the difficulties are greater in the Philippines than elsewhere, and the outlook still more hopeless,—if that nation, having used the power of its navy and army to overthrow the Spanish dominion there, should then shirk the obligation to set up a better government.

I think that the Filipinos' long struggle to win a privilege which they could not enjoy, and their American illusion, claim fairly and surely a response from true American sentiment—that will insist on being rid of both sentimentalism and prejudice—whether one look for the answer in Administration circles or in the opposition. To discover what is best for such wards of the nation, and to do it—this duty has all the fascination of difficulty. *Res severa est verum gaudium.*

MARRION WILCOX.

NOTES ON THE ART OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

BY G. W. T. OMOND.

ONE day, in December, 1870, three students of the University of Edinburgh were sitting in the Library of the Speculative Society. This is a long, narrow room, the sides of which are lined with bookcases. At one end there is a fireplace, and at the other a window, under which stands a glass case, containing the accounts kept by Sir Walter Scott when he was treasurer of the Society. In another room, that in which the debates take place, paintings of Scott and Francis Horner hang on one side, with Lord Brougham looking at them from above the mantelpiece on the other side. Everything is redolent of the eighteenth century, of the nights when Brougham, Horner, Lord Lansdowne, Jeffrey and a host of others, many of whom became famous men, declaimed on such topics as the National Character or the Growing Power of Russia. Some of the original furniture is still there, and the room is lighted by wax candles, as of old. It is a place in which a man, returning to it after many years, may linger in the dusk of a winter's afternoon, and call up memories of the past.

But these three students were full of the present and the future, and busy about an "University Magazine," which, some few weeks before, they had resolved to found. Lord Neaves—*Ultimus Romanorum*—had promised to write some verses; Professor Blackie, at an interview in his retiring-room, had exclaimed: "Tell me what you want. I am ready;" Dr. Joseph Bell, the model from whom Mr. Conan Doyle afterward drew Sherlock Holmes, was to furnish an article. And now Robert Louis Stevenson came to them; a slender figure of the middle height, in a peajacket; with something of a stoop, and inclined

to be narrow about the chest; black hair, worn rather long; eyes dark, but very bright and penetrating, and always with a lurking smile; in one hand a meerschaum pipe, and in the other a bundle of papers, which he offered as a contribution to the new venture. They went to lunch (these were simple days, and there were few clubs in the land) at a house of entertainment which occupied, as it probably still does, the site of the ancient Kirk o' Field. There Stevenson was solemnly added to the staff of editors, and the occasion was celebrated with such rites as the place and the years of the company suggested.

Stevenson himself, in his "Memories and Portraits," speaks of this business of the Magazine as a "piece of good fortune," by which he was able to see his literature in print, and tells how all four managed the first number with much bustle; how he and his friend, Walter Ferrier, looked after the second, and how he alone was responsible for the third. "It has long," he says, "been a solemn question who edited the fourth." His contributions were: "Edinburgh Students in 1824," "The Philosophy of Umbrellas" (in which Ferrier helped him), "The Modern Student Considered Generally," "Debating Societies," "An Old Scotch Gardener," and "The Philosophy of Nomenclature."

In April, 1871, however, this poor Magazine died a natural death, and was soon forgotten like its predecessors, such as "The Nimmo, or Alma's Tawse," or "The Anti-Nemo," in which we read, among the election news of 1832, how "Gibson Craig lost his top-boots the other night, when soliciting a voter in the Cowgate;" how Lord Advocate Jeffrey is to be known "by a mean, mercenary, political-unionist kind of appearance," and Christopher North "by a northeast squint of his eye, and a profusion of dirty, uncombed, carroty locks," along with similar pleasantries which passed for humor sixty years ago. But any book-hunter who may chance on some stray copy of "The Edinburgh University Magazine," for 1871, ought to examine it; for it contains the first published writings of Stevenson. Should he wish to purchase it, he will find that, though it was originally sold for sixpence a number, and was largely used by its founders for lighting pipes, the market price has now risen to about ten guineas!

So, during that winter, the youth who from boyhood had been spinning sentences and playing at authorship, corrected his first proofsheets, and began the serious business of his life.

After his death, in 1894, a discussion arose about his style and methods of composition. It was already known to many that his methods had been laborious. It is true that, just as some great horses have run their best only under extreme pressure of whip and spur, some great writers have been unable to work save under stress of time or necessity. Sheridan is said to have been so lazy that nothing could persuade him to finish the "School for Scandal" but locking him into a room at Drury Lane with a quire of paper and a bottle of port. "Guy Mannering" was begun and ended within the space of a few weeks. But, on the whole, cases such as these are the exception. "There is na workeman that can bothe worken wel and hastilie." Stevenson never forgot this. His method of writing fiction was as painstaking as, for instance, that of Mr. Fox or Lord Macaulay in writing history. Lord Holland found the manuscript from which he prepared Mr. Fox's History of James the Second for the press full of erasures, revisions and corrections, not so much of the facts as of the style; and to such an extent did Mr. Fox carry his striving after purity of language, that he once told Lord Holland he would admit no word into his book for which he had not the authority of Dryden. Lord Macaulay's method of composition was almost identical with that of Stevenson. "Macaulay," says Sir George Trevelyan, "never allowed a sentence to pass muster until it was as good as he could make it. He thought little of re-casting a chapter in order to obtain a more lucid arrangement, and nothing whatever of reconstructing a paragraph for the sake of one happy stroke or apt illustration." In like manner Stevenson could "labor terribly;" re-reading and re-casting; three weeks on one chapter; and sometimes the work of a whole day thrown into the waste-paper basket. Pains such as these have very often been bestowed on controversial works, every line of which was to be jealously criticized by some hostile eye. Pascal wrote one of the Provincial Letters thirteen times before it pleased him. Lord Brougham composed nine different perorations for his speech at the Queen's Trial. But surely, though many great novelists, especially some of the French novelists, have composed slowly and painfully, few have ever bestowed such labor on their works as Stevenson.

Much has been said about his "style," and how he acquired it. He has described himself as playing "the sedulous ape to Hazlitt,

to Lamb, to Wordsworth, to Sir Thomas Browne, to Defoe, to Hawthorne, to Montaigne, to Baudelaire, and Obermann;" and he perhaps fancied that he had "found a style" in this way. But was the fact not rather this, that by these studies he acquired that copious vocabulary of choicest English, in which, after a manner peculiarly his own, he clothed his thoughts and gave them to his readers in the smoothly flowing sentences, which are always dignified, but never either dull or florid. Compare the first attempts of 1871 with what he wrote in later years, and it will be seen that his style was natural to himself, nor "aped" from any one, except as the poetry of Dunbar was aped from Chaucer, or the music of Beethoven from Haydn or Mozart. And it was not only with the style, or language, of his novels that Stevenson took similar pains. "Treasure Island," "Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde" (a deep allegory disguised as a *jeu d'esprit*), and, indeed, most of his books, are works of pure imagination. But, when composing his historical novels, he not only revised every word, and polished every sentence, but read hard in order to acquire a thorough knowledge of the scenes and times in which his characters were to appear. Take "Kidnapped." Here he was dealing with a period which had always attracted him. In the "Gossip on Romance," he tells us how some of his boyish companions used to like one kind of story, and some another. "For my part," he says, "I liked a story to begin with an old wayside inn, where, 'towards the close of the year 17—,' several gentlemen in three-cocked hats were playing bowls." His head was so full of highwaymen, and rides by moonlight, that for a long time the words, "Great North Road," "'ostler," "nag," sounded like music in his ears. As he walked about, his imagination running riot in the past, every place suggested some appropriate story; and the Hawes Inn at Queensferry caught his fancy more than any other. "Americans seek it already for the sake of Lovel and Oldbuck, who dined there at the beginning of the 'Antiquary.' But you need not tell me that is all; there is some story, unrecorded or not yet complete, which must express the meaning of that inn more fully." And so David Balfour, in the middle of the eighteenth century, finds himself at Queensferry, on the beach before the Hawes Inn.

As a preparation for writing this novel, Stevenson drudged through a more arduous course of solid reading than, probably,

many of his readers may suspect. The historical portion of the plot was found in Volume XIX. of the "State Trials," where the trial of James Stewart and Alan Breck Stewart, for the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure, occupies between two and three hundren closely printed columns. Having studied every line of the evidence with minute care, he read all round the subject, borrowing from the Advocates' Library (for a length of time which called forth expostulations, fortunately for the world quite unheeded, from the keeper and other people), every book or pamphlet from which he could glean anything, to help him in producing a vivid picture of the state of Scotland during the years which followed the Forty-Five.

No detail, however trifling, either in the accounts of the trial or in the various works which he consulted, escaped his notice. His description of the ludicrous figure cut by the people, when the Highland dress was forbidden, is true to life. "Some went bare," he makes David Balfour say, "only for a hanging cloak or great-coat, and carried their trousers on their backs like a useless burthen; some had made an imitation of the tartan with little parti-colored stripes patched together like an old wife's quilt; others, again, still wore the Highland philabeg, but, by putting a few stitches between the legs, transformed it into a pair of trousers like a Dutchman's." This passage is taken, almost word for word, from one of the pamphlets which he borrowed from the Library. The "French clothes" worn by the Alan Breck of "Kidnapped," blue coat, red waistcoat, black breeches and feathered hat, are so described by the witnesses who gave testimony against the real Alan Breck. The silver buttons, on which Alan sets so much value in the novel, figure also in the evidence. His big great-coat and his fishing rod are there, too. The five guineas, which he receives at the Heugh of Corrynakiegh, were received at that very spot by the Alan of actual history; and the outlaw whistles in the evidence just as he whistles in the novel. When Glenure is shot, "'Oh, I am dead,' he cried, several times over" ("Kidnapped," p. 162). "Glenure several times repeated the words, 'Oh, I am dead'" ("State Trials," Vol. XIX., p. 93). David Balfour tells how, when he and Alan Breck were escaping by night, Alan stole up to the cottages they passed, tapped at the windows, and told the people of Glenure's death. This graphic touch is taken from the evidence of two witnesses, whom

the real Alan roused from sleep to hear the news. One example may be given, to show how skillfully Stevenson seized upon any picturesque incident which could be turned to account, and in what shape he would give it to the world. A letter is to be sent from the Heugh of Corrynakiegh; but in that desert there is neither paper, pen nor ink.

"Kidnapped," p. 207.

"But he was a man of more resources than I knew; searched the wood until he found a quill of a cushat dove, which he shaped into a pen; made himself a kind of ink with gunpowder from his horn and water from the running stream; and tearing a corner from his French military commission (which he carried in his pocket, like a talisman to keep him from the gallows) he sat down and wrote as follows."

"State Trials," XIX., p. 144.

"Alan looked about among the trees, and finding a wood-pigeon's quill, made a pen of it, and having made ink of some powder he took out of a powder-horn that was in his pocket, he wrote a letter."

Every one who is acquainted with the story of Prince Charlie's wanderings will recognize the Cage on Ben Alder ("Kidnapped," p. 223). The walls of natural wood, strengthened with stakes and wattled; the earthen floor; the living tree which was the centre-beam of the roof; the smoke rising against the face of the rock; the cooking and the card-playing; the whole is to be found in Donald Macpherson's well-known description of Cluny's strange hiding-place.

The result of this painstaking method, with its frank and unaffected use of facts, is that the story becomes, of necessity, true to life, and, therefore, convincingly real. It narrates, without exaggeration or false coloring, what actually did take place in a state of society which actually did exist; and Stevenson had entered into the spirit of those times so thoroughly that neither David Balfour nor Alan Breck is represented as saying or doing anything which is not quite natural and possible. Hence it comes to pass that, with something akin to the art of Defoe, he never destroys the reader's interest by compelling him to remember that he is reading fiction. As a work of art, "Catriona," into which the element of invention enters more largely, may not be quite so perfect as "Kidnapped." It is, nevertheless, equally true to history. James More, the son of Bob Roy, was

just such a man as Stevenson describes—if possible even more cunning and treacherous—employed as a spy by the Government of Scotland in 1745, and, after the Appen murder, hired to trepan Alan Breck and bring him from France. The materials on which Stevenson founded his account of this piece of villainy will be found (the episode of the portmanteau included) in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December, 1817, and in the Introduction to "Rob Roy," where, by the bye, we catch our last glimpse of Alan, in 1789, a "raw-boned, grim-looking old man, with the *petit croix* of St. Louis," with gray eyes and a weather-beaten face, sitting quietly by the fireside, in the lodging of a Scottish Benedictine priest in Paris.

Then, his characters speak as they would have spoken in real life. In a work of fiction, the language put into the mouths of the characters ought, if possible, to be the language of the time described. To make the hero of a Scottish story of the Covenanting days, for example, express himself in language which, however quaint it may be, has no resemblance to that spoken or written by the men who fought at Drumclog, or hid from Claverhouse among the moss-hags, is to destroy the verisimilitude of the work; for it is soon and easily perceived that what professes to be the mode of expression of a former generation is, in reality, just a mannerism into which the author has written himself. The delicate taste of Stevenson saved him from this common mistake; and, therefore, there are few, if any, anachronisms of phraseology in "Kidnapped" or "Catriona." David Balfour writes and speaks exactly as a fairly well-educated man of his class would have written and spoken at that time; and hence it is that we perceive, blending with the words and idioms of the Scottish dialect, an exquisite, subtle aroma, which is wafted from the eighteenth century, from the serene grace of Addison and the playful irony of Goldsmith.

Stevenson, again, is never prolix. In a single sentence he can paint a landscape which extends for miles, or describe some important incident. We are at Hermiston. "All beyond and about is the great field of the hills; the plover, the curlew and the lark cry there; the wind blows as it blows in a ship's rigging, hard and cold and pure; and the hilltops huddle one behind another, like a herd of cattle, into the sunset." Toward the end of "Catriona," it is necessary to allude to the execution of Alan's brother; but

with what art it is done. The wood of Lettermore, where Glenure was shot, has already been described in "Kidnapped"—the craggy mountain-side, the overhanging birches, the bridle-path along the margin of the water. And so, in "Catriona," he merely pauses, for a moment, to tell us how "in course of time, on November 8th, and in the midst of a prodigious storm of wind and rain, poor James of the Glens was duly hanged at Lettermore by Ballachulish." Thus in a few words, just the right number and no more, a picture is drawn, and the whole scene of the tragedy is before us. Pascal apologized for the length of one of his Letters by saying that he had no time to make it shorter. Stevenson found time to compress into four lines of print what might have furnished some less artistic writer with, perhaps, four pages of description; and there are numberless other occasions, throughout his works, on which he might have introduced a purple patch, but when he preferred to search for that one sentence which should, in a few luminous touches, tell us all that is necessary, but nothing more, about some incident which must be mentioned in order to the full development of the story. In short, as a painter in words, his mastery over the principles of perspective is complete.

The Editorial Note which is appended to "Weir of Hermiston" enables us to trace Stevenson's method in the production of his last novel. There is no Scottish judge, except perhaps Lord Monboddo, about whom so many stories have been told us as about Lord-Justice-Clerk Macqueen of Braxfield. His formidable appearance is described, and some of his heartless sayings on the bench are recorded, by Lord Cockburn; and if letters of his, which still lie among the papers of some families in Scotland, were published, it would be found that the popular idea of his character has all along been correct. It occurred to Stevenson that this man, a great lawyer, but of a singularly hard spirit, might be made the central figure of a romance, of which the chief features were to be the misunderstandings which often occur between father and son, and "the problems and emotions arising from a conflict between duty and nature in a judge." These are words in which we have the spectacle of a father condemning his own son to death; and it appears that Stevenson's first intention was that Lord Hermiston should send Archie to the gallows. But he soon came to see how crude this idea was, and that some

means must be found by which the story should not only exhibit the judge's stern, unbending sense of duty, but at the same time be kept within the bounds of possibility. He could easily have written a melodramatic "trial scene," with the father on the bench and the son in the dock; but no art could have made it true to nature, for it could never have taken place in real life. Therefore, he turned from such a violation of possibilities; and it is clear, from letters quoted in the Editorial Note, that, in the words of Mr. Sidney Colvin, "he intended other persons, before Archie, to have fallen first under suspicion of the murder." At the trial of these persons something was to come out, which led to the arrest of Archie.

The way in which Stevenson tackled some legal questions which arose is very characteristic. "I wish," he wrote to Mr. Charles Baxter, "Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' *quam primum.* Also, an absolutely correct copy of the Scots judiciary oath. Also, in case Pitcairn does not come down late enough, I wish as full a report as possible of a Scots murder trial between 1790 and 1820. Understand, the *fullest possible.*" And then, in the frankest way imaginable, he asks for information on a point of Scottish criminal procedure of so elementary a nature that the youngest lawyer in Edinburgh could have answered it offhand. ("Weir of Hermiston," p. 271.) But Stevenson, who had laid aside his wig and gown long before, was far too conscientious and thoroughgoing to rely on his recollections of what he must have known in his Parliament House days, and he would not run the slightest risk that, even on a technical point of legal practice, his novel might not be quite correct. One of his friends in the Speculative Society had been Mr. Graham Murray, now Lord Advocate, who told him how the land lay. "Graham Murray's note *re* the venue was highly satisfactory, and did me all the good in the world," he writes.

But this point in the story was never reached; and we are left to picture for ourselves how adroitly the situation would have been worked out. We can imagine the scene; a crowded court-room on the Western Circuit; the judge, who had been pressing every point against the accused, suddenly noticing some flaw in the evidence, taking the examination into his own hands, and following it up till he came to a point at which he perceived (before any one else?) that it would incriminate his own son,

and yet never flinching, but asking question after question till the truth came out. Then would have followed the whispered consultation among the Crown Counsel, the discharge of the accused, the rising of the Court, and Lord Hermiston going home, with the knowledge that Archie was to be arrested and tried for his life. Here were all the elements of a great tragedy; and a great tragedy indeed it would have been in Stevenson's hands.

"I expect," he wrote to Mr. Baxter, "'The Justice Clerk' to be my masterpiece." But the Fates had decided otherwise. It was his custom to have more than one book on the stocks; and "Weir of Hermiston" was interrupted by "The Ebb Tide" and "St. Ives," so that month after month passed without much progress being made. "Then, in the last weeks of his life, he attacked the task again, in a sudden heat of inspiration, and worked at it ardently, and without interruption, until the end came." Thus "Weir of Hermiston" remains an unfinished fragment. But what a noble fragment! It is Stevenson at his very best, as if the fire of his genius had blazed up, more brightly than ever, for a moment before it was finally quenched. His mode of composition, the conscious art with which he wrote, the scrupulous choosing and rejecting of words, the polishing of phrases, might, by the time "Hermiston" came to be written, have debased his style to baldness, or mere artificiality, if he had not been so really great a Man of Letters as he was. Instead of this, his style here is mellower, deeper, richer than in any of his other works. There is in this last book of his a breadth and force, an indescribable something, like an inspiration, which had raised him, at last, very nearly to the level of Scott.

The art of Stevenson has been compared to the art of Scott. But their methods were essentially different. Scott poured forth treasures of knowledge, invention, humor, pathos, anecdote from an exhaustless store, poured them forth artlessly, almost at random. Stevenson, who, brilliant though he was, had neither the accumulated resources of Scott, nor so luxuriant a fancy, collected his materials with immense pains, sifted them laboriously, and when he came to use them never rested till he had everything in its proper place, and displayed to the best possible advantage. His jewels are none of them rough diamonds. Every gem is cut, polished to the highest point, and set in gold of rare and cunning workmanship. But, conscious though he was, in every fibre,

of his own art, he was far too shrewd not to acknowledge that it was beyond his power to reach the lofty eminence occupied by Scott, and that he could never have created the Baron of Bradwardine, or the Antiquary, or Jeanie Deans, nor woven together such a masterpiece as the plot of "Guy Mannering." He spoke of Scott as "out and away the King of the romantics," who shared with Balzac and Thackeray in "Vanity Fair" "the real creator's brush." At the same time, he would scarcely allow that Scott was an artist. He calls "The Pirate" an "ill-written, ragged book." He speaks of Scott as jobbing off languid, inarticulate twaddle upon his readers, and writing bad English and bad narrative. "He was a great day-dreamer, a seer of fit and beautiful and humorous visions, but hardly a great artist; hardly, in the manful sense, an artist at all. He pleased himself, and so he pleases us. Of the pleasures of his art he tasted fully; but of its toils and vigils and distresses never man knew less. A great romantic—an idle child." These words are virtually a confession, and they reveal the secret of that conscious elaboration which produced the marvellous beauty of form which distinguishes, without exception, all the writings of Stevenson. There can be little doubt that what he wrote will stand the test of time, and that hereafter he will hold a place in the goodly fellowship of the immortals, with Balzac, and Defoe, and Cervantes, and the rest; but no man knew better than Stevenson that, far above them all, Scott moves by himself along the higher ridges of the mountain-tops, unapproachable.

G. W. T. Omond.

CONFUCIANISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY HERBERT ALLEN GILES, LL. D., PROFESSOR OF CHINESE IN CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

BETWEEN 1662 and 1796, two of China's greatest Emperors occupied the throne, with a short intervening reign, each of them for over sixty years. These 120 years may be said to have been chiefly devoted to the extension of learning and the glorification of Confucianism. A prodigious amount of literature was produced under the direct patronage of these two monarchs. Besides dictionaries and encyclopædias of various kinds, a vast collection of commentaries upon the Confucian Canon was published in 1675, filling no less than 120 large volumes. Everything, in fact, was done which, in the words of the Sacred Edict (1670), would tend to "get rid of heterodoxy and exalt the orthodox doctrine." Yet, during a considerable part of this period of Confucian revival, Roman Catholic missionaries were not only tolerated, but even honored. Such treatment, according to the Paraphrase of the Sacred Edict, was not for any value attached to the religion they taught, which was stigmatised as unsound, but solely because they understood astronomy and mathematics, and were usefully employed in reforming the Chinese calendar.

In 1795, the great Emperor Chien Lung, who had received Lord Macartney, abdicated, and three years later he died. He was succeeded by his fifteenth son, known to us as the Emperor Chia Ching, from whose accession may be dated the turning of the tide. The new ruler proved to be dissolute and worthless. In 1803, he was attacked while riding in a sedan-chair through the streets of Peking, and had a narrow escape. This was found to be the result of a family plot, and many of the Imperial clansmen suffered for their real or alleged share in it. Ten years later, a band of assassins, belonging to a well-known secret society, very

nearly succeeded in murdering him in his own palace. The effect of these attempts was to develop the worst sides of his character; he became a mere sensualist, and even gave up the annual hunting expedition, which had always been associated with Manchu energy. Such a man was not likely to do much for the advancement of the great teaching which was founded upon such obligations as filial piety and duty toward one's neighbor. Some few valuable works, aiding to elucidate the Confucian Canon, were published during his reign, but there was no more the same Imperial stimulus manifesting itself under a variety of forms, such as welcome encouragement, pecuniary assistance, and, last but not least, the supply to deserving books of prefaces written with the Vermilion Pencil.

Confucianism was not for the moment exposed to any attacks. Roman Catholicism had been scotched by the formal expulsion of its missionaries under the Edicts of 1718 and 1724, and Protestants had, so far, not entered upon the field. It was only in 1807 that the Rev. Dr. Morrison, of dictionary fame, went out to Canton; and within a year he retired for safety and the convenience of his work to Macao.

In 1820, the Emperor known to us as Tao Kuang, second son of Chia Ching, succeeded to the throne. His courage had saved his father's life on the occasion of the attack on the palace in 1813, and he had been at once named Heir Apparent. He made a good beginning, and attempted to purify the Court; but war with England, and rebellion in various parts of the Empire, darkened his reign, and little progress was made. Gradually he learned to hate foreigners, and opposed their claims; and, borrowing a saying some centuries old, he declared that he was not going to allow another man "to snore alongside of his bed."

There was, at any rate, one great Confucianist who flourished during this period, and strove, both by his own works and by the patronage he extended to others, to keep alive the Confucian spirit. Under the friendly auspices of Yuan-Yuan (1764-1849) was produced, in a uniform edition, a collection of more than 180 separate treatises on the Canon by scholars of the present dynasty. This work fills 102 large volumes, and was intended to be a continuation of the similar collection published in 1675. Of course, every one who is a follower of Confucius may be called a Confucianist, but a man is specially so distinguished by the Chinese if he has

contributed to the enormous mass of literature which helps in any way to explain, or sets forth in glowing color and attractive form, the holy teachings of the Master.

The active opposition of Commissioner Lin (1785-1850) to the opium trade, which precipitated the war, was a direct outcome of his careful training in the Confucian school. The question of morality and the appeal to justice which he introduced into his famous letter to the Queen, asking her to put a stop to the opium trade, were both based upon the ethics of Confucius. He not only professed his firm adherence to Confucianism, but exhibited in his every-day life a lofty conception of its ideals. He is the one representative of China, during this reign, to whom all foreigners would ungrudgingly accord the title of an honest man and a true patriot.

Tao Kuang was succeeded in 1851 by his fourth son, known to us as the Emperor Hsien Fêng. The reign of the latter is particularly associated with the Tai-ping rebellion, which shook the Empire to its foundations, and, but for the presence of General Gordon, would probably have succeeded in putting an end to the Manchu-Tartar dynasty. In one of its aspects, it was a crusade against Confucianism, organized by a small band of men who had adopted a morbid and spurious Christianity. The large following which these leaders gathered around their banner knew nothing whatever of genuine Christianity, and very little of the doctrines offered them by the *soi-disant* Brother of Christ, afterwards known as the Heavenly King. As matters turned out, the shock to Confucianism was a mere nothing; for, although the Heavenly King succeeded in capturing some six hundred cities in sixteen out of the eighteen provinces, so soon as the rebellion was crushed (1864), Confucianism at once and completely regained the ground it can hardly be said to have lost. It suffered most, perhaps, through the destruction of many printing establishments containing the blocks of now priceless editions of valuable works on the Classics. On the other hand, it can be shown that Confucianism is sometimes extremely sensitive. It had been enacted that the Sacred Edict, mentioned above, should be publicly read to the people on the 1st and 15th of each month, at every important centre all over the Empire. This practice had been allowed to fall very much into desuetude at Canton. But about the year 1850, a number of educated Chinese, taking alarm at the open

activity of Protestant missionaries, actually formed themselves into a society for reading and studying the Sacred Edict among themselves.

No one, of course, could maintain that the mere study of Confucian doctrines would suffice to turn out men of high character, unless the seed were sown in minds, as Confucius said, "fit for the reception of truth." As a counterpoise to Commissioner Lin, we may cite the case of Governor Yeh, whose action in the "Arrow" affair led to the bombardment and capture of Canton in 1857. When sent a prisoner to Calcutta, Yeh was asked why he never read to pass the time. "All the books which are worth reading," he replied, "I already know by heart." He was alluding to the Confucian Canon, his intimate acquaintance with which had placed him high on the list of candidates for the coveted third degree. Yet this man was, as an official, little more than a bloodthirsty tyrant. He is said to have put to death, first and last, no fewer than seventy thousand Tai-ping rebels. He had also become so unwieldy from self-indulgence that, although disguised for flight, he was unable to make the necessary effort to evade his pursuers.

In 1861, the Emperor, who smoked opium to excess, died at Jehol, whither he had fled to escape from the English and French forces, then at the gates of Peking, and his son, Tung Chih, reigned in his stead. Coming to the throne as a mere child, the latter remained during his thirteen years of rule entirely under the guidance of the Empress Dowager, so that almost the first that was heard of him as an Emperor was that he had fallen a victim to smallpox. He could not have learnt much good about foreigners from his Confucian tutors, one of whom openly expressed his daily and nightly longing "to sleep on their skins." Meanwhile, with the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin, a shadow fell across the path of Confucianism. Since the days of the Opium War and the partial opening of China, the missionary question had gradually entered upon the acute stage in which it may be said to have remained ever since, and it had become needful to insert in the new Treaty a clause protecting, not only the Christian religion and its exponents, but its converts. This was, and always has been, resented by Confucianists as withdrawing the converts from their allegiance; but it is difficult to say what other arrangement could have been made. Neither can it be fairly

alleged that Protestant missionaries have ever abused their opportunities.

With the close of the Tai-ping rebellion, with a settled government, and with more prosperous times generally, the production of books showed marked signs of increase. Clearly printed editions of the Classics and kindred works were issued from Wu-chang, the capital of Hupeh; on execrable paper, it is true, but at a price which placed them easily within reach of the masses.

In 1872, Tsêng Kuo-fan died, at the comparatively early age of sixty-one. He had worn himself out in the service of the State, first as a successful military commander and afterwards as a successful administrator. He was further a successful Confucianist, in the sense that his pure and incorrupt life was a happy exemplification of what Confucianism may lead to, if only its seed is dropped upon propitious soil. Though saturated with the principles and teachings of Confucianism, and undoubtedly hostile to foreigners, yet his memory is hardly more honored among his own countrymen than by those whom he felt it his duty to oppose. After the Tientsin Massacre of 1870, he advocated a policy of peace with foreign nations, thereby incurring the odium of the more fanatical of the *literati*. At his death it was reported to the Throne that, "when his wardrobe was examined to find some suitable garments for the last rites, nothing new could be discovered. Every article of dress had been worn many times; and this may be taken as an example of his rigid economy for himself and in all the expenditure of his family."

In 1875, another child-Emperor, known to us as Kuang Hsu, was placed upon the throne by the Empress Dowager. This unfortunate youth has been severely battered by the shocks of doom. The story of the Reform movement, and of his virtual deposition in September, 1898, is fresh in the minds of all. Since then we have heard rumors of abdication, and again of restoration. Had he remained in power, Confucianism would have been forced to reconsider its attitude to foreign standards of thought and education. But upon his suspension it was determined that the old examination system, which had prevailed almost unaltered for nearly six centuries, with its roots extending back to the Christian era, should be restored in its integrity. The introduction of "new, depraved, and erroneous subjects," by which we must un-

derstand modern scientific teaching, was to be strictly prohibited under various pains and penalties. Thus, the occupation of the newly-inaugurated Peking University was gone. For the time being, Confucianism is triumphant; and if the tablets of women are ever admitted to the Confucian Temple, that of the Empress Dowager should be the first. Actuated, probably, by selfish motives, her anti-reform zeal has been invaluable to those who would maintain the paramountcy of Confucian education, with all its immediate influences upon the governing classes of the country.

A glance at a few questions actually set some few years ago at these public examinations will afford a good idea of the educational level to which Confucianism has raised the Chinese. The following were subjects for essays:

"(1.) To hold a middle course, without deviation, is as bad as holding an extreme.

"(2.) Of suspended bodies, none can exceed in brightness the sun and the moon.

"(3.) In the time of the Hsia dynasty (B. C. 2205—1766), the Imperial drum was placed on feet; during the Shang dynasty (B. C. 1766—1122), it was supported on pillars; under the Chou dynasty (B. C. 1122—255), it was hung by a cord."

For a poem, the following theme was presented:

"The azure precipice was half concealed in a mass of rolling clouds."

In addition to essays and poems, several general papers of questions are set to the candidates. These comprise classical exegesis, history of ancient and mediæval China, ancient geography, etc., and are almost identical, *mutatis mutandis,* with papers on the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome, such as are set, for instance, at the annual examination of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. Here is a specimen of a classical question:

"Mao Chang in his edition of the Odes interprets 'The Guests at the Feast' to mean that Duke Wu was upbraiding Prince Yu. Han Ying in his edition says that Duke Wu is here repenting of his fault of drunkenness. Which editor is to be followed?"

Here is a question on the competitive system:

"During the Tang dynasty (A. D. 618—907), personal appearance, fluency of speech, handwriting, learning, and decision, were all taken into account at the examinations. How were the various merits of the candidates tested?"

It is the fashion to deride the Chinese curriculum, and to cry out for the introduction of "science," which would, no doubt, be very advantageous in many ways. At the same time, it must be confessed that the Chinese Classics have had precisely the effect attributed by Professor Jebb, in his lecture on "Humanism in Education," to the Classics of Greece and Rome. Discarding the past tense for the present, his actual words apply with surprising force to the China of to-day:

> "At the close of this century, the classics still hold a virtual monopoly, so far as literary studies are concerned, in the public schools and universities. And they have no cause to be ashamed of their record. The culture which they supply, while limited in the sphere of its operation, has long been an efficient and vital influence, not only in forming men of letters and learning, but in training men who afterwards gain distinction in public life and in various active careers."

Several noble specimens of Confucianists have disappeared during the present reign. Shên Pao-chêng (1819-1879), who first distinguished himself against the Tai-ping rebels, was a stern Confucianist and, withal, a capable man of business. In 1867, he became Director of the Foochow Arsenal, which he started with the aid of M. Prosper Giquel, in the face of much opposition, launching his first gunboat in 1869. Successful as an administrator, he gained a lasting name for probity, courage and frugality, leaving behind him in material wealth literally no more than he brought with him into the world.

Another official of the same class was Ting Jih-chang (1823-1882). He was connected with the arsenals at Soochow and Foochow. He was a Commissioner for the settlement of cases arising out of the Tientsin Massacre. He became Governor of Fuhkien, and in 1878 was sent to Foochow to arrange a very serious missionary difficulty in connection with some building operations. A Confucianist to the backbone, he earned the full respect of all foreigners; and, when he withdrew into private life, he carried with him a spotless reputation.

With such a father as Tsêng Kuo-fan, whose dying injunctions to his children compare favorably with Lord Chesterfield's advice to his son, it is hardly a matter for wonder that the Marquis Tsêng (1837-1890), once Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, should have continued the best traditions of Confucianism. He promoted to his utmost the establishment of peaceful relations

between China and foreign nations, and his death was a severe loss to Great Britain in particular.

Probity, like its opposite, seems to run in families. In the same year with the Marquis Tsêng died his uncle, Tsêng Kuo-chuan, younger brother of Tsêng Kuo-fan. He had risen to be Viceroy of the Two Kiang, and had consequently held the lives and fortunes of myriads of his countrymen in the palm of his hand. It is only necessary to add that at his death the people of Nanking went into public mourning, from which it may be inferred that, given the right material, Confucianism need be no hindrance to an upright and unblemished career.

One eminent Confucianist is still working for his cause, in a manner which compels the admiration of his opponents. Chang Chih-tung, Viceroy of the Two Hu, devotes much of the time which he can snatch from a busy life to the encouragement of Confucian learning. He has founded a College and a Library for the benefit of poor students. He is a poor man himself, in spite of the high posts he has filled. He is master of a trenchant style and has written against the opium habit and against the practice of cramping women's feet. He is hostile to foreigners and to Christianity, from the very natural desire to see his own countrymen and Confucianism paramount Yet he is known to the general public as the one incorruptible Viceroy.

Manners and customs, convenient or inconvenient, if founded, as many of them are, upon the authority of the Confucian Canon, remain fixed in the national life even more deeply than is found to be the case among Western peoples. The practice of employing a go-between in marriage, the illegality of marriages between persons of the same surname, the unwritten regulation that the axle-trees of all carts in the same district shall be of uniform length,—these and many similar customs, fully in force at the present day, are based upon well-known passages to be found in different parts of the Canon. Especially has the patriarchal system taken deep root, so deep, in fact, that, short of an entire upheaval, it is not easy to see how it can ever be eliminated from the social life of China, over which its domination is complete. Since the days of Confucius, with filial piety as its foundation-stone, patriarchalism has prevailed over the Empire, the unit of civilization being not the individual but the family. The father, and after his death the mother, has absolute power over all the

children, until the sons enter upon an official career, when they can be reached only with the consent of the Emperor, until the daughters pass by marriage under the *patria potestas* of another family. At eighteen or nineteen the sons marry, and bring their wives under the paternal roof. The eldest brother succeeds to the headship and responsibilities of the family, and the subordination of his younger brothers to him is only less marked than that of his children.

Altogether, the patriarchal system has many advantages. It knits close the family ties. All earnings or income go to a common fund; and individuals, in days of failure and distress, are not left to their own resources. Labor is thereby provided with a defense against Capital, and a steady equilibrium is maintained. It is, no doubt, a check to individual enterprise, and a direct encouragement to clannishness and its evils. On the other hand, it is equally an encouragement to morality and thrift. One thing is quite certain; either it is admirably adapted to the temper of the Chinese people, or a long communion has adapted them to it.

The Confucian Temple, mentioned above, deserves particular notice, playing as it does an important part in what may be called, for the want of a better term, the State religion of China. Almost since the death of Confucius himself, certainly since the second century, B. C., there appears to have been some sort of shrine commemorative of his name and teachings. At the present moment, there must be what is called a Confucian Temple, distinguishable by its red walls, in all cities above a certain rank throughout the Empire. In those temples are ranged, in a particular order, a large number of tablets inscribed with the names of Confucius and of his disciples, of Mencius, and of various great men whose personal efforts have in past times contributed to keep alight the torch of Confucianism. Many tablets have, doubtless, slipped in which ought not to be there, and some names with indisputable claims have been excluded; but, altogether, the collection is fairly representative of the class intended, and may be regarded as the literary Valhalla of China. Twice a year, in spring and in autumn, offerings of food and wine are set out before these tablets. Early in the morning, the local officials, in full dress, assemble at the temples; musicians play, the officials burn incense and prostrate themselves before the tablet of Confucius, and a troupe of trained performers go through certain set

movements, after the style of the tragedy dances of ancient Greece. The whole ceremony is commemorative, not intercessory or propitiatory in any sense, no form of prayer being used. Yet it has been scouted by many missionaries as worship, in the same way as the ceremonies commemorative of ancestors have been scouted, with more justification, as ancestral worship.

Every Chinese family possesses a shrine, be it only a shelf, where stand the wooden tablets of ancestors. Before these, incense is burnt daily, with ceremonial prostrations. Twice a month, bowls of food are offered in addition. Once every year, at a certain date in spring, all respectable Chinamen make an effort to visit their ancestral burying-grounds. The spirit-path leading to the grave is swept; the tomb itself is carefully dusted; food and wine are offered up; and pieces of paper supposed to represent money are burnt in large quantities. The food and wine are intended, in the opinion of the masses, for the spirits to eat and drink; and the fact that neither one nor the other is ever, to all appearances touched, is explained by saying that the spirits consume only the flavor, leaving the grosser parts as they were. The money is supposed to pass through the agency of fire into the possession of the spirits for whom it is intended, and to be of actual use to them in their spiritual condition; but, to show that such superstitions have simply overlaid the earlier and purer element in the custom, it may be mentioned that coined money was not known until nearly three centuries after the death of Confucius. The same test may be applied equally with regard to geomancy, without the aid of which no site for a grave is ever finally chosen.

What Confucius thought about even a simple commemorative ceremonial is difficult to gather from his shadowy utterances, such subjects being uncongenial to him. It is recorded of him that "he made his oblations as though the dead were present," which need not be pressed to mean more than that his observance of the ceremonial was earnest rather than perfunctory. The general public, however, are inclined to interpret the words literally, and it is now customary to add a short prayer asking for the blessing of the departed upon all family undertakings. From the general spirit, however, of the teachings of Confucius, it seems clear that he would not have sanctioned superstitious rites. Offerings of food and wine, as may be seen from the Odes, were presented to

departed spirits long before his time; and, at the utmost, he would be merely approving an already established system. The offerings themselves were probably regarded by him much as we regard offerings of wreaths and flowers at the tombs of departed relatives or heroes, scarcely as an appeal to the physical senses of the dead.

The learned Jesuits of the seventeenth century, headed by Ricci, declared the ancestral worship of the Chinese to be nothing more than a civil rite, and in no way incompatible with the profession of the Christian faith; and had this declaration been allowed to stand, the probability is that the Catholic religion would now be the religion of China. The Jesuits were opposed, however, by the ignorant Dominicans; and the question being referred to the Pope, it was decided in favor of the latter. A great opportunity was thus missed. Some Protestant missionaries have been inclined to extend a degree of toleration to ancestral worship. Others have gone so far as to make it a rule to refuse baptism to responsible adults, unless the ancestral tablets have been previously handed over. The importance of this cult at the present day may be gauged by an Imperial Edict, issued only on the 15th of February, in which Li Hung Chang is instructed to desecrate and destroy the ancestral tombs of the fugitive Reformer, Kang Yu-wei.

Many learned Chinese have labored to show that the Three Teachings, meaning Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, are in reality at one. Confucianism is now completely tolerant of the other two. Without public temples, and without a priesthood, it exists by virtue of its influence alone, while the teachings of the Buddhist and Taoist are amply supported by all the instrumental details which so much commend a religion to the masses. An important compromise has been effected, to which this happy tolerance is due. On every Buddhist and Taoist altar there stands, practically out of sight, hidden among candlesticks, vases of flowers and incense-burners, a small tablet, recording more by its presence than by its inscription, which is about the equivalent of "God save the Queen," as something independent of all religious bias, political allegiance to His Majesty the Emperor. Confucianism asks for no more; it will not even permit any effigy or likeness of Confucius to be set up in any such place of worship. The exhibition of this tablet offers a fair comparison with the exhibition of the Royal Arms, once so frequently seen on the tower arches of

churches, but not now regarded as a necessary item in church decoration. Christian missionaries have not seen their way to the same compromise. They have usually shown themselves unduly sanguine as to some imaginary canker eating out the heart of Confucianism. In 1861, Dr. Legge wrote of Confucius as follows: "His influence has been wonderful, but it will henceforth wane. My opinion is, that the faith of the nation in him will speedily and extensively pass away." Forty years have passed since these words were penned, yet the hold of his wonderful influence seems to-day as strong as ever. And this in spite of the fact that, as has been shown above, little or nothing has been done by the Emperors of the nineteenth century to stimulate zeal in the cause.

Those missionaries have done well who have recognized the depth and strength of this influence. At the missionary conference in 1877, Dr. Edkins used these words:

"Confucianism is the citadel of the enemy, raising its battlements high into the clouds and manned by multitudes who are animated by a belief in their superiority and their invincible strength. The taking of this fortress is the conclusion of the war."

The late Dr. Carstairs Douglas, a high authority, also said that:

"he thought Confucianism a far greater enemy to Christianity than Buddhism, or Taoism, just as Mohammedanism in India and Africa is a greater enemy than Heathenism; in each case for the same reason, because of the large amount of truth it contained. Missionaries ought to study Confucianism carefully, and thankfully use all that is good in it, pointing out its great deficiencies and wisely correcting its errors."

The late Dr. Faber reduced the chief of these errors to twenty-four in number, exception to some of which might possibly be taken by differently constituted minds, *e. g.*: "the assertion that certain musical melodies influence the morals of the people is absurd."

In 1877, Dr. Legge stated that the impression left on him by Confucianism was as follows:

"With very much that is good in it, it still is rather humdrum, and inadequate to the requirements of our humanity, a bed shorter than that upon which a man can stretch himself, and a covering narrower than that in which he can wrap himself."

The Rev. A. Smith, author of "Chinese Characteristics," says:

"It is acknowledged that there is in Confucianism much that is excellent concerning the relations of man, and many points in which the doctrines of Christian revelation are almost echoed."

If such be the case, it would seem that the sooner missionaries devote themselves to a close study of Confucian doctrines, the better. This view prevails now much more widely than a few years ago.

It is difficult, however, to see what real fusion can be brought about of Christianity with Confucianism. We are confronted, on the threshold of the latter, by the dogma that man is born good, and that his lapse into evil is wholly due to his environment. Here Christianity would find a compromise impossible. It has scarcely the accommodating breadth of Buddhism, which established itself in Japan in the sixth century, A. D., not by denouncing the false gods of the Japanese, but by promptly canonizing all the Shinto ancestor-gods as Bôdhisatvas, second only to Buddha himself. But it might be possible to take a hint from Pope Gregory, who in 601, A. D., addressed a letter to the Abbot Mellitus, then starting for England, pointing out that the temples of the English ought not to be destroyed, but rather "converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God, that the nation * * * may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed." The old sacrifices were also to be retained in form, "to the end that, whilst some gratifications are outwardly permitted them, they may the more easily consent to the inward consolations of the grace of God."

Dr. Legge wrote, in 1877:

"Christianity cannot be tacked on to any heathen religion as its complement, nor can it absorb any into itself without great changes in it and additions to it. Missionaries have not merely to reform, though it will be well for them to reform where and what they can; they have to revolutionize; and, as no revolution of a political kind can be effected without disturbance of existing conditions, so neither can a revolution of a people's religion be brought about without heat and excitement. Confucianism is not antagonistic to Christianity, as Buddhism and Brahmanism are. It is not atheistic like the former, nor pantheistic like the latter. It is, however, a system whose issues are bounded by earth and by time; and, though missionaries try to acknowledge what is good in it, and to use it as not abusing it, they cannot avoid sometimes seeming to pull down Confucius from his elevation. They cannot set forth the gospel as the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation, and exhort to the supreme love of God and of Christ, without deploring the want of any deep sense of sin, and of any glow of piety in the followers of the Chinese

sage. Let them seek to go about their work everywhere—and I believe they can do so more easily in China than in other mission fields—in the spirit of Christ, without striving or crying, with meekness and lowliness of heart. Let no one think any labor too great to make himself familiar with the Confucian books. So shall missionaries in China come fully to understand the work they have to do; and the more they avoid driving their carriages rudely over the Master's grave, the more likely are they soon to see Jesus enthroned in his room in the hearts of the people."

The Rev. A. Smith would carry the crusade to extremes. Summing up his fascinating, though one-sided, volume above quoted, he says:

"The manifold needs of China we find then to be a single imperative need. It will be met permanently, completely, only by Christian civilization."

Forty years ago, the "manifold needs" of Japan were pretty much what those of China are at the present day. All those needs, save one, have been supplied; and Japan now takes an important rank among the nations of the world. She has little or no religion, and does not seem to wish to have any more. Her ethical code, upon which the morals of her people are based, is a legacy from the days when every educated Japanese was a Confucianist. It is a practical workaday code, setting forth a not unattainable ideal. It teaches virtue for virtue's own sake, and can no more be held responsible for the evils which flourish in China than Christianity can be held responsible for the evils which flourish in England. Yet this is overlooked to a wide extent. Dr. Legge traced the lying habits of the Chinese directly to the example of Confucius himself, on the strength of three passages, one of which occurs in an admittedly spurious work. In the first, Confucius applauds the modesty of an officer, who, after boldly bringing up the rear on the occasion of a retreat, refused all praise for his gallant behavior, attributing his position rather to the slowness of his horse. In the second, an unwelcome visitor calling on Confucius, the Master sent out to say he was sick, at the same time seizing his harpsichord and singing to it, "in order that Pei might hear him." Dr. Legge lays no stress on the last half of this story, though it is impossible to believe that its meaning can have escaped his notice altogether. Lastly, when Confucius was once taken prisoner by the rebels, he was released on condition of not proceeding to Wei. "Thither, notwithstanding, he continued his route," and when

asked by a disciple whether it was right to violate his oath, he replied: "It was a forced oath. The spirits do not hear such."

It seems almost to be now recognized that the time has come for giving up frontal attacks upon Confucianism. Apart from ancestral worship and the dogma that man is born in righteousness, there is really very little to attack, and the onset would be better diverted in the direction of Buddhism and Taoism. The cardinal virtues which are most admired by Christians are fully inculcated in the Confucian Canon, and the general practice of these is certainly up to the average standard exhibited by foreign nations. When the first Chinese Ambassador to England, Kuo Sung-tao, was leaving England for home, he said plainly that while in material civilization we were far ahead of China, our national morality was nothing less than shocking. It must, indeed, seem strange to a Confucianist that, with all our boasted influences of Christianity, it should still be necessary, for instance, to organize a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the ill-treatment of children being quite unknown in China. Female infanticide has, indeed, been charged upon Confucianism, but the glaring absurdity of such a charge can be made manifest in a few words. It is possible actually to prove a negative, and show that extensive infanticide cannot be practised in China. Every Chinaman throughout the Empire, with the very rarest exceptions, marries young. If his wife dies, he marries again; it is not thought proper for widows to remarry, though some do so. Many well-to-do Chinamen take concubines; some two, three, and even four. Therefore, unless there is an enormous disparity in the numbers of boys and girls born, infanticide must be reduced to very narrow limits. Yet, as late as May, 1897, Mrs. Isabella Bishop said, at a meeting of the Zenana Missionary Society, that "of eleven Bible-women whom she had seen at a meeting in China, there was not one that had not put an end to at least five girl-babies." It is a work of supererogation to add that few China-women bear five children.

Buddhism, which may once have been a religion of pure and lofty conceptions, is now, as seen in China, nothing more than a collection of degrading superstitions, entirely beneath the notice of an educated Confucianist. Its tonsured priests are despised and ridiculed by the people, who openly speak of them as "bald-headed asses." Taoism, once a subtle system of philosophy, has

been debased in like manner. It has borrowed some of the worst features of Buddhism, which has in turn appropriated several of the absurdities of Taoism. The two, after centuries of rivalry, have long since flourished peacefully side by side.

With all its merits, Confucianism is seriously wanting in attractiveness to the masses, who really know very little about it. It is a system for the philosopher in his study, not for the peasant at the plough-tail. It offers no consolations of any kind, save those to be derived from a consciousness of having done one's duty. The masses, who respect learning and authority above all things, accept Confucianism as the criterion of a perfect life. They daily perform the ceremonies of ancestral worship in all loyalty of heart, and then go off and satisfy other cravings by the practice of the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism and Taoism, which have so much more to offer by way of reward. Still, wherever Chinamen go they carry with them in their hearts the two leading features of Confucianism, the patriarchal system and ancestral worship.

During the past century, the sphere of Confucian influence has been enormously widened. Not to mention increase of population within the boundaries of China Proper, there has been extension and consolidation in Turkestan or the New Dominion, won by the victorious arms of Tso Tsung-tang in his campaigns of 1871-1878. Emigration, which was almost unknown in 1800, is in 1900 an every-day detail at the ports of southern China.

According to the favorite Chinese theory of "fulness and decay," it would only be expected that, after such a period of prosperity as was witnessed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Doctrine should suffer a temporary eclipse. Still, if this century has not been actually propitious to the peaceful development of Confucianism, opposition to Christianity has certainly proved a great stimulus, calling forth its worst features instead of its best—militant features of bigotry and fanaticism, of which Confucius, whose daily texts were Reciprocity and Forbearance, would have been the last to approve.

If Buddhism and Taoism could be displaced by Christianity, and Confucianism be recognized in its true sense as a pure cult of virtue, with commemorative ceremonies in honor of its Founder and of family ancestors who have gone before, one great barrier between ourselves and the Chinese would be broken down forever.

HERBERT ALLEN GILES.

THE EMPIRE OF THE DEAD.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, D. D., PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

"How did you enter Tientsin?" inquired an old resident of a newcomer to that famous port which has recently been captured by the allied forces of the Powers. "Oh, I came through the graveyard," answered the new arrival. The Old Timer smiled an audible smile, for every entrance to Tientsin, as well as to nearly every other Chinese city, is through "the graveyard."

The one most impressive feature of the Chinese landscape is the grave. In the south, the horseshoe grave is usually built of stone; and often, in the case of a mandarin, it is of great size and not a little architectural beauty. About Ningpo and Shanghai, a great mound, as high as a considerable hill, marks the last resting-place of thousands and tens of thousands of dead Chinamen. These *tumuli* are so numerous and so extensive that a very large proportion of the arable land which the living so sorely need is allotted to the dead. Thus, a new and serious problem is introduced into the economic situation.

About Tientsin and Peking, and in the north of China generally, the graves, while smaller and ruder, are yet so numerous as to withhold very large areas of the most desirable land from cultivation, and to withhold at the same time large amounts of rice and millet from the hungry stomachs of the half-starved coolies.

These graves are the most sacred objects in all China. Ancestor worship is the sum and substance of her religion. Before these graves are burned millions of dollars' worth of mock-money —strips of paper cut to imitate cash, or tissue paper made up into the semblance of blocks of gold and silver bullion.

Every country store in China, whatever else it lacks, is altogether likely to have a supply of mock-money for sale. A moderate

estimate by reliable statisticians makes the amount of good money paid for this mock-money to be burned at graves each year at least four hundred millions of dollars, while other expenses of ancestor worship would probably double this estimate. A wealthy man of Tientsin, a few months ago, spent one hundred thousand dollars on the funeral of his mother. This act of filial piety may have been justified by his unusual wealth, but it is often emulated by the poor, who subject themselves and their posterity to grinding poverty for the sake of honoring the *manes* of their ancestors.

This same regard for the dead and disregard for the living is everywhere displayed throughout the Celestial Empire. I have recently seen a great catafalque built in the middle of the principal street of Peking, occupying the whole of the wide roadway, remaining there for weeks at a time, and obstructing all the traffic of a crowded city; compelling camels, horses, donkeys, pigs, Peking carts, chair-bearers, wheelbarrows, to say nothing of thousands of foot passengers, to clamber down a ditch and to crowd through a narrow sidewalk, that led under awnings and shop porticoes, to the comparatively free roadway beyond.

I have dwelt upon this exaggerated reverence given to the dead, because it is characteristic of the people, and because it accounts, when its root principle is understood, for the pitiable state of weakness and decay to which China has been reduced, and, indirectly, for the revolution and massacres which have recently horrified the world.

China is the Empire of the Dead. It is ruled by a Dead Hand. Its glories are all in the past, and it rejoices in the fact. Its rapid dissolution as an empire cannot be understood until this idea, which enters so thoroughly into the warp and woof of the nation, is grasped. In every department of life is the Dead Hand seen. The labor of every miserable coolie, who toils fourteen hours out of every twenty-four for half as many cents in pay, is daily doubled by this superstitious reverence of the dead. Not only is he obliged to pay a considerable portion of his poor pittance for incense to propitiate the spirits, and for mock-money to pay the way of his dead forbears on the other side of the Styx, but fear of the spirits and a desire to humor them makes every day's toil immeasurably harder than it otherwise need be.

There is scarcely a straight road of any length in any Chinese city, because it is thought that the spirits cannot turn a corner,

but will go straight on in a given direction when they get started. So they are fooled and led away from their original destination, if the road turns at a sharp angle away from the house or shop which they wish to haunt. In making a mile with his heavy burden on his back, the perspiring coolie must often travel two miles, because the road-makers have made the highway a series of zigzags, the better to bewilder the spirits of the dead.

It is also well known in China that a spirit cannot climb a hill. So, oftentimes, the road goes out of its way to surmount a hill, and every over-loaded, two-footed and four-footed beast of burden that follows that road must also go out of its way to climb that hill, and drag its burden up and down the steep incline.

But these are only the physical and more obvious aspects of this strange power of the Dead Hand. In more subtle and more powerful ways does this idea rule a quarter of the world's inhabitants. Nothing is studied but the learning of the Ancients. The examination halls, with their ten thousand cells, witness only the writing of useless essays or impotent poems on some classic theme. Proficiency in the study of neither science, law, medicine, language, theology nor art is tested within their gloomy enclosures, but simply the ability to compose a stilted sentence in ancient style. The dead hand of Confucius rules the Empire more powerfully than any other, but all the long line of teachers and sages who have followed have added the weight of their skeleton fingers.

It is not right in China to aspire to surpass your father, still less to be the equal of your grandfather, still less to approach the virtue of your great-great-grandfather. Never was the mighty power of an idea so shown as in this ancestor worship in dwarfing and stunting a great nation. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." As a nation thinketh in its heart, so is it. China has been dominated and belittled by her foolish reverence for ancient days and ways.

China is a land of arrested development, and the cause of this arrest in every department of progress can be traced to this same Dead Hand that rules the Empire. The most original minds that the world has known have been natives of the most backward of the great nations of the world. Here was born, we are often told, the man who first learned the use of gunpowder, the man who invented the mariner's compass, the man who discovered the use of movable type. Here, or in Corea, lived the wise physician who

discovered the principle of inoculation, which the sages of the nineteenth century have been turning to such large account. For inoculation against smallpox, he blew the powdered scab from a smallpox patient into the nostril of the one he wished to treat; or, making a wound in his arm, rubbed the scab into that. To be sure, the person thus treated often died of smallpox. But it is also true that he often had the disease in a mild form, and was made forever safe from the dreadful scourge.

But the trouble with all these inventions in China was that they, too, were ruled by the Dead Hand. It was proper for a wise man to make them, but it was entirely improper for a wiser man to improve upon them. They must always remain in the primitive state in which they left the original discoverer's hand. It is as though the invention of a Fulton was a sacred thing never to be improved, and we were still doomed to paddle up the Hudson in his awkward side-wheeler at the rate of five miles an hour; or as though Stephenson's steam engine had been deemed unimprovable, and we had been destined ever since to ride behind a primitive locomotive of his original design.

In China, though gunpowder has been known for centuries, soldiers still practice for a military degree with bows and arrows, and perfect themselves in the use of the spear and broadsword. Though China has had the mariner's compass for numberless years, her junks still crawl along the shore, and she has no steamship lines that launch out into the deep and cross the seas. In China, in spite of the fact that the origin of type is lost in the traditions of the past, printing is still a primitive art, and her native newspapers are few and meagre. In China, though inoculation has been known for centuries, smallpox is still raging, and the pest shows no sign of dying out.

The fact, as I have said, gives a clue to the situation of China to-day. The decay of the nation cannot so well be accounted for on any other consideration. The startling events of the last few months are explained when read in the light of this dominating thought. The futile efforts for reform of the young Emperor; the reactionary success of a Jezebel Empress Dowager; the supine indifference of the people under the yokes that seem too heavy for any nation to bear; the rise of the semi-patriotic, anti-foreign body of desperadoes called the Boxers, who have probably at length completed the ruin of their country in the late uprising, are all

explained by remembering that China is the Empire of the Dead, the dead ancestor, the dead sage, the dead tradition, the dead custom.

The last three years have been momentous ones in the history of the Celestial Empire. The Dead and the Living have been in mortal combat, and, strange to say, the Dead have won, at least a temporary victory. Ancient conservatism, represented by the astute and utterly unprincipled Empress Dowager, and modern progress, represented by a well meaning though apparently weak young Emperor, first fought a battle royal, and the Empress won; while the poor Emperor was banished to an island in a lake in his own palace grounds, and, as many of those best informed believe, was slowly being poisoned at the time of the revolution by his aunt, the Empress Dowager, who, without trial or process of law, cut off the heads of six of the bravest reformers of her Empire.

The story of the battle royal between the Dead and the Living is worth recounting briefly, for it explains more recent events. In the year 1898, the Spirit of the Living appeared to be on the point of winning a great victory. It seemed as if the vast Empire was at last, after the lapse of centuries, to be rescued from the clutch of the Dead Hand. The breath of reform blew gently everywhere. As, after a long, murky night, the sweet breezes of the dawn bring freshness and life to a sleeping world, so the breeze of progress seemed about to rustle the leaves on all the trees of tradition and immemorial custom in China. This, in fact, was the case; but, alas, this was all that happened. There was a great rustling among the dead leaves that hung upon the old tree, but they were not shaken off, and the buds of Reform and Progress could not push their way or unfold their beauties.

For a time, however, it seemed that the new would, very soon, displace the old. Many of the leading governors, censors and ruling men throughout the Empire were enthusiastically in favor of the new order of things. The disastrous war with Japan had revealed to them the weakness of their vast nation. Something must be done, they felt, to avert the tide of disaster. The old had been tried and found wanting. *"Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin,"* had been written upon the wall, so that all China must take heed. There was no hope for China in the minds of these reformers, except in the adoption of Western methods and Western civilization. When a small nation like Japan, with forty millions of peo-

ple, could demolish a huge empire like China, with her four hundred millions, as an eggshell is crushed in a child's hand, there must be some potency in modern ironclads, and Krupp guns and the military tactics of the nineteenth century over the bows and arrows and arquebuses and antiquated smooth-bores on which China still relied for victory. The wave of progress gathered volume, as it rolled onward. It affected and profoundly moved the highest dignitaries of the Empire. It even found its way within the thrice-walled Forbidden City, the Purple Imperial City, in the heart of Peking. It reached the palace of the Emperor, and that amiable ruler threw himself most heartily into the new order of things. He called for Western books. He asked to be instructed in Western sciences, arts and religion. It is even thought by some that he became a Christian, in part led by a favorite of the court, a girl who had been educated in an American mission school in Peking. It is, at least, certain that he showed himself extremely interested in Christian books. Of the one hundred and twenty-nine books which he ordered at this time, no less than fifty-four were religious books, most of them published by the "Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese." Among these volumes, large and small, were such books as "The Story of Our Lord," "The Story of King David," "Communion with God," "Mission Work in the South Seas," "Protestant Missionary Pioneers," "Sketch of the Christian Endeavor Society," "Family Prayers for Chinese Christians," "How the English Became Christians." Other books on Astronomy, Chemistry, Hygiene, International Law, History and Mathematics were also ordered, and the very best that could be obtained were furnished by the missionaries. Where the Emperor leads the way, many of the people are sure to follow; and the demand for books of Western Knowledge was unprecedented.

"When the popular edition of five thousand copies of MacKenzie's Nineteenth Century was brought out," writes the Rev. Timothy Richard, the eminent secretary of the afore-mentioned society, "four thousand copies of it were sold within a fortnight. This might not be considered a large number in countries where everybody reads; but, in a country where only ten per cent. read, and that tenth intensely conservative, this is a proof of an unheard of change of attitude. The old publishing houses could not meet the demand, though one firm alone ordered fifteen tons of

paper." A large number of new printing establishments sprang up. The binders of books were unable to cope with their work. The price of paper was raised throughout the Empire, so great was the demand for books.

But the sincerity of the awakened Emperor and his earnest desire for reform were still more keenly shown by the fact that he called to his aid the most advanced men from all parts of the Empire. The energy and thorough-going zeal of the Emperor astonished his own people and foreigners alike. Said the *Shanghai Daily News,* the leading English daily of China, at the time the reforms were instituted:

"This year an actual miracle occurred in Peking. The young Emperor, whom we all believed to be a mere puppet, bred in the harem, and studiously kept in ignorance, the passive instrument of his strong-minded aunt, suddenly showed himself an intelligent man, fit to be a ruler, conscious of the humiliation his country experienced at the hands of Japan, and anxious to render such a humiliation impossible again by the adoption of reforms of all kinds. He read translations of foreign books, gathered round him a band of young reformers, and issued decree after decree, not one of them, as we have shown before, impracticable, all of them promising, if carried out, to be of real advantage to the Empire."

Nine of the edicts issued at this most hopeful juncture by the Emperor Kuang Hsu were as follows:

"(1.) To abolish the Essay system of Examination, which had been in vogue for the last 500 years;

"(2.) To establish a University for the study of Western Science in Peking;

"(3.) To convert Temples into Schools for Western education;

"(4.) To establish a Translation Board, whereby books on Western Learning are to be translated into Chinese;

"(5.) To establish a Patent Office for the encouragement of everything that is new and useful;

"(6.) To protect Christianity without any further evasions;

"(7.) To make the Reform Paper, *Chinese Progress,* the official organ of the Government;

"(8.) To abolish useless offices both in Peking and the provinces;

"(9.) To make young Manchus study foreign languages and travel abroad."

Every one of these edicts bears upon its face the stamp of common sense, sincerity and practicability. "Any one of them," it

has been said, "would have entitled the Emperor to favor." Other edicts covered, in the most comprehensive way, reforms of almost every description. Great trunk lines of railway were to be built by foreign syndicates, covering the land in time with a net-work of iron rails, as Europe and America are to-day covered. Social reforms, which extended even to the unbinding of women's feet, were to be inaugurated, and a hundred millions of women, whose cramped and crushed feet compel them to hobble as helpless cripples through life, would forever have blessed the memory of Kuang Hsu, could he have had his way. The whole community would have been thrown open to friendly foreign nations and a Christian code of laws in harmony with Christendom, if foreign Powers would guarantee the integrity of China. One of the most remarkable reforms was to be in the whole system of education. The Confucian classics for centuries have kept their iron grasp on educated China. To be an educated man in the "Middle Kingdom," for two thousand years, has simply meant to be possessed of a prodigious memory, and to be able to write a useless essay on some remote and academic theme derived from Confucius. All this, in the mind of the Emperor and his advisers, was to be changed in a year. Western sciences, Western languages, Western history were to be taught. Even the temples might be used for schools of Western learning. This plan aroused the ire of Buddhist priests, and doubtless contributed to the overthrow of the whole plan. As a natural consequence of these broad-minded, liberal plans, the religions of the past could not remain unaffected. It is possible, though perhaps not probable, that Christianity would have become the religion of the Empire. At any rate, Christianity would have had a free field, if no favor, which is all it wants in any land. As a result, even of this short-lived agitation, tens of thousands flocked to the missionaries for instruction.

That this, however, was not merely a short-lived propaganda, stirred up by foreigners working on the religious sensibility of the Emperor, is shown by the broad scope of the principles of the Reformers, embracing the best in their old religions and customs. I confidently believe that the reforms would have resulted in the widespread, if not universal, adoption of Christianity; but that the movement was not in the hands of foreign religious enthusiasts, but sprang from the people themselves, is shown by the following principles by which the Reformers defined their purposes:

1. Exhort the people to do good.

2. Teach the law of retribution; "whatsoever a man sows that shall he also reap."

3. Teach Confucianism as a necessary thing. Originally, it meant the "necessary" teaching. As man's need of food and clothing necessitates agriculture and silk culture, so the demands of his moral nature made Confucianism necessary.

4. Recognize the good in Taoism. Tao existed before heaven and earth, and is the invisible force behind all. Afterwards there arose the teaching about the pill of immortality, charms, etc., and the original idea was lost.

5. Recognize the good in Buddhism. The meaning of Sakya-Muni (Gautama) is "one who is able to love." The common people use Buddhist forms at funerals and often offer Buddhist prayers, and many intelligent men are fond of discussing Buddhism. When it talks of a holy life, of the unseen, of removing the passions, etc., it is a good thing.

6. Find out specifics in medicine. It is very desirable that they be generally known, instead of being lost at the death of those who know them.

7. Recognize the scholar as one who labors with his mind—a producer. Collect his thoughts.

8. Improve farming.

9. Establish beneficent labor. In modern days, millions are spent in great factories like Krupp's, and more money is spent in devising how to kill men than in discovering how to keep them alive.

10. Extend trade. To supply the needs of the country by the abundance of another is proper.

11. Increase useful and fresh learning, especially that knowledge whereby the poor can be saved from their poverty.

12. Study the laws of other nations.

13. Learn all about the most important things in other countries.

14. Print scientific books, maps, etc.

15. Devise some speedy method for teaching the young.

But, alas, the forces of Light and Life were not destined to have a speedy or unchecked victory. The powers of Darkness and Death would not give up the fight without a struggle. China had been too long ruled by a Dead Hand easily to accept the rule of the

Living Perhaps the Reformers went too fast, if not too far. They proposed the degradation of the leaders of the opposite party, as well as the exaltation of their own leaders. They even suggested the cutting off of the time-honored queue. This was a little too much. The wily old Empress Dowager, who had been biding her time, saw that her hour had come. She could now strike a blow at the Reformers and have a great party at her back. All the reactionaries, all the mandarins, whose official heads were endangered by the new reforms, most of the scholars who had been brought up on the old system, who could see no good in Western learning; all the priests who feared for their livelihood and their temples; and many of the common people, whose superstitious hatred of foreigners had been skillfully worked upon, and who at least feared for their precious queues, were upon her side, and she was allowed to work her wicked will upon the handful of defenseless reformers.

The Empress is certainly no mere figurehead. She must be ranked beyond question as among the really great rulers of the world. "When her consort died in 1861," we are told, "China was internally largely at the mercy of the Taiping rebels, and externally at the mercy of England and France. But when she handed over the reins of government to the Emperor, Kuang Hsu, a few years ago, China's rebellion had been put down, Kashgar had been recovered from Russia, and the nation was at peace with all the Powers." Had the Empress Dowager only been as good as she was great, as enlightened as she is strong, the history of China in the twentieth century would be very different from what it is now likely to be. But she is as bad as she is powerful, as unscrupulous as she is shrewd, and the poor Reformers had short shrift when she really decided to put them down.

On the 28th of September, 1898, six of them were put to death. Their names deserve to be recorded in the roll of the world's martyrs. They are: Tan Sze-Tung, Lin Kwang-Ti, Yang Tswei, Lin Shio, Yang Shin-shen, and Kang Kwang-jin. The chief of them all, Kang Yu-Wei, escaped with his life, first to Hong Kong, then to Singapore. I have seen more than one city wall in China placarded with large posters offering a reward of a hundred thousand dollars for Kang Yu-Wei, dead or alive.

A few weeks ago, when sailing into the beautiful river Min, on whose bank lies the great city of Foochow, I saw a fine Chinese

man-of-war, the fastest war-cruiser in the world, it is said, commanded by the admiral of the navy, just as she was returning from her fruitless search for this reformer. The little Chinese merchantman, "Hae Shin," on which I was embarked, had come to anchor for the night just off the bar of the river Min, and had the great cruiser for a companion at the same anchorage. The next morning the big war-ship weighed anchor, and sailed off toward Shanghai; and as she started, for the sake of signalling the convoys, she blew a long blast on her siren. As the wild yell of that most sardonic and unearthly of all signals rang out on the still air, and was re-echoed from the mountains along the shore, it seemed to me like the despairing wail of the reform party in China, that has all the power of the Empire turned against it, and like the death knell of the Empire itself.

So the powers of Darkness seemed to have conquered for the time. China was again ruled by the Dead Hand of the Past. She, who came so near being the Empire of the Quick, was still the Empire of the Dead. The results were seen on every hand. Not only were all the leading reformers killed or banished, and the rest, the more politic reformers, like Li Hung Chang, shut out from all effectiveness by their own fear or selfishness; not only was the Emperor a prisoner in his own Forbidden City, and probably dying of slow poison; but throughout the Empire the clock of Progress seemed to have stopped. The extraordinary demand for books of Western learning ceased. The converts to Christianity fell off; many former inquirers no longer dared to see the missionary, and hatred of foreigners and all things foreign broke out with new violence. Old superstitions were revived, absurd rumors about missionaries poisoning wells, and foreigners burying babies under all their new railroad sleepers were assiduously circulated; and the air, as I breathed it in North China just before the massacre, was surcharged with threats of violence and outrage, upon foreigners and native Christians alike.

The most extraordinary exhibition of this anti-foreign reaction was found in the rise and spread of a secret society called the "Boxers," or, as its name might be literally translated, "The Righteous Harmonious Fist." In a day, almost, this society attained threatening proportions. The Boxers themselves are, for the most part, a poor, deluded lot of country louts who believe that by some gymnastics and incantations and by a species of

hypnotism, they can render themselves invulnerable to foreign bullets and all foreign weapons. Their significance does not consist in their valor or even in their numbers, but in the fact that they are symptomatic of the ignorance and superstition of the ruling forces of the nation to-day. In every convenient way it was shown that the Government did not really wish to put them down. The superstition and ignorance of the Boxers is well shown by the following placard which was widely posted at the time. It shows the spirit, as well as the superstitions, of the "Harmonious Fisters":

> "The relatives and friends of all around have noticed recently that the members of the Protestant and Roman Catholic religions poison the wells with poisonous powder, so that whoever drinks the water will have their lungs and intestines rotten in eighteen days. Two men have been arrested by us at Lin-Li-Chuang, and we found out that they have poison all over their bodies. They are silent when they are questioned, and bold when tortured. Whoever smells the poison will die immediately; you must be very cautious in drinking the water. Those who have seen this notice must make it known; it will avert the calamity of the people. It must by all means be done."

The recent revolution, with all its heartrending accompaniments of murder, siege and suffering, such as the world has not known since it was shocked by the Indian Mutiny, more than a generation ago, are all the result of the irrepressible conflict between the Past and the Present, the Dead and the Living. The final contest which has challenged the attention of the world was inevitable. It might have been delayed. It might have been less bloody. It could not have been averted. What is to be the outcome? I am no prophet, but I confess that I see light in but one quarter of the heavens. China may be speedily divided between the great nations of the world, because of the rottenness and incapacity of her own government; and the better rule of the Anglo-Saxon, the Celt and the Slav may work out for her a partial and external regeneration.

But, when one is upon the spot, though this outcome seems most desirable, it does not seem to be a solution of the real problem of the regeneration of China. It is not certain that, if the Powers carve up China among themselves, the real China, the people of China, would be materially improved. The nation would be still the same stolid, superstitious, ignorant mass of unprogressive humanity that it is to-day. The lives of the common people would

still be ruled by the Dead Hand of the Past. They would still worship their ancestors and waste their substance on incense and mock-money. They would still give the best land to the dead, and their poorest acres to feed the living. I see no real hope for the regeneration of China except by the slow process of education and evangelization. The leaven is already at work, though it has not as yet by any means leavened the whole lump. More than two thousand missionaries, mostly American and British, were at work in the Middle Kingdom at the time of the revolution. Their day schools were numbered by the thousand, perhaps by the ten thousand. They have established hundreds of hospitals, in some of which as many as ten thousand patients are treated every year. In the churches of the Protestant missionaries alone are gathered one hundred thousand substantial converts. Their adherents are many times that number. The Catholic missions have more adherents still.

In addition to these thousands of day schools are many high schools, colleges of high grade, and schools for theological instruction. There are also a multitude of Sunday schools, Christian Endeavor societies, schools for the training of Bible women, orphanages, and institutions for the blind and the deaf and dumb, all under auspices of Christian men and women. The aggregate of this work is immense. The story can never be told in print, nor the good accomplished computed in figures. There is no such force at work to-day for the regeneration of China as the army of missionaries sent out from America and Great Britain.

This is not my opinion only; it is the opinion of many of those who have lived longest in the land, and have had the widest opportunity for investigation. Said one of America's most successful and sagacious Ministers Plenipotentiary to me, when speaking of another Asiatic nation: "The most potent force for the uplift of this country is not trade or commerce or diplomacy, but Christian missions. The missionaries are doing more for this land than all other foreigners combined." This is eminently true of China. I see little hope for China in any other direction. This force transforms character rather than changes dynasties, and, without a transformed character, China can never be regenerated. Dynasties may come and dynasties may go, but corruption and ignorance, greed and superstitions, reverence for a dead and outgrown Past go on forever. The individual Chinaman must be

transformed before the nation can be transformed. A mere change of dynasty, a mere division of the nation between stronger, greedy nations will not usher in China's Golden Day.

Already, as I have said, much has been done. Considering the resources at the command of the missionaries, a surprising work has been accomplished. At the cost of the maintenance of half a dozen iron-clads each year, all the Protestant mission-work of China is being carried on. Until one travels from Canton to Calgan and takes long journeys into the interior, one cannot realize the extent of this wonderful work, or the resourcefulness of the missionaries. Nor can one realize the hold which the missionary has upon the future of China. He has not only established churches and planted schools; he has written books and translated other books, and introduced Western arts and sciences, and pioneered the way for commerce and civilization.

In China, as in other countries, the debt of Philology and Present and the hopeful Future. The missionary is breaking the other sciences to the missionary is enormous. Many volumes would not recount all their services.

But better than all is the unseen but potent influence of unselfish, noble characters that impress themselves on other characters, and turn the people away from the dead Past to the living Present and the hopeful Future. The missionary is breaking the grip of the Dead Hand of the Past on China's throat. The missionary is showing the Chinaman that the "Foreign Devil," as he calls all "Outlanders," has something that the Chinaman needs, something of science and civilization, as well as religion. The missionary is opening the Chinaman's eyes to the folly of his old superstitions. The missionary is unsealing the Chinaman's ears, that he may hear the tramp of the advancing nations of the Twentieth Century. The missionary is slowly but surely transforming the Empire of the Dead into the Empire of Life and Light. There may be, for a time, revolutions and counter-revolutions, anarchy and misrule, turmoil and massacre; but the yeast, insignificant as it now appears to some, has been placed within the meal. The Brighter Day may be long in coming to distracted China, but it is on the way.

FRANCIS E. CLARK.

COMMERCIAL ASPECT OF THE YELLOW PERIL.

BY ALLEYNE IRELAND.

THE present widespread interest in China is due to sensational causes; but these causes, deplorable as they are in themselves, may yet serve the useful purpose of so fixing public attention on the Celestial Empire as to ensure a solution, by one method or another, of the great and urgent problem which the future progress of China presents to the world. It is not too much to hope that the recent Chinese atrocities will give that spur to common international action, without which the situation in the Far East would have passed from one stage of complexity to another, with an increasing probability that, when an outbreak occurred, the final settlement would be effected rather with a view to satisfying the ambitions of a single victorious Power, than with the object of safeguarding the general interests of the civilized world.

In the present day of telegraphic communication, our attention is diverted from one part of the globe to another with a rapidity which forbids concentration on any single issue in which our national interests are involved. We turn from Venezuela to Alaska, from Alaska to Manila, from Manila to the Transvaal, from the Transvaal to China; and when, in addition to watching these foreign matters, a nation is called upon to take up a number of important internal questions affecting every class of interests, it is little to be wondered at that there is often a failure to keep pace with the progress of certain great movements which, important as we realize them to be, fail, from the very sluggishness of their course, to chain our attention. The progress of China is one of these movements. Whilst we have been occupied for years with the noisy avalanches of less important matters, this Chinese question has stolen upon us with the slow but terrible advance of a glacier. The attacks on the Legations in Peking,

an atrocity scarcely paralleled in the history of the world, is simply one of the avalanches accompanying the great, slow, central movement; and, in exacting reparation for this outrage, the fact should not be lost sight of that it is only a symptom, and that mere compensation and reprisal will still leave untouched the greater issue behind—the future of China and the Chinese people.

It is not my present purpose to examine the prospects of China's political future, in the light of the conflicting ambitions of the Great Powers; such an inquiry, however exhaustive in its nature, would only lead me back to the point from which I wish to start, namely—the consideration of the Chinese people as a factor in human progress. This method of approach appears to possess some considerable advantage over the other from the fact that, whereas the policy of the Great Powers toward China must be finally limited and determined by the attitude of China as a nation, the social and industrial development of the Chinese, as a people, could only be to some extent advanced or retarded, in point of time, by any conceivable political change effected by the intrusion of the Great Powers.

If the Chinese were a people like the Russians, the Germans or the French, we (I address chiefly American and British readers) would observe any marked increase in their industrial activity or in their national aggressiveness with some misgiving, possibly, but certainly without any feeling that our own national existence, either social or economic, was seriously threatened by what we would be compelled to regard as a progressive movement in a fellow nation. We would flatter ourselves that what a Russian, or a German, or a Frenchman could do, an American or an Englishman could do at least as well.

But it is precisely because the Chinaman differs from all other men, that the prospect of a radical change in the Chinese life and policy is viewed, by many intelligent observers, with an interest not unmixed with alarm.

If I do not share the view held by some, that China is destined to become the greatest active power in the world, it is rather because of the hope that the concerted action of the Great Powers will limit the expansion of China to those regions in the Tropics where she would have all white races at a disadvantage, than of any belief that the Chinaman, if left to himself, is incapable of developing the necessary amount of self-assertion.

If we supplement an estimate of the dynamic potentiality of the Chinese people, by an examination of some of the natural and artificial forces which are likely to extend or to limit the area of Chinese activity, we may form some idea of the problem which would be created by the wholesale adoption by the Chinese of those material aids to progress which we have so persistently endeavored to thrust upon their unwilling attention.

China, with her dependencies, covers an area of 4,460,000 square miles and has a population of about 400,000,000; in other words, her people represent one-fourth of the population of the globe, spread over about one-twelfth of its land surface. The land varies in fertility and in mineral resources in the different Provinces; but it is certain that the country contains the largest coal and iron deposits within the territory of any single nation. Von Richtofen, the German geologist, estimates that the single Province of Shan-se could supply the whole world's requirements in coal and iron, at the present rate of consumption, for three thousand years. And the productiveness of the soil is, at least, equal to that of any equal area in the world.

Up to the present time, the vast resources of the Chinese Empire, with millions of hands on the spot to develop them, have been practically closed to the world. The insignificance of the export trade of China, when compared with that of other nations, will be seen from the following rough calculation:

EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC PRODUCE IN 1897.

	Dollars.	Per Capita.
China	120,000,000	$0.30
United Kingdom	1,170,000,000	29.25
France	719,000,000	18.43
Germany	890,000,000	17.11
United States	1,032,000,000	14.74

From these figures, it is seen that the average value of the annual exports *per capita* from the four Western nations is $19.88, as compared with 30 cents *per capita* from China. If we give China the benefit of a probable over-estimate of population, and of a possible under-estimate of exports, and if we place the exports at 40 cents *per capita*—a liberal allowance—we observe that, at the present time, it takes fifty Chinamen to place on the world's market an amount of produce equal to that distributed by one American or one European.

It would, of course, be mere guesswork to try and estimate the exact effect which the general introduction of machinery, of im-

proved agricultural methods, and of adequate transportation facilities would have upon the export returns of that country; but, within certain limits, such a speculation may be sufficiently near the truth to afford a basis for some general deductions.

Let us suppose, then, that during the next ten years China adopts Western methods, to an extent which would still leave one white man equal to five Chinamen in productive efficiency; the result would be, basing our calculation on the figures given above, that China's exports would amount to not less than $1,600,000,000, a sum equal to the total combined value of domestic exports from Germany and France in 1897, and representing seventy-five per cent. of the total exports from the United States and the United Kingdom together.

It may be suggested that China would find a difficulty in securing markets for such a great quantity of produce, because in some countries a strong prejudice exists against Chinese goods, and it might be expected that many countries would erect formidable tariffs against Chinese manufactures. If we admit that these factors would play some part in determining the quantity and direction of Chinese exports, and that the prejudice against Chinese goods would probably operate to keep down a Chinese export trade to the United States, to Australasia and Canada, and to a lesser extent to France and Germany, the fact must not be overlooked that a Chinaman can outwork and underlive any other worker in the world, and that this circumstance would enable him to appeal, even in countries most hostile to him, to the preference of the majority of people for the cheaper product.

The question of Chinese trade development, however, is not primarily one of competition with the white man in his home markets, but rather of a rivalry with Europe, America and Australasia, in the Tropical and sub-Tropical markets. The importance of this fact becomes more apparent, if we consider the general prospects of trade development in the future. A moment's reflection serves to satisfy us that, whatever increase may be looked for in the trade of the European countries, of North America and of non-Tropical Australasia, a vastly greater proportional development may be expected in the trade of the Tropical and sub-Tropical countries. The white man at home has reached such a high degree of efficiency as a producer and as a consumer that it cannot be foreseen that the rate of progress to

be observed during the last century will be maintained during the century upon which we are about to enter. The people of the Tropics, on the other hand, are still in a very low state of productive efficiency, and their value as consumers is proportionately small. I have shown elsewhere* that, in the British Empire, the productive efficiency of the Tropical as compared with the non-Tropical man is as 1 to 23, and that the value of the former as a consumer is as 1 to 17, compared with the value of the latter. It is certain, moreover, that in the Tropics outside the British Empire—under less efficient forms of government, and with less protection for the products of industry—the economic value of the Tropical man is even less than this.

Concisely, the formula which I would deduce from the above facts is this, that the difference between actual and normally potential economic efficiency is so much greater in the Tropical man than in the non-Tropical man, that the trade of the former could be doubled in the time which would be required to raise the trade of the latter by thirty per cent.

Now, even if we omit from our calculations the possibility—which will be examined later—of large portions of the Tropics and of the sub-Tropics becoming preponderatingly Chinese in the composition of their population, it is clear that in these markets we shall be compelled to enter into an open rivalry with Chinese products. The areas in which the competition of a vitalized Chinese trade would be most likely to affect American and European exports are these: India, Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, the Straits Settlements, Borneo, New Guinea, the Pacific Islands, Tropical Africa, Mauritius, Brazil, Peru, Chile, the Central American Republics, Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela. It should be noted that, in each of these countries, the Chinaman could settle and thrive, and that, in some of them, he has already done so, whilst in most of them the white man can never be more than a temporary resident.

The commercial problem created by the prospect of an economic awakening of China may be said to consist, in its simplest form, in the possible exclusion of the white race from participation in the advantages which would follow an increase in the economic efficiency of the Tropical and of the sub-Tropical peoples.

* "Tropical Colonization," pp. 110, 111.

Up to this point, however, we have considered only the effect which a simple economic development of China, unaccompanied by other great changes in the national life and policy, would have upon the commercial prospects of the white nations. If we now introduce a new factor, namely, a possible change in the social economy or habit of the Chinese people, we find that the commercial problem becomes greatly complicated.

It is a curious fact that, notwithstanding the general spread of education, the vast majority of people appear to have but a slight knowledge of the geography of the earth. For instance, my own experience has been that not more than one person out of five, among educated people to whom I have put the inquiry, have known that Liverpool is to the east of Edinburgh, that Calcutta is within a few miles of being in the North Temperate Zone, and that Glasgow is in the same latitude as Southern Alaska. I refer to this, because I imagine that many of the popular misconceptions about the physiological and psychological make-up of the Chinaman are to be traced to a general impression that the Chinese are a Tropical people. Of course, when we deliberately set out to consider the matter, we realize at once that only a small part of China lies within the Tropics, and that a great part of the Empire enjoys a winter at least as severe as that of New England. But, for most people, the Chinaman falls into the same category as the Filipino, the Bengalee and the Negro, and only those who have had reason to pay some attention to Chinese affairs bear constantly in mind the fact that the climatic discipline of the Chinaman has been that of the Frenchman, the German, the Austrian, the American and the Briton.

It is most important that we should place the Chinaman where he belongs geographically, unless we wish to fall into the error of supposing that, as a factor in future industrial competition and in the coming struggle for race supremacy, he is no more to be taken into account than the East Indian or the Negro.

Now, what manner of man is the Chinaman in point of fact? He has been described over and over again by hundreds of writers; but I select three brief descriptions, in order that we may have a clear conception of him before we proceed to discuss the prospect of his social expansion. Says His Excellency Wu Ting-Fang, the Chinese Minister at Washington:

"Experience proves that the Chinese as all-around laborers can

easily distance all competitors. They are industrious, intelligent and orderly. They can work under conditions that would kill a man of less hardy race; in heat that would suit a salamander or in cold that would please a polar bear, sustaining their energies through long hours of unremitting toil, with only a few bowls of rice."*

Reinsch, in his "World-Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century," says:

"The Chinese are an active, energetic race. For ages there has been with them a survival of the hardiest. Trained from youth to subsist on the most meagre diet, to get along with little sleep, and to work patiently for twelve or fourteen hours a day, these men scoff at difficulties and exertions which would within a year weary a European to death."

Lafcadio Hearn thus described the Chinese:

"A people of hundreds of millions disciplined for thousands of years to the most untiring industry and the most self-denying thrift, under conditions which would mean worse than death for our working masses—a people, in short, quite content to strive to the uttermost in exchange for the simple privilege of life."†

Such is the man; and, when we consider the area of his usefulness, we are confronted with the fact that he can live and thrive and multiply in any part of the habitable world, whilst the white man, if he is to retain his race characteristics, must always remain a bird of passage in almost every country lying between 30° N. and 30° S.

If we reject the possibility of the Chinese ever penetrating in force either to the North or to the South of the above limit, we are still forced to admit that the higher races cannot hope to people any of the Northern Hemisphere outside of Europe, North America and Russian Asia, and that the whole of the Southern Hemisphere, with the exception of the non-Tropical Australasia and, possibly, of Cape Colony and Natal, must derive its future population from what we loosely call the lower races. It is significant that, even in the United States and in Australasia, countries in which the white man has the best possible chance of development, and in which he has least to fear from the competition of alien races, the dread of the Chinaman has found expression in stringent legislation limiting his immigration.

Fortunately, up to the present time, the Chinese people have turned their eyes away from extensive emigration, and have thus

*North American Review, July, 1900.
†Atlantic Monthly, April, 1896.

failed to use efficiently their superior physiological adaptability. This neglect of opportunity is attributable to a great variety of causes, most of which are sufficiently well understood by students of sociology. Amongst the most obvious may be named the extent and natural resources of the home territory, which have rendered emigration from economic motives unnecessary; the intense conservatism of the Chinese people, due in a great measure to the fact that, until within the present century, China has been absolutely self-sufficient and has had little intercourse with foreign nations; the disinclination of the Chinaman to separate himself from his associates in the innumerable secret societies the protection of which constitutes for him a sort of vested interest; and the impossibility of performing in foreign countries the various offices connected with the national system of ancestor-worship.

Notwithstanding these deterrent factors, Chinamen have emigrated in such numbers that, although their absence is not felt at home, their presence has exerted a powerful influence abroad. Thus in the East the Chinaman is found in ever-increasing numbers in the Malay Peninsula, in Java, in Siam, in Borneo, in New Guinea, in the Philippine Islands, in Burmah, in Sumatra, and in Mauritius; whilst he has penetrated as far West as Hawaii, Central and South America, and the West Indies.

There is every reason to suppose that, throughout the Tropics, possibly excepting India, the Chinaman, even should he continue to emigrate in no greater force than hitherto, will gradually supersede all the native races. The reason for this is not far to seek. The one thing in which Tropical countries are deficient is an effective labor supply. The economic history of the Tropics, during the past three centuries, is largely a narrative of the efforts made by the land owners to secure labor for the development of their properties. The autochthonous races were utilized, until they disappeared under the strain of steady and severe toil; then slavery was tried and discarded; and then followed various systems of imported contract labor. We find that the labor supply of the Tropics, subsequently to the abolition of slavery, has consisted of free Negroes, for the most part quite unreliable, and of East Indian and Chinese imported contract laborers. These imported contract laborers, either East Indian or Chinese, were introduced, and in most instances are still being introduced, into Jamaica, Trinidad, Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, British,

Dutch and French Guiana, Cuba, Peru, Hawaii, the Fiji Islands, Natal, Mauritius, the Straits Settlements, Java and Queensland, and a great number of unindentured Chinese have gone to the Philippine Islands.

As there is no possibility of white labor being utilized in most parts of the Tropics, the choice lies between the Chinaman, the Negro and the East Indian. But the Chinaman is, under all circumstances, a better laborer than either of the others; for he has infinitely more industry than the former and infinitely more strength and staying power than the latter. So great is his superiority that the Tropical planter would prefer a good supply of unindentured Chinamen to East Indians bound by contract.

I have not been able to secure any reliable statistics exhibiting the effect which Chinese imported contract labor has had upon the population of the countries employing it; but the following figures, relating to the population of British Guiana, show in a striking manner the effect of East Indian immigration.

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION OF BRITISH GUIANA.

	Per cent. Census of 1831.	Per cent. Census of 1861.	Per cent. Census of 1891.	Per cent. Estimate 1901.
White	3.22	7.77	6.18	6.00
Black	96.78	75.48	53.45	44.87
East Indian	00.00	14.98	38.98	47.13
Others	00.00	1.77	1.39	2.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

In the above figures, aboriginal Indians, of whom there are about 10,000, are not taken into account, and mixed races are counted as Black, thus giving the Blacks a liberal estimate.

It is seen that the whites scarcely hold their own, notwithstanding the fact that many thousands, chiefly Portuguese, have been imported as laborers; the Blacks, on the other hand, have fallen in number from 96.78 per cent. to 44.87 per cent. of the population, while the East Indians have increased in forty years from 14.98 per cent. to 47.13 per cent.

If we consider the peculiar character of the Chinese people, it cannot be doubted that they would have a more radical influence on the population of the Tropical countries to which they emigrate than that exerted by the East Indians, and, bearing this in mind, we see that the prospect of the Tropical regions becoming Chinese socially, at least, is not unreasonable.

Still, leaving out of the question a political expansion of

China, it may be profitable to inquire whether there is any reasonable likelihood that the well-known aversion of the Chinese to emigration might be increased to such an extent as to operate as a complete check.

In order to determine this, we must inquire into the causes which lie at the back of Chinese emigration. Broadly speaking, Chinese emigrants may be divided into four classes:

1. Criminals escaping from justice;

2. Those who are immediately threatened with persecution from the high officials of the Southern Provinces, or who have already suffered such persecution;

3. Those whose friends or relatives have emigrated, and have carried or sent back the news of the protection of the fruits of industry to be found in most countries governed by white men;

4. Those who are influenced by the pictures of the prosperity and freedom of Christian countries, which the missionaries paint for their following.

It is thus seen that, if the Chinese Government were conducted on the principles which guide Western nations, if, in short, a vigorous reform movement were carried out, the motives for emigration would no longer be strong enough to overcome the Chinaman's preference for staying at home; and he would then remain in China, and worship the bones of his ancestors, until, perhaps a century hence, the population began to press on the means of subsistence.

When emigration became an economic necessity, China might and probably would expand socially without pressing on over-sea territory. A glance at the map shows that the natural outlet for Chinese expansion is in Thibet, Burmah, Cochin-China and Siam; for, although Russia may press on China from the north, no formidable competitor exists to the south, where France is helpless in Indo-China; where Siam could not, if it would, prevent an influx of Chinese, and where England in Burmah and in the Malay Peninsula is prepared to accept the Chinaman as an immigrant.

Under the foregoing conditions, it is clear that the Chinese saturation of the Tropics may be conceivably delayed for a considerable period, and that the stress of a possible Chinese commercial competition would thus be lessened to the extent of saving the Tropical and sub-Tropical markets from becoming Chinese

in the nature of their requirements, at any rate in the very near future.

Up to this point, we have considered the question of Chinese race supremacy in the Tropics, on the supposition that the natural course of events would not be interfered with by the adoption of a definite policy of expansion by the Chinese Government. But it is by no means beyond the range of possibility that China may, at no distant date, embark on a policy of territorial expansion; indeed, there are many reasons for supposing that, given the necessary conditions, China would certainly look for an expansion of her political influence in new directions.

If those who predict the complete political dismemberment of China are correct in their forecast there will be, of course, no Chinese national policy in the future; but I think that there is ample reason to doubt the correctness of this view.

Two powerful factors combine to insure the endurance of China as a political unit; one is the hostile attitude of the United States and of Great Britain toward any wholesale cutting up of the Empire, and the other is that, throughout the Central and Southern Provinces, the climatic conditions will always render impossible a permanent occupation by white men. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the United States and Great Britain, although they might forbid the permanent occupation of Chinese territory by France, Germany or Italy, would go so far as to forcibly oppose the southern extension of Russia's Siberian boundary, or the acquisition of Korea by Japan. But the utmost that is at all likely to happen is that Russia should occupy Manchuria and Mongolia, and that Japan should take possession of the Korean Peninsula.

If this should occur China would certainly seek compensation to the South, where from climatic reasons no European race could hope successfully to resist her advance, and the absorption of Cochin-China, and more remotely of Siam and Southern Thibet, would follow.

Even if we conceive China as shorn of her Northern Provinces and for a time checked in her southern advance, we still have a great Chinese nation, at least capable of a definite foreign policy. It seems probable that, whatever may be the immediate issue of the present situation, the China which remains intact will develop into a formidable military and naval power.

The allies have encountered with surprise a military China very different from the one engaged in the Chino-Japanese war of 1894-1895; and it is reasonably certain that recent experiences will be followed by an enormous increase of the naval and military forces of the Empire. With 400,000,000 people to draw from, with the revenue which a reformed Administration could procure from such a population, and with unlimited natural resources of the country at her disposal, China could easily make herself the dominant power of the Far East.

In this position, what would her policy be? Would she be content to accept the loss of Manchuria and Mongolia as an accomplished fact, or would she embark on a campaign of reprisal?

In any event, the industrial development which may be expected to follow even a moderate degree of internal reform, if accompanied by the adoption of Western industrial methods, will soon set China at work seeking foreign markets. If these are accorded her she may, in the absence of an aggressive national policy, look forward to a long period of peaceful progress, relieved by an overflow of population to the south, unaccompanied by any extension of her political influence. But if she finds her goods shut out from Japan, from Russia and French Asia, from the Philippines, and from the Dutch East Indies, China may be forced to follow the example of Great Britain and occupy large tracts of land for trade purposes, which otherwise she might have been content to see under the political control of other nations.

The prospect of a powerful and united China, driven, through the narrow commercial policy of the more civilized Powers, into a fight for markets, is not a pleasant one; and it is doubtful whether, having secured them, she would select to follow the lead of Great Britain by throwing them open to the world, or to take a leaf out of the book of France and practically close her colonial ports to all foreign merchandise.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

THE ROOT OF THE CHINESE TROUBLE.

BY JOHN FOORD, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION.

WAS the outbreak of the elements of disorder in North China a revolt against the advance of Western civilization, or a result of the corruption, ignorance and incapacity of the government of the Empress Dowager? On the answer to that question depends the direction to be given to the history of a fourth of the human race—whether a pacified and reformed China shall lend a new impetus to human progress, or a disturbed and reactionary one stand as a menace to the world's peace. A plausible case might be made out for the theory that the disturbances in Shan-tung were simply the result of a fanatical hatred of the foreigner common to all Chinamen, which happened to have there some peculiarly aggravating causes for its display. There is, first, the missionary with his subversive teaching and his offensive way of appealing to his consul for the protection of his converts; and, next, the foreign soldier who comes to redress the wrongs of the missionary, and incidentally to possess himself of a slice of Chinese territory, bringing in his train the builder of railroads and the exploiter of mines. As it is not so long since riotous mobs of our own race took to smashing spinning-frames as the cause of their poverty, and sober students of passing events predicted direful consequences from the expropriation of the stage-coach, we may make allowance for the feelings of the Chinaman who sees in the steam-propelled carriage coming ruin for the porter and wheelbarrow industries, however little we may understand his more occult sentiment about ancestral graves, Feng-shui, and the tendons of the earth-dragon.

It sounds probable, to say the least, that the progress of the nineteenth century could not make its disturbing inroads on the oldest of all surviving systems of human civilization without en-

countering resistance. It might be further argued that the pioneers of progress in Shan-tung did not affect very gentle methods. The mailed fist was a little too much in evidence, as, for example, when several villages were destroyed by the Germans in retaliation for an attack on three travellers who not only escaped unharmed, but succeeded in killing with their revolvers several of their assailants. All this, however, happened after the province had reached a condition of chronic disorder and discontent, after attacks on foreigners had been frequent, and native Christians, by the score, had been robbed and murdered. The fact that things were not always so in Shan-tung, raises the question of how the anti-foreign feeling of the province reached the proportions it did, then and thereafter. Was it primarily the fault of the missionaries and their native converts, aggravated by the arbitrary ways of mine-prospecting and railroad-surveying Germans, or is the root of the trouble to be found in the acts and attitude of the Chinese Government and its representatives?

As recently as thirteen years ago, Shan-tung was one of the best administered, as it was also one of the most prosperous and contented, provinces in China. It was agreed by all observers that the moral, no less than the physical, qualities of the natives were of the highest. A traveller who entered the province from the south, in 1887, testifies to the difference in the treatment he received after crossing the frontier from Kiangsu. In the latter he had encountered rudeness and obstruction; on entering Shan-tung, into the prefecture of Ichow, he was received at the very first village with courtesy and even kindness; and, with but one exception, he found the people throughout the whole province equally hospitable. The exception was at T'ai-an, a place of pilgrimage from time immemorial, which was found swarming with sturdy beggars, who showed signs of hostility that were very soon checked by the city authorities. The Governor, or Futai, of that time was Changyeo, a Chinaman of fine physique, who had served with distinction in Turkestan, and under whose rule disorder did not dare to show its head. To quote from a recent authority on this point: "The soldiers, well drilled and well trained, were a real source of protection to the people, and apart from the drain on its resources, arising from the unsettled condition of the Hoang-ho (the Yellow River), the province was prosperous and contented." Changyeo died poor, and, as the same authority aptly puts it, "in these two

words lay the secret." He had turned the revenues of his Government to their legitimate ends, and so had incurred the hostility of Peking. The Hoang-ho, appropriately named "China's sorrow," is, in its frequent overflows, especially the scourge of Shan-tung, through which it pursues the last two hundred miles of its erratic course. A serious attempt was made under the direction of Changyeo to provide conservation works to check the destructive inundations, and the money raised for the repair of the embankments was honestly expended, whatever may have been the limitations of the applied engineering skill.

It was not the coming of the foreigner that disturbed the comparatively happy estate of Shan-tung, under a capable and honest Governor. The foreigner, in the person of the missionary, was there already, and the treaty port of Chefoo was then, as now, one of the great marts of foreign trade. It was with the advent of Fujun, the incapable successor of Changyeo, that a change for the worse came over the province. Lawlessness went unpunished, and the foreigner became a permitted object of attack. But the course of events of which the present situation is the immediate sequel, did not begin till Li Ping-heng was appointed Governor in 1894. Li has recently been heard of as the Inspector-General of the Yangtsze provinces, in which capacity he carried the mandate of the Empress Dowager to the Yangtsze Viceroys, calling on them to co-operate with Peking for the expulsion of the foreigners. He has been correctly described as a type of everything bad and objectionable in Chinese officialdom—a conservative of the worst type and a bigoted hater of foreign ideas. His misgovernment of Shan-tung was typical of his class and character. He filled all the posts he could with his own people, showed a fertile ingenuity in extracting money from the people, squandered the taxes raised for the embankments of the Yellow River, and gave the turbulent elements of the province a free rein. Between gross misgovernment and revolution in China, there is always the intermediate step of the formation of secret societies. These sprang up on all sides under the rule of Li, in Shan-tung; and, by way of providing an outlet for their activity, their members were given to understand that the Christians and the foreigners were fair game. There was distress, acute and widespread, in the province, for the Hoang-ho had burst its neglected banks, and the floods brought famine in their train. The baleful influence of the foreigner was

held to be accountable for all this, and the missionaries and their converts suffered accordingly.

For the purpose of this argument, it is not necessary to assume that the teachers of the Christian religion in China have all been men and women with tact as perfect as their faith is pure, nor need it be maintained that the Chinese convert is uniformly impelled to embrace Christianity by entirely unworldly motives. In point of fact, not a few missionaries have not been above promoting conversion by the exercise of what we should call a political pull, and the astute Chinaman has frequently found it to his advantage to feign conversion, that he might have a protector to whom he could appeal when he went to law. In justice to the Protestant missionaries, it must be said that, at most of their stations, almost the first inquiry made of every convert is whether he has a lawsuit at the Yamên; and, if he has, the man is quietly advised to agree with his adversary, as the only sure means for his being received as a candidate for church membership. Among the Roman Catholic missionaries there is no such rule, and the German seizure of Kiao-chou was due to the established practice of managing the legal contests of church members. It was not the two Jesuit priests who were the victims of the murder, for which so high a price was exacted, whose lives were sought; it was the old priest at whose house they stayed for the night, and who had enraged a rich man by conducting the lawsuit of a Roman Catholic against him. But the fact cannot be too clearly kept in mind that, under good government, the people of Shan-tung lived at perfect peace with the Christian missionaries and their converts, and that it was only in a time of the grossest mal-administration that the foreigner was made the scape-goat for the sins of the rulers.

That no doubt might remain in regard to the attitude of the Empress Dowager toward the anti-foreign crusade, she appointed as the successor to Li Ping-Heng, when the latter was removed at the demand of the German Emperor, a Manchu still more ignorant and fanatical than his predecessor. This was Yü Hsien, who, as Governor of Shansi, has figured in the present crisis as one of the leaders of reaction and among the most active promoters of massacre. Even under Li Ping-Heng, isolated foreigners had been usually left alone; but the new Governor almost openly promised indemnity for outrages where only foreigners and Christians were concerned, and the elements of misrule were let loose throughout

the province. Writing to the *North China Daily News,* of Shanghai, at the end of last year, a Chinese official of Taotai rank, residing in Chinanfu, the capital of Shan-tung, gave the following lucid summary of the results of the administration of Governor Yü:

"We are having a general panic caused by the reign of terror now running rampant throughout the province, arising through the depredations and atrocities of bandits upon the villages and towns, where they are murdering and pillaging all who ever had anything to do with foreigners and foreign missionaries. To the question: Where is the Governor, and what is he doing that he allows all this to take place under his eyes? the answer is: So great and deep is the hatred of Governor Yü against everything foreign and against all Chinese who have had anything to do with foreigners that, flinging to the four winds all prudential motives of maintaining peace within his dominion, which should be the true duty of every official, our Governor has, to the astonishment and terror of all law abiding people, actually given open help and encouragement to the bandits and desperadoes of the province, who have joined themselves together under patriotic designations as a cloak to their true aim of pillage and robbery. Put into so many words, the encouragement of the Governor to the ruffians calling themselves 'Patriots and Champions of Peace (Yi-ho-Tuan)', and to those whose original society is the 'Great Sword Association (Ta-Tao-Hui)', really means: 'Go forth and slay, pillage, and exterminate all foreigners and Chinese who are their converts, and I will forgive your sins for having formed associations and societies which are prohibited by Imperial decree and are an abomination to H. I. M. the Empress Dowager.' "

By way of estimating the value of the beautiful decrees published about this time by the Empress Dowager, it should be stated that Shan-tung is one of the provinces which have no Governor-General, and that its Governor is, therefore, the direct representative of his Imperial mistress. Governor Yü had commended himself to her favor by his anti-foreign views; and when, in deference to the determined protests of the foreign ministers, he was recalled, early in December, 1899, he was at once promoted to the higher post of Governor of Shansi. The murder of Mr. Brooks, the English Protestant missionary, occurred after Governor Yü's recall, but it was so directly due to his encouragement of the Boxers that he was rightly held responsible for the crime. He was succeeded by General Yuan Shih-Kai, the commander who was charged by the Emperor in September, 1898, with the duty of surrounding the Palace of the Empress Dowager, and taking her to a place of safety outside the capital. Instead of obeying, General Yuan told Jung Lu, the then mainstay of the Empress Dowager;

and the *coup d'état,* involving the deposition of the Emperor, was the result. This appointment as Governor of Shan-tung was part of General Yuan's reward; and while, possibly, the worst that can be said of him is that he is a constitutional trimmer, it was not in the nature of things that he should take up the cause of the missionaries and their converts against the declared approval by the Empress Dowager of the record of his immediate predecessors.

The instructions of the Tsung-li-Yamen to General Yuan left nothing to be desired on the score of stringency, and he himself declared before leaving Peking that he would put an end to the disorder in Shan-tung within ten days. But these instructions, like the edicts of the Empress Dowager, were intended for foreign consumption only, and writing from Pangchuang, in Northwestern Shan-tung, on December 11th, a correspondent of the *North China Daily News* said: "Up to the very date of the new appointment it was known that no orders corresponding to the Peking instructions had been received at one of the principal cities, and presumptively in no other." Moreover, General Ma, who has figured prominently in recent events, and who was then in command of the Imperial troops in Shan-tung, expressed great displeasure with the conduct of a subordinate officer who had inflicted punishment on some Boxer horsemen. The officer was removed for an achievement displaying such unseasonable vigor, to the great encouragement of the Boxers, who had been temporarily demoralized in that district. The situation when General Yuan arrived at Chinanfu, the capital of Shan-tung, was thus summarized from the reports of numerous observers on the spot:

"The province has been for months the scene of anti-Christian outrages. Hundreds of Christan families have beeen robbed of their all and turned out of house and home and subjected to outrages of all kinds, with no protection from the authorities, though the missionaries have been sending repeated appeals for assistance and warnings of impending great calamity to their nearest consuls, to the capital Chinanfu, and to Peking. For some time the lives and property of the foreigners were spared, but they had to see their converts and adherents insulted and robbed and outraged without redress, to take them as refugees into their compounds, and feed and shelter them as best they could with their own by no means too redundant resources."

The Governor had taken the side of the rioters, and if his subordinates made a half-hearted effort to quell the Boxers it was their troops who were punished for interfering, and officials who tried to do their duty were snubbed or denounced to the throne.

Three weeks after the new Governor took over the seals the result was declared to be one of almost unmixed disappointment. The reports, from missionaries and others, ran after this fashion:

"There has never been a time since the beginning of the movement when there was more blatant talk, bolder threats of what is to be done in the future than at present. * * * * The Taotai whom the Governor sent out much against his will some weeks ago, to 'put down' the Boxers, is still on his rounds, which appear to take on the form of an expedition for the collection of shoes of Sycee (silver)—doubtless for the purpose of helping to pay the expenses of the General Government in putting down Boxers. The first thing for each magistrate to do is to get ready the silver, after which his report that there have never been any Boxers in his district may be presented and audited. * * * * There is no inquiry into the losses of the Christians pillaged, and the people who stole or bought for a trifle the articles from the foreign-owned house testified that the mob broke everything to splinters. In the districts of Chi-li west of us, there is a good deal of military activity, the result being to drive hundreds of bandits over the Shan-tung line, where they are making ready for the great rebellion which all accounts agree is to take place in the spring, beside which all that has gone before is a mere prelude of summer zephyrs before a tornado."

That the representatives of the Powers, if not the Powers themselves, were chargeable with contributory negligence does not admit of question. To every foreigner outside of Peking, the significance of events in the North was only too plainly apparent. Commenting on the reports of its correspondents, the *North China Daily News* said, on February 14th:

"It should be made plain to the apprehension of the high authorities in Peking that the period of fine-sounding phrases is definitely passed, and that henceforth there must be acts to match. We cannot too strongly insist that, unless this is done, it is morally certain that the opening spring will witness a rising such as foreigners in China have never seen before. The whole country from the Yellow River to the Great Wall, and beyond, will be a blaze of insurrection, which will not only annihilate every foreign interest of every sort in the nterior, but will drive every foreigner out of Peking and Tientsin under conditions which it is not difficult to foresee. There has been more or less danger of such an uprising for a long time; unless strong and united efforts are now put forth, it is as certain to take place as any future event can well be. Those who are interested in preventing t will act accordingly."

Those who are chiefly interested did not act, and matters went rom bad to worse. Early in April, it was reported that, though eader after leader of the Boxer and Big Sword movements had een arrested with great difficulty and after long continued press-

ure, the whole proceedings attending their prosecution were of the most perfunctory character, and an evident determination had been shown, in many cases, to establish the fact that the accused had done nothing, whereas his accusers had been in the habit of "persecuting" him and his fellow ruffians. In some cases even, despite the most positive proof of complicity in extensive raids long continued, the guilty persons were not only left at liberty, but rewarded for their patriotic efforts by the gift of a position of rank in the militia, or something similar. Accustomed to duplicity in official dealings, the shrewd Chinaman understood what such things meant, and shaped his conduct accordingly.

Here is the situation as diagnosed in Northwestern Shan-tung, on the 3rd of April last:

> "Large numbers of Boxer leaders have never been interfered with in any way whatever, and never expect to be. They know that the real authorities in Peking are protecting the culprits and have been sure of it all along. It is an open secret that General Yuan received some weeks ago another of those 'Secret Instructions', the paralyzing effects of which are immediately manifest everywhere. This one consists of very few words, but is pregnant with meaning. It acknowledges the receipt of a memorial from Yuan Shih-Kai, to the effect that leaders must be 'seized', but goes on to inquire how the poor people were to know that they had been misled, and affirms that it is necessary to pity them, or else there would be a great deal of trouble. If Yuan should take the responsibility of arresting them and the trouble comes, it will come on himself. 'Respect this.' Of course he does 'respect this', to the complete obstruction of any further proceedings."

No wonder the observer was moved to say: "It is putting the case with studied mildness to say that the Chinese Government is engaged in sowing the wind on a large scale, with the probable result of reaping a wholesale crop of whirlwinds, and that, perhaps, at no distant day."

The day came all too swiftly. At the end of April, there had been no relief from the long drought in Shan-tung, and over millions of people there was creeping the dread of famine. The destruction that had been wrought by floods, year after year, was apparently to be spread over a still larger area by lack of rain. The people had been taught to blame the foreigner; encouraged to wreak on the foreigner and his converts the vengeance which an angry heaven seemed to have visited on them. Nay, more, as a correspondent wrote on the 30th of April, *àpropos* of the continuance of the Boxer uprising: "Like tigers who have tasted human

blood, these men will not return to peaceful callings. They have become trained in the school of crime. The lawless life of the past will cause them to long for a life in which money can be gained without the sweat and toil of months at the spade or wheelbarrow." These companies of bandits were children of the Government's own raising, and it became evident that, in the absence of any honest desire to suppress them, a reign of terror was imminent. The diplomatic corps in Peking was at last compelled to recognize the danger. About the end of the third week in May, a joint note was issued to the Tsung-li-Yamen, calling upon the Chinese Government to take some vigorous measures to suppress the Boxer movement, as otherwise the foreign legations in China would be compelled to summon military guards for their own protection. The Government informed the foreign ministers that the required steps had been taken, and that the Imperial troops had been dispatched with orders to put down the rising at once and for all. Then came information from the South that the railroad near Pao-ting-fu had been attacked by the Boxers and that of the troops dispatched against them seventy had been killed. By the 28th of May, there was evidence of the compact and far-reaching organization of the Boxers, and the destruction of the railway between the capital and Peking began. At this juncture, the foreign legations definitely informed the Tsung-li-Yamen that the time had come to take steps for their own protection, and that they had summoned foreign guards for that purpose. Happily, there was time for the foreign guards to reach Peking, despite the protest of the Chinese Government; for, in a few days more, it became evident that the Boxers were masters of the situation and that the lives of the foreign community in Peking were in peril.

After that came the abortive relief expedition under Admiral Seymour, the murder of the Japanese Secretary of Legation and the German Minister. Then followed the interval of chaos, filled with direful forebodings and horrible inventions to feed the journalistic maw withal. It will be a stirring tale when all is told, but this conclusion does not need to wait on the testimony of those who, day after day, have faced the terrors of death in the compound of the British Legation at Peking. The Chinese terror has been raised, not by missionaries, merchants or railroad builders, but by the ignorance, incapacity and corruption, and chiefly the corruption, of the rulers of China. The appetite of the Palace

for tribute has been that of the two daughters of the horse-leech, continually crying, "Give, give," and government has been one vast system of bribes, "squeezes," and wholesale robbery. Offices, great and small, have been a matter of purchase, and the purchaser has been mainly intent on making the most of his bargain. Official peculation is the curse of China, and the root of all the evils from which it is suffering. Let that be cured or abated, and the people who starve while Palace favorites grow rich can be made to see that the foreigner may be the instrument of their well-being —"the advance agent of prosperity." Of all the punishments that Western civilization can contrive, as a penalty for the misdeeds of the Empress Dowager and her clique of obscurantist advisers, none would be so exquisitely painful or so productive of results in the highest degree beneficial to the world, as to deliver the Government of China into the hands of honest Chinamen.

JOHN FOORD.

WHAT THE CHINESE THINK OF US.

BY STEPHEN BONSAL.

THE Chinese are not a nation, but a family. Paternalism, pure and simple, is their form of government. "All who dwell within the four seas are brethren." The Emperor is the Son of Heaven and the Father of the State, as the Empress is the Mother. The Emperor, apprised of all that is going on by his officials, the "eyes and the hands of the throne," administers from time to time to his children such correction as their conduct may call for. The Empress cultivates silk-worms and spins silk, thus inculcating officially on her daughters the domestic virtues. Theoretically, at least, the Emperor must recruit his "eyes and hands" from those of his children who have been successful in the Civil Service examinations. Before the examiners, in theory, the son of the poor farmer has as good a chance as the son of an iron-capped duke, and undoubtedly the highest official career is open to the poorest aspirant; indeed, many of the most influential men in China today have sprung from the most humble origin. In China, no man is omnipotent, no man above criticism. There is a branch of civil servants, the Censorate, whose duty it is to go round and keep an eye upon the officials. The most powerful must bow before the decrees of the Board of Censors, who do not respect even the Son of Heaven. When his sins of omission and commission have been made clear to him by this Argus-eyed Board, the Emperor, on more than one occasion, to satisfy his own conscience or the murmurings of his people, clothed in the white garb of a penitent, has on the lofty altar of the Temple of Heaven expiated his sins, in plain view of his children and before the Powers of the air and the heavens.

The four hundred millions of China have only four hundred family names among them. It is as though, in the United States,

there were only seventy family surnames—a million Browns, a million Smiths, and so on. The fact that there is thought to be a close blood relationship between each of the million Lis, is shown by the fact that they cannot intermarry. The million Lis may marry with the Skis, but not with one another; so that the myriads of China are all one family, with but four hundred branches. Each Viceroy is independent of interference from the Imperial Government except for grave cause, and yet every coolie knows the ways and the means by which his appeal from the decision of the local Yamen can travel through all the intermediary stages, until it finally reaches the Emperor himself. And again, theoretically, this can be done without the outlay of a single cent. The law of the land is simply a codification of the edicts which have been issued at various times by the reigning Emperors. They have been studied by such eminent Western legists as Sir George Stanton, and pronounced to be humane and admirable in many ways.

If we Westerners could only get over the idea that China did not exist until we discovered her, about 1840, a great deal of progress would be made toward a better understanding of her, and a *modus vivendi* might be reached under which our traders, our missionaries, and even our public ministers would not require to live in constant fear of their lives, and at times to take refuge under the guns of our war vessels. Of course, Westerners have been to China, and travellers have written wondrous tales of this strange people since the days of Herodotus. The Nestorian Christians from Constantinople, in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era, visited Southern China in great numbers; and, at first, in fact for several generations, their propaganda met with astonishing success, and hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of Chinese were converted. Gradually, the friendly attitude of the officials changed; and, finally, missionaries and converts alike were put to death. The accessible information upon this period of Chinese history is very vague and unsatisfactory; but there is reason to believe that the massacres would never have been ordered had not the Nestorians begun to entertain political aspirations. The massacres were probably ordered for the same reasons which induced Taiko Sama, ten centuries later, to put all the Christians in Japan to death. It was recognized that the teachers from the West taught, not only a philosophy with which no one was inclined

to quarrel, but a political system which, if generally accepted, would undermine the time-honored institutions of the country.

All this, however, had been forgotten when Marco Polo and the Venetians came to China, and they were exceedingly well received. Father Ricci and the Jesuits of the seventeenth century were entertained at court; and, when Father Ricci died, a monument was erected to him in the streets of Peking, and the epitaph which the Emperor of that day wrote in honor of his friend from the West declared that Ricci was a great and good man, who, in his life, honored all the precepts of a pure morality. For many centuries, the Mohammedans of China have been permitted to worship God according to their own creed. In Peking, their mosque stands upon the edge, if not within the very precincts, of the Purple Forbidden City. The ministers of the Yamen and the highest dignitaries of the Empire pass by that mosque every day; in it, the hoarse prayers of the followers of Mahomet are never hushed; and yet no man can say with truth that, throughout all the centuries, a stone has been thrown at that building or any disrespect, much less violence, shown to those who worship there. In another quarter of Peking, there is a Christian church and a Christian mission which has never been molested in any of the anti-Christian outbreaks. It belongs to the Greek church and has a curious history. Several hundred years ago, in a campaign along the Amur, thousands of Russian soldiers and Siberian colonists were captured and brought to Peking. The Tzar of that day secured permission from the Emperor to send a mission to them, a band of priests charged with the care of the souls of their fellow-countrymen in exile. The descendants of these captives are, for the most part, orthodox Christians to-day. When in Peking last, I saw the head of the mission, and he told me that he and his predecessors had always been protected by the Imperial Government.

The question, then, is inevitable: Why should the Chinese be liberal toward Mohammedans and Eastern Christians, and so fanatical in their persecution of the Christians from the West? To my mind, there are two answers to this question. The Western Christians have never been so fortunate as to convince the Chinese of their complete innocence of political designs. Ninety-nine out of every hundred certainly have been so innocent, and the history of Christianity can show no prouder page than that

which is written in the blood of our martyrs in China; but it has always been the hundredth man, whether he was a Frenchman, or an Englishman, or a German, who, by his activity in a narrow, national sense, aroused the slumbering suspicions of the Chinese.

The second reason is the distorted idea which the Chinese have received of the teachings of Christianity. I have often, in China and abroad, asked Chinese of different classes why they will not listen to the wise men from the West. "There is not an ounce of narrow-mindedness," I have ventured to say, "in the philosophy of Confucius, and you admit that you have greatly profited by the teachings of the Brahmans and of the Mendicants of the yellow robe. Then, why not give a hearing to the teachers from the West? It may, for all you know, be good talk."

The Chinese have a way of ignoring questions such as these and directing the conversation into other channels, but a dozen times at least I have had my inquiry answered, and invariably as follows:

"When the wise men of the West came to China we made them heartily welcome, and we listened to what they had to say. We followed them with difficulty because all their thought seemed to be occupied by what is going to happen beyond the grave, and we are convinced, with our sage Confucius, that, since we know so little of life, we cannot hope to know anything of death and what is beyond. But we listened to them patiently; no one can deny that. And, as we listened, we heard your wise men denounce our sages and our teachers, in fact all our ancestors, as false teachers, who, they said, had been consigned after death to the place of lost and wailing spirits, in punishment for their unworthiness. We did not like this. We do not think any people would. Not even the Western people, who do not seem to revere their ancestors as religiously as we do ours in China. But we left them alone. Then they followed us, and found us burning incense before our ancestral tablets, and they mocked us. 'The people you worship and bow down to,' they said, 'are at the bottom of a great pit, and are suffering eternal torture because they paid no heed to the words which they never heard.' Many of us laughed at this—it all seemed so absurd—but some of our younger and more hot-headed men abused your teachers; and sometimes, when they persisted in heaping insults upon our ancestors, we told them to be gone, that we could not tolerate them longer upon the sacred soil they came to desecrate. They said they would not go, and that their Governments would protect them in their work of defaming our ancestors. We thought they were liars and the fathers of liars, but we learned that they spoke the truth. Their Governments did protect them, and coerced our Government into protecting them also. Every now and then, however, one of them is killed. His life is paid for in gold, and the man who killed him in defence of the good name of his

people is executed. Do you wonder that we do not care to listen to the teachers from the West?"

I do not wonder, and I have been frequently surprised at the immunity from molestation which the missionaries generally enjoy. The great salient factor of Western Christianity which impresses itself upon the Chinese mind is that we insult the memory of their forefathers and call upon them to do the same. Occasionally, a missionary is killed. He may have fed the starving and healed the sick, but, as a rule, the only phase of his activity which the Chinese understand is that he reviles those whom the Chinese bow down before and worship. People may be driven into the fold by the sword, as they were in the darker ages, and people may be drawn there by argument and the beauty of the philosophy revealed; but no people were ever converted by heaping insults upon their heads and reviling the memory of their ancestors. Of course, there are hundreds of missionaries in China who avoid the question of ancestral worship altogether, because it is very difficult to explain to the Chinese mind why Christians disapprove of it, and in how far they disapprove; but, again, it is the indiscretion, to use a mild word, of the hundredth man that blocks the way, and causes the Chinese to turn a deaf ear to the words of conciliation.

If there is to be peaceful intercourse between us, it is not sufficient to treat the Chinese honestly and honorably; we must impress upon them the fact that we are actuated by lofty motives. I should not like to be compelled to answer whether in the past we have always complied with the first condition, but there is no possibility of doubt that we have failed to fulfill the second. The Chinese are convinced that the Western powers are bandits, held together by the lust of plunder which is common to them all. Many Americans, and not a few who have come into close official contact with the Chinese, are inclined to think that the Chinese divide the Western powers into two classes—one composed of the predatory wolves, Russia, Great Britain, Germany and France; and the other of the mild and gentle United States of America. I do not think this opinion has any foundation in fact, and later on I shall state the reasons for my disbelief.

It would be of immense value, I think, to secure from the Chinese a statement of their grievances. This has never been done; probably it never can be done. I shall only attempt to approximate it. The few Chinamen who can make a coherent state-

ment in English are not Chinese at all; they are Shanghai and Hong Kong Englishmen, who, in acquiring a Western education, have entirely lost the Chinese point of view. There are a few Westerners who have lived all their lives in China, and have, in a very great measure, penetrated the inmost thoughts of the Chinese; but—at least this is my experience—they have invariably lost the power to make a statement which can be understood by the Western mind, and they have lost the Western point of view.

Certainly in America, China, until well on in this present century, was regarded as the Ultima Thule, and not as our great neighbor across the Pacific. This was natural enough, because, instead of following the trail of empire westward to the East, we continued to travel to Asia by the way of Europe and Africa. But, in the early decades of this century, there began to take place changes in our methods of transportation, both by sea and land, which will one day be recognized by our historians as inaugurating the greatest revolution which the world has ever seen. This change in the conditions of travel has been the primary cause of most of the wars and foreign conflicts that mark the story of the century. Suddenly the world, that had been so vast, grew wonderfully small; and, with continents gridironed by railways and full-powered steamers penetrating the farthest seas, the most antagonistic civilization and the hermit nations of the East were brought, very much against their wills, into contact with the enterprise of the West. And the Chinese awoke to find themselves in the very midst of a new world they did not understand.

From time immemorial, the only immediate contact of China with the West was through the traders who resorted to Canton for the purpose of barter. Through Canton, the products of China reached Europe in small quantities many centuries ago; but it is not my purpose to go farther back than the foundation of the Portuguese factory in Macoa and of the depots of the British East India Company along the Canton River. Commercial relations were maintained for many generations, and they were immensely profitable both to the European factors and to the hong merchants of Canton. The footing upon which the Western merchants were admitted to commercial relations with the Chinese was a most humiliating one. In those days, there was not an open door, and our traders did not presume to ask for one. There was only a hole in the Canton wall, through which the slender stream

of commerce trickled. To this hole in the wall, the Western traders approached very humbly, and through it they passed their goods and received their ounces of silver or the equivalent in silks. But, thirsty for gold, the Western trader swallowed the insults and the humiliations; or rather he paid himself for them by swindling the Eastern merchants, who had not the remotest idea of the value of their products on the Western markets. For one hundred years, the Japanese exchanged goods with the Dutch on a basis of one ounce of gold for four of silver. They were naturally angry when they discovered how they had been over-reached. Such privileges as the Western traders on the Canton River enjoyed in 1820 were not under the sanction of the Imperial Government. It was a provincial arrangement entirely. Generally, the hong merchants were able to corrupt the Viceroy of the day, and so the illicit trade went on. As Canton became more accessible, the appearance in those waters of foreign merchant vessels more frequent, and the hong merchants more wealthy and consequently more powerful, the Cantonese authorities were induced to enter into an agreement with the foreign traders to protect and regulate the trade. It was in this way that the West gained its first foothold in China. There is no reason to believe that the agreement was made with the sanction of the Imperial Government in Peking, and there is much reason for supposing that the first knowledge which the Imperial Government received of it was through the popular outbreaks occasioned by the dissatisfaction at the spread of the use of Indian opium, which had become the principal commodity sold by the Western factors, and by the scarcity of silver, of which the foreign merchants had well nigh drained the country.

To make clear the action of China under these circumstances, it is necessary to take a bird's-eye view of that Eastern world in which China ruled supreme, and which was as far away from contact with and understanding of our civilization as though its seat had been upon the planet Mars. The Middle Kingdom, the eighteen provinces between the four seas, constituted, in the eyes of the Chinese, the civilized world. They knew of the existence of other countries and other peoples, but these countries were wild jungles or waste places, the people savage, and it was the part of wisdom for the Children of Heaven to have just as little to do with them as possible. The great civilizing force that emanated

from China, however, could not fail to have some effect upon the outside Barbarians, and these latter gradually, in the Chinese mind, fell into two classes—those who were receptive, and those who were not receptive, of the softening influences of Chinese civilization and culture. The countries occupied by the receptive Barbarians soon became satellites to the Chinese planet. Whatever knowledge they had came from Peking and was gratefully received. At the time of which we are speaking, Chinese law and Chinese civilization not only was accepted by the people of China proper, aggregating, as they do, at least one-quarter of the human family, but by Korea on the northwest, the island kingdoms of Liu Chu in the China Sea, Siam, Burmah and Cochin-China on the south, Tibet and Nepaul on the southwest, Kashgar and Samarkand on the west, and the Mongolian tribes on the north. The relations which existed between China and her satellites are easy to understand, but difficult to define. China was not, in any sense, a suzerain power, nor were the satellites tributary states in the meaning which these words have with us. Mr. Holcombe, for many years acting minister of the United States in Peking, defines the relation as that between an elder brother and younger brothers. Certainly, no tribute was ever exacted, nor was any paid. Presents were exchanged at the New Year and upon the accession of a new sovereign, and congratulatory scrolls at other seasons; but China always gave more than she received; and there is abundant evidence to show that her protection of her lesser neighbors was absolutely unselfish. Japan was the one disturbing element in this otherwise serene world, and even Japan did not ruffle the equanimity of the Chinese as much as she has in later days. So far as we know, she never invaded China proper. Korea was the field of battle, and ultimately Japan was always worsted.

It was into this happy community of fraternal nations that we plunged in 1840, with the awkward grace of the proverbial bull in the china-shop. Naturally, there was a great smashing of crockery. In Canton, there arose troubles and disturbances such as are natural when the traders of antagonistic civilizations, each animated by a desire to swindle the other, come together; and, finally, the Imperial authorities in Peking sent a commissioner to the port to break off all intercourse with the outsiders, not only because the principal commodity received from them was opium,

but because China regarded the growing trade as an inevitable source of trouble in the near future. One must remember that, by the way of Nepaul and Tibet, news had reached the Peking court of what was transpiring in India. It was known how the humble, little trading post on the Island of Bombay had, in a hundred years, at the expense of the Empire of the Great Mogul, grown into British Hindustan. The Imperial Commissioner acted, doubtless, quite in accordance with his instructions, and he was surprised when the British Government took exception to the course which he pursued. He seized the ships that were waiting to discharge their cargoes, and all the goods of foreigners on sale, and dumped them into the river. Great Britain acted, as she always does, promptly. Her course has been universally denounced, and, as is usually the case, most unsparingly by her own people, yet it is difficult to see how she could have acted otherwise. The question was not whether the property destroyed consisted principally of catties of opium or cases of Bibles; it was whether the Chinese had any right to destroy the property at all. From the Western point of view they certainly had not. The right of the trader to come to Canton had been guaranteed by the Cantonese authorities; and, resting upon these agreements, the Government of Great Britain demanded that an indemnity be paid for the property destroyed. Such a demand had never been made upon the Government of China before. They had had commercial treaties, notably with Siam and Burmah, and they had broken them or denounced them whenever they chose to do so, and Siam and Burmah had never presumed to impugn the high considerations that had induced the Middle Kingdom to take the step. Impressed with the fact that they were acting for the best interests of all concerned and abolishing an abuse which, if tolerated, would lead to serious trouble, China acted as she would have done toward Siam or Burmah; and, when called to account, the Peking Government was not at a loss to defend the action of their commissioner, on the ground that reasons of state and of high morality required him to take the course he did. In the war that ensued, China cut a poor figure. Nanking was besieged, and the Chinese were forced into a treaty by which they formally recognized the rights of the traders, gave England the island of Hong Kong as a depot, and paid, for the property that had been destroyed and as a war indemnity, twenty-one million dollars.

The war of 1860 between the Western Powers and China was the natural sequence of the Opium War. It is quite unnecessary to examine into the immediate, determining causes. In 1842, the Western traders secured a piece of the Chinese pork. It did not satisfy, but only served to whet, their appetites. A year after the treaty of Nanking was signed, the negotiators of the treaty, who thought they had drawn up a clever paper, were openly ridiculed for their pains. At first, Hong Kong did not prosper, and its selection as a commercial depot came to be regarded as a mistake; and then, of course, the single open port of Canton, hampered by innumerable restrictions, was totally inadequate for the trade of the West. "We must have more treaty-ports; we must have substantial concessions, settlements where our people can live under their own flags and be amenable only to their own laws." So the feeling grew from 1842 to 1860. For one man who made a fortune in the China trade, a hundred hungry and unfortunate beggars came out to take his place. There were notable and noble exceptions, whose memory is still fragrant with the Chinese; but it is undeniable that the great majority of these quick fortune-hunters did not allow their efforts to be hampered by any code of morality whatsoever, be it Christian, Confucian, or merely Commercial. The experience of eighteen years of intercourse with the outsiders had only strengthened the Chinese in their original belief, that it would be better for them and for China to have nothing to do with the Barbarians. The Chinese set to work with all their might to stem the irresistible course of events. They opposed the expansion of the Western trade and the opening of new markets, with the result that there ensued another disastrous war, which ended only with the Western Powers in possession of Peking, the Chinese Emperor in flight, his Summer Palace in flames and his artistic collections on their way to fill the museums of Europe and the galleries of private collectors. Then came the treaty, and the two points which the Chinese, though suppliant for peace, most stubbornly contested were the demands of the Western Powers that their ambassadors should be admitted to permanent residence in the capital, and that more treaty-ports be opened to their traders.

To the first demand, the Chinese statesmen protested that they had not the power to protect the life and property of foreigners in Peking, because public opinion was so prejudiced against them.

"You must protect them," replied the Western negotiators; "if a hair of their heads is harmed the lives of your Emperor and your Princes become forfeit." Against more treaty ports and the navigation of the inland waters of China by white traders, for whose advantage it was expressly stipulated that they were not to be considered amenable to Chinese law, the Chinese again protested most vigorously. They said in effect:

"We were of the opinion, when you first came out here, that it was unwise to enter upon closer relations with you. But your leaders were of a different way of thinking, and we allowed ourselves to be convinced, and at your solicitation we consented to the experiment. Now, see the result. For eighteen years we have been constantly embroiled; and now another disastrous war has been fought in which many good men on both sides have lost their lives. This is not the first time that strangers have come to China; but it is the first time that men of your honorable races have come, and now, after twenty years of contact, we have come to the conclusion that we have nothing in common. We do not speak the same language, we worship not the same gods; the color of our skin is different, and our codes of morality are widely opposed. The closer intercourse between us has only brought with it more frequent misunderstandings. The white man never enters upon honorable wedlock with the yellow woman, and the yellow man is not admitted to the society of white women, even of the most humble category. Our point of contact in Canton has occasioned two wars, and we are never at peace. What result can we expect from the opening of more sea ports and the inland rivers other than constant strife? Therefore, we pray you to depart, and we wish you all success and happiness in that part of the world in which you were born."

Might prevailed, of course. The ports and the rivers were opened, and the representatives of the foreign Powers were installed in Peking by force of arms, and by force of arms they have been maintained there ever since. The Chinese line of argument received no attention whatsoever, except from the comic papers of the West. Of course, those authorized to negotiate the treaty endeavored to answer the Chinese arguments, but Sir Harry Parkes, one of the negotiators, confessed that he found it very difficult to do so, because they were so childish and because of the laughter they provoked in the breasts of the Western men present. However, with as serious countenances as they could muster, the envoys of the Powers assured the Chinese that white men and yellow, black men and red, were all one family, all children of God; that the traders from the West did not come to China because they wanted to, but under the compulsion of poverty, to get money with which to feed their wives and children; and they expressed

some surprise that men who did honor to the Confucian morality should try and take the bread and butter from the mouths of their white brothers.

Soon the Chinese, who also had wives and children to support, hearing of the money that was to be made in the Western countries, went in considerable numbers to the United States and to Australia, following the same inducements that had brought the Western traders to China. When, for the very same reasons as affected the Western traders in China, their presence became the cause of strife and constant trouble, they were excluded by acts of Parliament and of Congress from entering the Western countries. When the Chinese Government called upon the State Department for an explanation of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Department replied that the people of the United States had been compelled to discriminate against the Chinese because of a certain "immiscibility" of race that distinguished them. The State Department coined a new word; but the fundamental idea was the same as that which the Chinese advanced in 1842 and 1860, when they were laughed at for the childishness and utter absurdity of their position. The legality of the anti-Chinese legislation being contested, the question was taken to the highest courts, and in 1893 the position of the Chinese negotiator in 1860, Prince Kung, as well as that of our Congressmen in 1882, was pronounced by the Supreme Court of the United States to be based upon the requirements of morality and in accord with the precedents of public law.

The Chinese did not waste any time or fireworks in celebrating their moral victory. They knew it would prove merely academic in its consequences, or rather in its lack of consequences. They felt no safer because the State Department and the Supreme Court upheld their position of 1860. In the course of the intervening years they had become convinced that the white man of the West, as well as the yellow man of the East who accepted his civilization, had but one guiding star of conduct, and that was neither Eastern nor Western morality, but his keen appreciation of what was best for his own immediate material advantage. They recognized that the day when an international dispute could be settled by reference to the Analects of Confucius was over, and they did not try to reinforce their position with apposite citations from the writings of their sages, or by specious promises from the intruders. They bowed to the inevitable and bought quick-firing guns.

The facts which forced the Chinese to the foregoing conclusion, so uncomplimentary to our civilization, are not far to seek, though they are not made unduly prominent by Western writers and are rarely mentioned by the Chinese themselves. Until the steal of Shan-tung by Germany, the Chinese regarded the French as the most utterly perverse of the outside barbarians. At first they, too, had come to the hole in the Canton wall—China's sorrow, as her statesmen think, through which has come more harm to the children of Han than by all the floods of the Yellow River. They only wanted to trade, they protested; yet, despite their promises and assertions, out of the Chinese world, in one short cycle of Cathay, the French have carved their Indo-China empire, comprised of Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam, Tonking and half of Siam. The deposed or imprisoned kings of these countries, while they no longer send handsome New Year's presents to Peking (they are too poor), have, there is no doubt, given their cousins of the Manchu dynasty full accounts of their experiences. Samarcand has become a Russian province; Burmah and Ava British. Germany has seized Shan-tung, a province right out of the heart of the sacred soil of China proper, and the Chinese ministers abroad have submitted maps to the Emperor and the Privy Council on which the Empire is divided up and distributed among the predatory Powers.

The reasons which the Western Powers who have participated in this spoliation of China adduce, not in defence of their conduct —for they hold it requires none—but in explanation of it, do not appeal to the Chinese mind. The Western Powers maintain that they were compelled to interfere in the internal affairs of China to preserve law and order; to which the Chinese reply that law and order had reigned for hundreds of years, and was only disturbed by the coming of the barbarians. The Chinese still hold that nations, like individuals, have a perfect right to choose their associates in business or in pleasure. When they declined to trade with us, they think we should have immediately withdrawn from their world, perhaps protesting as we did so, to save our "face," that we did not care to trade with them. And so there would have been an end of the matter.

In spite of some evidence to the contrary, the Chinese maintain that their expansion south of the Yangtze was the result of accretion and not of conquest or colonization. There are to be

found, however, many instances in the history of China which show that her statesmen have appreciated what might be called the exigencies of *noblesse oblige,* and that they have recognized the duty of the paramount power to maintain law and order in the adjacent countries as well as within her own boundaries. The most notable illustration of the fact that the Chinese do not hold with our anti-imperialists that the Dyaks of Borneo have an inalienable right to pursue head-hunting, and the Bolo-men of Luzon to run amuck, is to be found in their intervention in Formosa for the suppression of piracy about 1650. It was a disagreeable task, this policing of Formosan ports and waters. In two hundred and fifty years her Formosan sovereignty cost China millions, and many thousands of men, but she never contemplated a policy of national convenience and "scuttle," though she was undoubtedly only too glad to relinquish her task to the more vigorous hands of Japan in 1895. In a word, then, what China objects to is not the police work which the English are doing in the Malay Peninsula and Borneo, the United States in the Philippines and the Dutch in Java and Sumatra, but that criterion of civilization formulated by the German Emperor which places them on the same level as the man-hunting Malays.

When we look upon the attack upon our Legations in Peking and the subsequent siege to which our representatives and their families have been subjected as an isolated fact, it seems to be the most outrageous proceeding that modern history has had to record. I am conscious of having said, when the first news of the indiscriminate slaughter of our people reached us, the people whose bread I had broken, whose hospitality I had enjoyed, to many of whom I was bound by the ties of close friendship, that China had placed herself outside the pale of civilization. I would not say so now, and the fact that the slaughter has been less than was announced has nothing to do with my change of opinion. It is due to an impartial examination of the essential facts in the history of our intercourse with China for the last sixty years. In doing as they have done, in turning their guns not only upon the foreign ministers but upon Sir Robert Hart, the man who for thirty years has been their best friend and most honorable counsellor, the Chinese have committed an act of egregious folly; yet I am convinced that, should he escape their bullets and survive, Sir Robert Hart will say that they succumbed to a provocation which might

well have disturbed the equilibrium of a race under better self-control.

The Chinese have recognized how sacred is the person of a public minister from time immemorial, and very rarely has a properly accredited envoy been molested within their borders; but they draw a distinction between ministers who are forced upon them and those they are willing to receive. The representatives of the Western Powers in Peking belong to the former category. The Chinese have never withdrawn their protest against the presence of these ministers in the capital of the Empire; it has only been drowned in musketry fire. "We cannot protect your envoys," they said. "The people of Peking will not accept your representatives as envoys of peace, and they will not treat them with honor and respect, as they do the envoys from Korea and Nepaul, because they regard them as heralds of war and military spies, whose duty it is to inform their governments when the opportune moment has come for a campaign of spoliation." They have asked, time and again, that the Legations might at least be removed to a seaport, and they have pointed to the example of Morocco, where the foreign missions remain at Tangier and only go up to the capital every three or four years.

If the attack upon the foreign ministers had been made by the Boxers alone, the Chinese, in view of their protest and confession of weakness which is on file in every Foreign Office of the Western world, would have considered themselves, morally at least, in no wise responsible for the consequences. They knew, of course, that the Powers would hold them responsible, and they probably endeavored to protect the Legations until the Throne was in danger. Then, charity beginning at home, with the Chinese as with other people, they stepped aside; or perhaps, under the pressure of circumstances, the Imperial authorities even took an active part in the attacks and the siege.

Of course, I have no means of knowing what the Chinese think of us in the light of these more recent events. Their point of view has not been even touched upon in the numerous and exhaustive cablegrams and letters which have reached us since the situation became acute, though the Tsung-li-Yamen have made it very plain that the attacks which "bandits and robbers" made upon the Legations were subsequent to the bombardment and capture of the Taku forts by the Powers, and in consequence of that ill-advised

step. Following out the line of thought which I have pursued in the preceding pages, it is, however, not difficult to make a picture of the events in Peking somewhat as Chinese eyes see them.

A strange secret society was spreading over the northern provinces—always the prelude of revolution in China. It was in this way the Taiping rebellion began in 1850. The object of its propaganda no one outside the society seems to have known very clearly. The Imperial Clan thought it was directed against the Manchu dynasty; the missionaries against the Christian work; the traders said it was a menace to trade. At all events, Mr. Conger, in his dispatch which left Peking only a few days before the Legations were besieged, said he was satisfied that the Government was at last alive to the danger of the situation, and doing what it could to stay the spread of the organization. Chinese methods are very strange in our sight, and it is quite conceivable that the Government appeared to favor the Boxers while planning their overthrow; certain it is, however, that Mr. Conger, after a long audience with the ministers of the Tsung-li-Yamen, took an optimistic view of the situation, and in his last dispatch to the State Department put on paper his opinion that the worst was over. A few days later, and before the Chinese Government had committed any overt act to which we could take exception, at a moment when, so far as we know, nothing had happened to change Mr. Conger's opinion that the Government was doing what it could to save the situation, the foreign naval commanders, in council off the mouth of the Pei Ho River, sent an ultimatum to the Chinese commander at Taku, demanding the evacuation of the forts that had been confided to his keeping; and, while his troops were to march out unmolested, his cannon and his munitions of war were to be left in the hands of the Powers. At this time, both telegraphic and railroad communication with Peking, a hundred miles away, had been destroyed by the rioters, and the last news which had come through was a rumor, since unhappily verified, that the German minister had been assassinated on his way from the Legation to the Foreign Office. The Western naval commanders seem to have acted in hot blood and on the spur of the moment. All their thought was of the unfortunate Ketteler, and not of his widow and the thousand and odd almost defenceless men, women and children who were shut up in the city, where the power to protect them was manifestly so weak.

It is absolutely necessary to an understanding of what followed to bear in mind the true sequence of events. An examination of the inflammatory articles in Western papers, without distinction as to nationality, would lead one to suppose that the bombardment was an answer to the unprovoked assault upon the Legations. The official information that has reached us shows quite the contrary to have been the case. The report of the murder of Baron von Ketteler reached Tientsin on June 16th. The naval commanders of the Western Powers ordered the bombardment of the Taku forts on June 17th. On the same day, news reached Tientsin that the German marines, on learning of Von Ketteler's death, attacked and burnt down the Chinese Foreign Office, a pretty high-handed proceeding under any provocation, certainly an act not calculated to convince the Chinese that we always conform to the requirements of public law. The information which has reached us from many sources is identical upon one point. The first attack upon the British Legation was made on June 19th, two days after the bombardment of Taku and the burning of the Chinese Foreign Office by the German marines.

It is pleasant to be able to record here that the American admiral refused to concur in the action of his colleagues, and stated that he thought their ultimatum not only without justification in public law, but suicidal in policy. The sequel has shown how right he was. There is nothing in the recent history of the American navy of which we have more reason to be proud than the wise and discreet behavior of Admiral Kempff.

The Chinese commander very properly replied to the ultimatum, that he would not give up the forts except upon the order of his Government, and that it was not possible for him to obtain instructions from Peking within the time allowed. When the foreign ships moved into position to carry out their threat to bombard, he opened fire first. It was his right to do so, and it was good fighting tactics, too. In a few hours, the forts were reduced to ruins, and such of the garrison as escaped the bombardment were cut down by the landing parties. Few of the Taku soldiers reached Peking; but those who did had a tale of horror to tell, even if they confined themselves to a strict recital of the truth, which, under the circumstances, it is allowable to doubt.

The news that a couple of thousand Chinese had been blown to pieces, and an Imperial fortress destroyed, reached Peking at a

moment when an announcement of a less startling character would have sufficed to destroy the balance of power between the Government and the revolutionists. It is conceivable that the people of Peking, without distinction of party or of class, experienced, at this moment, the same feelings of horror and indignation which found expression in every capital and in every hamlet of Christendom when the news came that our people had been massacred in Peking. They thought of nothing but revenge, and they threw themselves upon our Legations like wolves. It is very probable that the Government did nothing to help the besieged, and that their salvation up to the present is due entirely to the stout hearts of the men who manned the fragile walls behind which, for weeks, gentle women have cowered, a prey to fears more horrible than death. But, if the conduct of the Chinese was in flagrant violation of international law, it must also be remembered that their provocation was great, and that the first act of savagery, for as yet we know none of the details of the murder of Baron von Ketteler, came from our side. It is more than probable that Baron von Ketteler was killed by some native of Shan-tung, who saw in him only the representative of the people who had stolen his home and hoisted a foreign flag over it. It is also possible that the murder was a personal matter. Some years ago, the Secretary of the United States Legation in Tokyo was assassinated as he was returning from the Japanese Foreign Office. It turned out that there had been some serious personal differences between Mr. Heusken and a Japanese, and that the latter had taken this way, not entirely unknown in some parts of America, of settling the dispute once for all. The Japanese Government appreciated the gravity of the situation, and the question was soon settled in a manner which did credit to all concerned; but, of course, we had not in the meantime complicated matters by bombarding Yokohama or Nagasaki. While this may have been the fate of Baron von Ketteler, for all we know to the contrary, it is more than probable that in ordering the occupation of Shan-tung, without any excuse or justification except that he had the power to maintain his position there, the German Emperor signed the death-warrant of his talented minister, who, incidentally it should be said, had no hand in the Shan-tung deal whatever.

We have come to the parting of the ways in our relations with China. A moment of thoughtlessness or of indecision, and we

may be involved in a war which would tax the resources of Christendom. The event is not entirely in our hands, and there is the danger. The President made our position very clear before sending troops to China, and in doing so he has not pleased the predatory Powers. He has sent troops to protect our envoy and our citizens, to enforce our treaty rights, and not to carve up China. The Chinese, however, are not given to subtle distinctions in foreign affairs, and they see no difference between those who interfere with them for trade advantages or for territorial concessions. Indeed, they rather think the apparent division of the Powers on matters of policy is part of their game. If the expedition to the relief of the Peking Legations should fail—which is quite possible—we would probably not have the option of making peace or war with China. China would make war upon us, and we would have to accept the gage of battle whether we wanted to or not.

If the Western Powers determine upon the conquest of China, if they decide that the peace of the world demands that the Chinese civilization shall be crushed or converted, as that of the murderous Malays has been, for instance, we cannot stop them, though, unhappily, the United States will inevitably become involved in the consequences of such a step.

This being the case, we have an undoubted right to insist that the predatory Powers count the cost of their war of spoliation and weigh carefully the consequences of defeat and failure, as they will affect our own interests as well as theirs.

China has often been conquered, but the Chinese have never been vanquished. They have never failed to assimilate their conquerors in the course of a few succeeding generations. The Golden Horde of Kublai Khan, the Mongols and the Manchus have all become Chinese, and their conquest of China was not a matter of two or three campaigns, but the result of wars which lasted hundreds of years.

Their acquaintance with us has taught the Chinese the advantage of unity; and it may be said that, *vis-a-vis* to the foreign devils, all who dwell in the eighteen provinces between the four seas are brothers. Once the Powers begin their career of conquest, they cannot draw back, for reasons of policy, if for no other. In this war, we know already, there is to be no repetition of the military promenade of the Anglo-French forces to Peking in 1860. Then we captured the capital of China, and no more attention was

paid to the expedition by the vast majority of the Chinese than a sleeping man pays to a fly walking over his face. The conditions are very different now. The Chinese have learned their lesson. The Chinese do not intend to submit any longer to the international bullies, and they have lost all the provinces they mean to lose, by trickery at least. The most surprising of the recent events is the way in which the Chinese have entered upon an offensive campaign in the north. They have crossed the Amoor and have captured Russian towns, and, for a time at least, cut off all communication between Eastern Siberia on one side and Trans-Baikalia on the other.

It is not only that all the improvements of modern warfare favor the combatant holding the inside line. It is a fact that the defensive position of the Chinese is much stronger than it was in 1860. The defeat, almost a disaster, which overtook Admiral Seymour's column may be but the prelude to still more costly experiences. Since 1860, the Chinese have built a telegraph system which practically reaches all the provinces. It is worked and controlled entirely by Chinese. To supplement it, there is a very perfect courier system under the War Department, by means of which Imperial orders are carried through the country at the rate of two hundred miles a day. The Chinese have arsenals and forges, at which, without foreign assistance or supervision, they can, and do, make very serviceable rifles, and turn out many tons of ammunition a day. They could, I believe, continue to produce these munitions of war indefinitely, even if all Christendom were leagued against them. Bitter experience teaches us that it is hard to combine all the Christian traders against the barbarian, as long as he has money and is willing to pay. The military problems to be solved in an invasion of China cannot be overrated. The fall of Peking would have no effect on the war, once the Chinese are satisfied that this time the Western Powers mean to hold the land they conquer. There are in China a dozen cities in which the Imperial Government could be established without an appreciable loss of prestige. The war, if fought to a finish, would carry the armies of the Western Powers into central China, and there the difficulties of transportation and of sustenance would prove well nigh insuperable. The most striking illustration of our want of preparation for the campaign of conquest into which the European Powers are drifting, and from which we will suffer, whether we

participate in it or not, is furnished by the apostle of the crusade, the Emperor William himself. Two months after calling the Powers together to a holy war, and announcing that China must be subdued and all the Chinese slaughtered to make room for Western culture, he lands three hundred men in Tientsin to make good his word and to help to do the work. Three hundred men are not a drop in the bucket. Three hundred men could not maintain law and order in one ward of Tientsin, once the Chinese are satisfied we have come to stay. Further, the Tientsin reports tell us that the German contingent, hardly more than a corporal's guard as it is, has arrived without suitable equipment. It may, however, be true, as the Berlin correspondents announce, that the Emperor, always thoughtful and considerate, has sent out by the German mail three hundred stomach-protectors for his soldiers in Asia. This is not a tropical war, and stomach-protectors are not worn in Northern China except by those who find it advisable to wear them everywhere. It is very cold comfort the German contingent will get out of their stomach-protectors. The valley of the Pei Ho is as cold as any place in the world, and, if the stomach-protectors are not reinforced by sheepskin jackets, buffalo sleeping robes and jack-boots lined with flannel before November 15th, His Imperial Majesty's crusaders will be frozen to death. It is undoubtedly true that he has presented Count von Waldersee with what the Berlin papers describe as a "tropical war-costume," similar, but with improvements, to the one which the Emperor wore in Palestine. Since he is to have command over our troops, it is to be hoped that the German Field-Marshal goes to the war better equipped in other respects than he is in the matter of clothing.

And once China is conquered and parcelled out among the Powers, our troubles will not be over—they will only have begun. The Yellow Peril has many phases, and they are not all imaginary. The Russian Government has grave fears on this subject, as I had an opportunity to learn during my visit to Eastern Siberia and the Amoor provinces in 1896. Despite the sturdy fibre of their race, every now and then "yellow" spots, as they are called, it is not necessary to enter into details, appear in the Cossack *stanitzas* which line the north bank of the river. The Russians regard them as an illustration of the sinister power which a compact family of four hundred million people exert upon neighbors of low social efficiency, and they ask themselves what will happen when the river

is crossed, and, no longer in rival camps, the Russians and the Chinese live together in one community. With arms in hand, the Russians rather underestimate the Yellow Peril; but they seem to fear—and not without reason, I think—the Chinese policy of assimilation that comes with peace. They remember that China is a sea which has salted all the rivers that have run into it; that, sooner or later, the Chinese have conquered all their conquerors.

This is where the old policy has landed us. Why not inaugurate a new? We have always treated the Chinese as though they were without feelings, and without vanity, pride or combativeness; and yet every one who knows them will tell you they have all of these qualities. When we are in a position to exact the punishment of the men who fired upon our Legations, whether they be princes of the Clan, or Boxers, let us listen to what the Chinese will have to say about the bombardment of the Taku forts. It will be a new departure, and it might work wonders. We might "civilize" the Chinese by showing them some consideration and treating them with common decency. The old policy of knocking the Chinese over the head has not brought satisfactory results—they have too many heads. A common ground might be reached by admitting, for instance, that it is as possible for Western admirals as for Eastern princes and wild sectaries to do, in hot blood, things they never would have been guilty of upon mature consideration. If we do this, there will be no danger of war, and we shall be spared a conflict into which no one who knows what it may come to mean can think of entering with a light heart.

STEPHEN BONSAL.

Eighty-sixth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 171: No. 4.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

October, 1900.

BRYAN OR McKINLEY?

THE PRESENT DUTY OF AMERICAN CITIZENS.

For BRYAN:

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Democratic Candidate for the Vice-Presidency; Senator B. R. TILLMAN; EDWARD M. SHEPARD; RICHARD CROKER; and ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary of the New England Anti-Imperialist League.

For McKINLEY:

Postmaster-General CHARLES EMORY SMITH; Senators G. F. HOAR, T. C. PLATT, and W. M. STEWART; ANDREW CARNEGIE; and JAMES H. ECKELS, formerly Comptroller of the Currency.

The Great Religions of the World.—II. Buddhism,
T. W. RHYS DAVIDS,
Professor of Buddhist Literature in University College, London.
China and Russia . . . . . JOSIAH QUINCY
James Martineau . . . . . The Rev. A. W. JACKSON
The Decline of British Commerce: A Reply, BENJAMIN TAYLOR
Misunderstood Japan . . . . . Y. OZAKI
Catholic Citizens and Constitutional Rights,
The Rev. T. H. MALONE
The Picture Gallery of the Hermitage.—IV. CLAUDE PHILLIPS

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

LONDON: WM. HEINEMANN, 21 Bedford St., W. C.

PARIS: BRENTANO'S, 37 Avenue de l'Opéra.

ngle Number, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, $5.

United States Mortgage & Trust Co.,

59 CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK

Capital $2,000,000 **Surplus $2,250,000**

Transacts a General Banking Busin

Allows interest on Deposits subject to check
Is Legal Depositary for Court and Trust Funds
Acts as Fiscal Agent for Cities and Corporations

Buys and Sells Foreign Exchange
Issues Commercial and Travelers' Credits avail
in all parts of the world

Loans Money on Bond and Mortgage
Issues First Mortgage Trust Gold Bonds
Acts as Trustee, Registrar and Transfer Agent

Transacts a General Trust Busines

OFFICERS

GEORGE W. YOUNG.....President
LUTHER KOUNTZE.....Vice-President
JAMES TIMPSON.....2d Vice-President
ARTHUR TURNBULL.....3d Vice-President
CLARK WILLIAMS.....Treasurer
WILLIAM P. ELLIOTT.....Secretary
RICHARD M. HURD.....Asst. Secretary
CALVERT BREWER.....Asst. Treasurer
ALEXANDER PHILLIPS.....Man'g For'n Dept.

DIRECTORS

Samuel D. Babcock

Wm. H. Baldwin, Jr.	Gustav E. Kiss
Frederick O. Barton	Luther Kountze
C. Ledyard Blair	Charlton T. Lew
Dumont Clarke	Richard A. Mc
Charles D. Dickey	Theodore Morfo
William P. Dixon	Robert Olyphar
Robert A. Granniss	Charles M. Pra
G. G. Haven, Jr.	James Timpson
Charles R. Henderson	Eben B. Thoma

George W. Young

Copyright, 1900, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO. All rights reserved.
Entered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails, as second-clas

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXVII.

OCTOBER, 1900.

BRYAN OR McKINLEY?

THE PRESENT DUTY OF AMERICAN CITIZENS.

BY ADLAI E. STEVENSON, DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY; SENATOR B. R. TILLMAN; EDWARD M. SHEPARD; RICHARD CROKER; ERVING WINSLOW, SECRETARY OF THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE; CHARLES EMORY SMITH, POSTMASTER-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES; SENATOR G. F. HOAR; SENATOR T. C. PLATT; SENATOR W. M. STEWART; ANDREW CARNEGIE, AND JAMES H. ECKELS, FORMERLY COMPTROLLER OF THE UNITED STATES CURRENCY.

I.

THE ISSUE OF THE CAMPAIGN.

In each of the Presidential contests which have occurred within the last half-century the result has hinged, in large measure, upon a single issue. The campaign of 1852 resulted in the almost unanimous election of Pierce upon the supposed settlement of the slavery question by the "compromise measures" of the preceding Congress. Four years later, the salient question was the power of Congress over slavery in the Territories. Upon this issue the Democrats succeeded by a slender margin in electing Buchanan to the Presidency. In the exciting contest of 1860, every phase of the slavery question was, for months, the subject

Copyright, 1900, by The North American Review Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

of heated discussion. In fact, that contest—intensified by the Dred Scott decision—was but the renewal of the struggle upon the burning question which had so evenly divided parties at the preceding Presidential election. The "vigorous prosecution of the war" was the slogan of the victors in the campaign four years later. And "Reconstruction," in its various phases, was the overshadowing issue upon which General Grant was triumphant in the two Presidential contests immediately succeeding the second election of Mr. Lincoln.

In 1876, "old things had passed away" and a new issue was to the forefront. "Reform" was the watchword of the Democracy. With this good word, with all that it implied, as the symbol of the paramount issue, the friends of Mr. Tilden waged an almost successful battle. The result, long in doubt, and finally reached by the decision of an extra-Constitutional tribunal, was adverse to the Democratic candidate by a single electoral vote.

In the three contests immediately succeeding the historic struggle last mentioned, the pivotal question in debate and the decisive one—affected in some degree by the personality of the candidates—was Tariff Reform. Special prominence was given to this issue by the passage of the "McKinley bill," and denunciation of high protection as "robbery" by the Democratic Convention of 1892. In the first contest between the now opposing candidates for the Presidency, the question of Tariff Reform was held in abeyance, and Silver became the one vital issue of the struggle.

It is by no means asserted that, in these political contests of the past, no questions were discussed other than those I have mentioned. On the contrary, the entire pathway of the history of parties is luminous with debate along all lines of political thought. In the early days of the Republic, and before party organizations had attained to anything approximating their present discipline and authority, the "Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian Theories of Government," "the Line of Demarcation between State and Federal Authority, "Internal Improvements," "the United States Bank," "the Resolutions of '98," "Strict Construction," "The Compromises of the Constitution," etc., were subjects of endless debate for months preceding every Presidential election.

The contention is that, while there were many questions of

minor importance, and much expenditure of oratory upon mere abstract questions of government, yet, in the main, a single question was the storm-centre of controversy, and was decisive.

History has but repeated itself in the contest for political supremacy upon us now. One living question is to the forefront. It is in very truth the pivotal issue of the campaign. Political platforms may ignore it, yet it will not down. It is in the thoughts of men. It is with us to stay until it shall have been determined by the American people—the final arbiters, from whose judgment there is no appeal.

"Imperialism" is a new word in American politics. It had no place in the platform or the political controversies of the past. There had been no forecast of its possible existence as an issue in this campaign. It is a new question. How did it originate? Why is it here?

Events have followed upon each other so rapidly that we seem to have forgotten the avowed purpose of the late war with Spain. Our solemn declaration, before "breaking the peace of the world" in behalf of Cuba, was: "The United States hereby disclaims any disposition to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

This disclaimer alone justified the declaration of war to our own conscience. It was believed by the American people to be a war waged solely in the interest of humanity, and in no sense for commercial or territorial gain. An eminent Republican Senator, while the joint resolution was pending, voiced the sentiments of his countrymen when he declared: "It is a war in which there does not enter the slightest thought or desire of foreign conquest or of material gain or advantage." No one doubted at the time that this disclaimer upon our part applied not only to Cuba, but to all Spanish dependencies.

The "pacification" of the Island of Cuba—the avowed purpose of the war—has been achieved. Spain has sustained crushing and retributive defeat, and her flag, the hated emblem of tyranny to Cuban and Filipino alike, has disappeared forever from our hemisphere. Spain is at peace, well rid of colonial possessions that had been for centuries an obstacle to her material progress. But our Government is still engaged in war; not with

our ancient foe, but against our former allies in the war with Spain. It has been prosecuted at a fearful cost of treasure and of blood; little less than two hundred millions in money and many thousand valuable lives. Sixty thousand American soldiers are now in the Philippine Islands—and the end is not yet.

What is the justification for all this? Is it a war of self-defense, a war in the interest of humanity, or does it but add another to the long list of wars of subjugation and of conquest? These questions must give us pause. It is not strange that one whose love of liberty is inherited should have declared: "Uneasy consciences are multiplying in the Republican party."

When the ten million people of these twelve hundred islands are to abandon all hope of independence; when they are to lay down their arms and become our peaceable subjects; when the drain upon our blood and treasure is to cease—are questions no man is wise enough to answer. But granted that such, in the near or the remote future, is to be the termination of the struggle, what then? How are these people to be held and governed? What is to be their status? Are they to be citizens or subjects? If, as is claimed, they are incapable of self-government, are they to be vested by us with the dignity and the privileges of American citizenship, and entitled to representation in our National Legislature and in the Electoral College? No sane man can believe it. The only alternative, then, is government by force, by the power of the army and of the navy.

It need hardly be said that such government is wholly without Constitutional authority. Ours is a government of citizens, not of subjects. It is a government of limited powers, and its founders made no provision for holding "conquered provinces" or "alien peoples." The government of this far-away people, then, can only be by methods outside of the Constitution. In other words, there must be engrafted upon our body politic European methods of colonial government—a government that, in spirit, if not in form, pertains to the Empire and not to the Republic.

The justification for all this by Imperialists is that we can give these islanders a better government than they are capable of creating for themselves. What, then, becomes of the doctrine, so dear to our fathers, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?" What of the words of

Lincoln: "No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent; when he governs himself and also governs another man, then that is more than self-government—that is despotism."

It is claimed that we have outgrown the doctrines of the founders of the Government, and that we are henceforth to be "a World Power." This is, indeed, a high-sounding phrase, but it is well to know its real meaning. As a model to the builders of republics—and an inspiration to all peoples who desire a larger measure of freedom—our Republic has, from its beginning, been "a World Power." But in the sense used by Imperialists, the term is one of terrible significance. To become a World Power is "to break with the past;" to abandon the traditions and disregard the warnings of the patriots and the sages of the Revolution. It implies, of necessity, the equipments of the World Powers of Europe. It means an immense standing army, with its continuing and ever increasing burdens of taxation. The picture is not pleasing, but at no less cost can we hold place as "a World Power."

Our colonial possessions will, of necessity, be governed by methods that are despotic. The lessons of history are full of warnings. Creasy, the historian, in his "Decisive Battles of the World," says: "There has never been a republic yet in history that acquired dominion over another nation that did not rule it selfishly and oppressively. There is no single exception to this rule, either in ancient or modern times. Carthage, Rome, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Holland and republican France, all tyrannized over every province and subject state where they gained authority."

In the event of the defeat which is inevitable to the islanders, in their conflict with the great Power, what is to be our compensation for the fearful sacrifice of life and of treasure? "Commercial gain." To whom? Surely not to "the plain people." It is only theirs to bear the additional taxation the new policy imposes. It can only be to "the syndicated wealth" described in a recent letter of an eminent statesman of New England. Trade —"the calm health of nations"—is profitable only with peoples with whom we are at peace. Trade knows no sentiment. It goes only where it is profitable. Ninety per cent. of our exports reach European markets, for "only the civilized man is the con-

sumer." Is commercial gain the low plane upon which we stand? Is this our justification for abandoning the pathway marked out by the fathers, and along which we have found contentment and safety? Commercial gain to a class as the end of a war of conquest! Are there no higher motives to which appeal can be made? The words of Patrick Henry to the Virginia Convention may be recalled: "You are not to consider how your trade is to be increased, but how justice may be done, and how your liberties may be preserved."

The lust of empire is the plague that has come upon us in these closing hours of the century. Against it we are warned by the wrecks that lie along the entire pathway of history.

The new policy of Imperialism finds its inspiration in "corporate greed." This influence is potent as never before, in all the channels of authority. It has touched the springs of political power. Against it are the warnings of those whom we have been accustomed to revere. No statesman of the last generation discerned more clearly its appalling danger to republican government than did Mr. Lincoln. It is well now, when the attempt is made to enthrone commercial gain as the supreme good, to recall his prophetic words. In a letter written in 1864, he said: "But I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed."

Authoritative declaration should be made at once to the people of the Philippine Islands that it is not our purpose to conquer or to subjugate them. Under existing conditions, they should be protected against the cupidity and aggression of foreign nations. All this, upon our part, to the end that the Filipinos may have the full enjoyment of liberty, and stable government fashioned by their own hands.

In view of all that has occurred, and of what must inevitably follow, in the event of the Republican Administration receiving a "vote of confidence" at the polls, are not Democrats justified in declaring Imperialism the paramount issue of the campaign? Other questions will be discussed. In terse words, the Demo-

cratic platform calls attention to the enormous growth of the Trust evil, and justly characterizes it as a menace to our free institutions. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty is condemned, as a surrender of rights not to be tolerated by the American people. But, in the presence of the overshadowing issue, even these are questions of secondary importance. Imperialism is the paramount issue. Around this, the battle will be most fiercely waged. Is it too much to say that its determination will be for the weal or the woe of the Republic?

ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

II.

CAUSES OF SOUTHERN OPPOSITION TO IMPERIALISM.

IN a few brief weeks, one of the grandest spectacles in the history of the world will take place. Fifteen million American freemen will march to the polls and record their choice for President. The Chief Magistrate of a great nation, one of the wealthiest and most powerful nations of the earth, will be chosen by the ballots of the individual citizens.

The stupendous power vested in the President of the United States is second only to that of the Czar of Russia, and the amount of patronage at his disposal is far greater than that of any potentate on earth. The President is in effect a King—uncrowned, it is true, but with far greater power than most kings are allowed to exercise. It is small wonder, then, that a Presidential election convulses our country from one end to the other; and that, as a Presidential election approaches, men of all classes cease to give attention to other matters, and the one all-absorbing topic of conversation and thought is this election. The struggle for the mastery between the great parties, and the policies and principles they represent, dwarfs every other interest, and political activity permeates the entire country. The crowded city and the rural hamlet are alike moved. The issues involved are so important, and the interests at stake are so great, that nothing else is thought of and talked about. The newspapers teem with editorials presenting the claims of the opposing candidates. The

mails are flooded with literature intended to educate the voters and rouse them to enthusiasm. Thousands of speakers, by day and by night, urge the claims of the parties they represent, and beg votes for the candidates of their choice. We are in the midst of such a convulsion now, and at no time in the past has there been more feeling and more intense interest.

The approaching election, in far-reaching consequences, overshadows any similar event in our history since the momentous canvass of 1860. The citizens of our great Republic are face to face with a crisis that does not come twice in the life of a generation. Indeed, the questions at issue in the present Presidential campaign are so momentous that the future historian may declare they outweigh those which convulsed the country at the outbreak of the Civil War. Then the issue was whether slavery should be extended into the Territories, and the country remain half slave and half free. Now, the paramount issue, as proclaimed in the Democratic platform and as admitted by President McKinley's letter of acceptance, is whether the country shall remain a republic in fact and in name, or whether our government shall undergo a change, and an Empire, resting on force and military power, shall take its place. That party which sneers at and tramples under foot the doctrine of the consent of the governed in the Philippines will soon sneer at that doctrine in the United States. Tyranny never advances openly and boldly to its goal. It approaches by indirection, and ever makes the fairest professions and promises.

There are other questions presented to the people for consideration, and they will, no doubt, have some weight in influencing votes; but they all dwindle into insignificance and can only claim a passing thought, while the great question of Republic or Empire fires the imagination and excites the eloquence of every man who writes or speaks on the subject. The questions of the currency and banks, gold and silver, of the income tax, and government by injunction, of trusts and how to check and control them—none of these can be discussed with any satisfaction, because the people, as a whole, are not interested in them, and these questions will cut a small figure in determining the result. And it is small wonder that this is the case. Republican orators may appeal for the maintenance of the "national honor," and they may urge upon the voters the claims of the party which,

they say, has given the working-man the "full dinner pail." They may urge upon the people the necessity of guarding against the "fifty cents silver dollar;" but the thoughtful, intelligent American cannot escape from the nightmare which haunts his dreams—the vision of the Empire and of the large standing army which the Empire would involve. This question is ever before him, and he considers the others of little moment just now. He reasons that "the full dinner pail" may or may not be the result of McKinley's election four years ago. Common sense teaches that there was an inevitable reaction from the depressed condition of the country following the panic of 1893, that enforced economy, and the closing down of manufacturing plants reduced the stock of goods, thus stimulating a demand, and under these influences, accompanied by the failure of the European wheat crop and the increase of the gold output, there was an inevitable revival of business and consequently re-employment for the idle workmen. The prosperity of the last four years is by no means general, even in the United States, and Republican policies following McKinley's election cannot have affected the prosperity of Europe, which has enjoyed a similar revival of business. Therefore the thoughtful working man will carefully consider whether or not he owes McKinley a vote this year, even if he is fortunate enough not to be idle and to have plenty to eat.

Then, along with the question of the "full dinner pail," will arise the suggestion of doubt as to whether there will not be a return of hard times, even though McKinley is elected. This thought will continue to haunt him: "What good will the 'full dinner pail' do me and my children, even though it should remain full for all future time—and I know that cannot be—if, by my vote, I assist in overthrowing the Republic which our fathers founded, and I become a party to the repeal and repudiation of the Declaration of Independence?" Of what use is a "full dinner pail" to the American who is no longer a freeman? Of what stuff is the American made who sells his birthright for a "full dinner pail"? This thought must come to every intelligent man who listens to the frantic pleas and arguments of the Republican orators.

Let us consider briefly whether the claim of the Democratic party, that the present election will settle the question whether or not we are to remain a Republic or become an Empire, is true.

The action of Congress in regard to Porto Rico leaves no doubt as to the purpose of the Republican party or its future policy, if again entrusted with power. It was avowed, in the debates in the House and Senate, that the reason Porto Rico was not given a territorial government similar to that of Arizona or New Mexico was that to give it such a government would be setting a precedent, entailing the necessity of treating the Philippines in the same way; and this the Republican leaders considered sufficient reason for refusing to do our "plain duty," as set forth in President McKinley's message. It is not contended by any Republican leader that there is any purpose to do more than govern the Philippines, after they have been subjugated, in accordance with the absolute will of Congress. They declare that the Constitution does not follow the flag, and the time-honored doctrine, aye, the sacred doctrine, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," is sneered at as an academic proposition, and any and every kind of argument is brought forward to show that it is puerile and has never had any binding force. The latest illustration, and one that is likely to become popular with Republican orators, is afforded by the Southern States, and the Republican speakers are even now ringing the changes on the inconsistency and absurdity of Southern white men proclaiming their belief in the doctrine that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," while they deny the negroes of the South any place in governmental affairs. I will treat this subject more at length presently; but just now I want to put this question to my readers: Can the American Republic remain a republic, except in name, when the bed-rock upon which it rests is taken from beneath it? Can we, as a people, maintain our institutions in their full vigor, and enjoy the blessings which we have inherited from our fathers, when we wantonly destroy and cast away as rubbish the great charter of our liberties? Rome remained a republic in form a century after it had ceased to be a republic in fact, and the lessons of all history teach us that, if, under the starry banner of our country, a despotism is established in the Philippines and in Porto Rico, we will ere long see the establishment of a despotism in the United States. The Republic, to paraphrase Lincoln's words, cannot remain half subject and half free.

Now, in regard to the alleged "hypocrisy" of Southern Demo-

crats—that hypocrisy which gives such unction to Republican orators—I would call attention to certain facts. The disfranchisement of the ignorant Southern negroes in some of the States within Constitutional limits, does not in any way involve or destroy the truth of the declaration that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Jefferson, who penned those immortal words, was himself a slaveholder, and the Constitution which our fathers gave us recognized slavery, yet the apparent inconsistency with which Jefferson might be charged, and with which the founders of the Constitution might be charged, did not prevent the idea from becoming a religion to the people who enjoy the blessing of living under this Republic. The only legitimate and honest interpretation of the words is that in any Commonwealth the power to govern must emanate from within, and be by consent of the people governed. It was in contradiction of the doctrine of the divine right of Kings or of force from without, and any other form of government would be despotic. Hence, our use of the term "Imperialism," which Jefferson and Lincoln would indorse if alive.

The mysterious influence of race antagonism and caste feeling cannot be discussed here. It has always existed; it is ineradicable; and it will continue as a governing factor wherever the races come into contact. The condition in the South, instead of offering an argument against the claim of the Democratic party that the Republic is in danger, and that we are threatened with Empire if Republican policies prevail, offers the very strongest object lesson, going to prove the truth of that contention. There are about nine million blacks in this country; and the race riots in New York City, and the bloody tragedy in Akron, Ohio, should silence for all time any charges against the Southern whites of being more cruel in their treatment of the negro than Northern men are. The difference between the treatment of negroes by Southern mobs and the treatment of the negroes in the North is that Northern white men vent their anger upon the blacks indiscriminately, and that their race hatred is so intense that the innocent and unoffending are made to suffer. In the South, on the other hand, the mob hunts down the man who is guilty or supposed to be guilty, and innocent negroes are not molested. The Anglo-Saxon is pretty much the same wherever you find him, and he walks on the necks of every colored race he comes into

contact with. Resistance to his will or interests means destruction to the weaker race. Confronted, as we are, within our own borders with this perplexing problem, why do we seek to incorporate nine millions more of brown men under the flag? Republican leaders do not longer dare to call into question the justice and the necessity of limiting the negro suffrage in the South. They only propose selfishly to take advantage of the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment, which gives Congress the right to cut down representation in the Electoral College of any State which has denied suffrage to any of its citizens. The negro is to be sacrificed, provided the South shall thereby be stripped of political power. The Republican party is anxious to see this purpose consummated.

With what right, then, can the party of Lincoln, or the party which has claimed to stand for all of Lincoln's ideals and aspirations, twit Southern men with inconsistency and insincerity? We have inherited our race problem and the question is not one that can be thrust aside voluntarily. "The White Man's Burden" is upon us, and, like Sindbad's Old Man of the Sea, will be upon us for all time. Is that any reason why we should lose our liberties at home and become a part of an Empire, holding in subjugation nine millions of Malays, with the probability and almost certainty of further expansion if Republican policies prevail, and of having ere long fifty or a hundred million Chinese in addition? Was Lincoln a dreamer when he said that "the Republic cannot endure half slave and half free?" Because the Southern whites have felt constrained to deprive some of the negroes of a share in the Government, thus denying to them the recognition embodied in the declaration that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," is that any reason why this great Republic should seek to subjugate more men of the colored race, and deny them that great blessing?

Those who criticise the Southern white people in their dealings with the suffrage question may well be asked: "Has not the Republican party silently acquiesced in all that has been done in recent years in this matter? Who has heard any protest from Mr. McKinley or his advisers?

If the South has applied drastic remedies to a deadly disease, which it inherited, it cannot be said that any one of her citizens has advocated or indorsed the maintenance of slavery anywhere

within the jurisdiction of the United States, as Mr. McKinley has done in his Sulu agreement.

We of the South have never acknowledged that the negroes were our equals, or that they were fitted for or entitled to participate in government; therefore, we are not inconsistent or hypocritical when we protest against the subjugation of the Filipinos, and the establishment of a military government over them by force. Conscious of the wrongs which exist in the South, and seeking anxiously for a just and fair solution of the Race Question, we strenuously oppose incorporating any more colored men into the body politic. We dread the reflex action, the example, the familiarizing of our people with despotic methods. We do not want to add to the perplexities involved in the Race Question in the South the greater danger involved in the conquest and government of the Philippine Islands, outside of and contrary to the Constitution. All other issues are dwarfed, therefore, by this issue, in our minds. The South to-day affords the purest and best type of American citizenship. What I mean is that the people who inhabit the States south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers are the descendants of men who founded the Government. They are "native and to the manner born," to the second, third and fourth generation. They are lacking in some of the elements of progressiveness which characterize Northern communities, but they possess civic virtues which were the boast and glory of the American citizen of fifty years ago, in a much larger proportion than exists in any other section of the country. And in the future, if not in the coming election, the people of that section will be the conservative force which will preserve our institutions —if they are to be preserved. We are nearly all Americans and cling to American traditions. We have the genuine, original seed-corn of liberty.

The Republican party cannot, with any degree of self-respect or decency, ask the American people for leave to subjugate the Filipinos for the purpose of governing them as Southern negroes are governed. This cannot be done, in the first place, because the conditions are different. In the South, the races are commingled in every community, and material for intelligent, honest officials exists everywhere. Nothing of the kind can be found in the Philippines. In the second place, the Republican party will belie all its boasted past if it is allowed to consummate its scheme of

conquest and to set up a military despotism in the East. Mr. Hoar protests that the Republican party is the party of liberty and can be trusted, and he does this in the face of the President's declaration that the Filipinos will be given only such share in the government as we consider them "capable of exercising." How can Mr. Hoar defend the abandonment of the negroes by the Republican party at home, and defend the President's policy of subjugating the Filipinos with a view to governing them with greater hardships than Southern negroes have ever had to endure? Mr. Hoar is opposed to conquering and retaining the Philippines, but Mr. Hoar supports Mr. McKinley, and Mr. McKinley is committed to that policy irrevocably; and no Republican leader, not even Governor Roosevelt, will now dare to wave the bloody shirt and preach a crusade against the South's treatment of the negro. The North has a bloody shirt of its own. Many thousands of them have been made into shrouds for murdered Filipinos, done to death because they were fighting for liberty. There is no parallel in history for such a somersault. The two parties have swapped places since 1860. The Democratic party now stands for liberty and true American principles. It still believes in the Declaration as written and understood by the author and his compatriots of 1776. The Republicans repudiate the Declaration and are as besotted in pursuing the scheme of conquest and robbery in the East, as the slave oligarchy of 1860 was in supporting the institution of human slavery in the South. The people are thinking as they have never thought before, and every patriot awaits with bated breath the verdict which will be rendered in November.

B. R. TILLMAN.

III.

SUPPORT OF MR. BRYAN BY SOUND-MONEY DEMOCRATS.

THE greater number—I believe much the greater number—of citizens who before 1896 had acted with the Democratic party, but in that year opposed its Presidential candidate, will this year support him. They will do this, though he has not recanted his silver heresy, and though now, no less than in 1896, they condemn his error. Their course in 1900 is not only right in itself—and

that is the principal thing—but it consists with the whole frame of their political belief. Any other course would be inconsistent with that belief, and with the principle which determined their vote in 1896.

The Indianapolis platform upon which in that year some of the Sound-Money Democrats nominated Senator Palmer was a fine declaration of faith in democratic self-government. It demanded a gold standard of value. But to those who wrote or supported that platform, and to the far greater number who believed in it, the gold standard was no more than one practical result or illustration of a creed broader and deeper than any rule of coinage. They did not make of it a political deity; that would have been no better than its personification as a tyrant. The gold standard was for the time critically important; but it was important, nevertheless, as a detail or result, not as a principle. Its temporary rank in the politics of 1896 was due to a condition then, but not now, existing. Although modern business had then moved steadily and irresistibly towards the gold standard, and although modern industrial welfare clearly required it, nevertheless it was not yet clearly founded in our legislation, but was the subject of immediate and practical political difference, made acute by the fall in the price of silver. During the four years since 1896, financial changes the world over have, even more firmly and more plainly, established the gold standard; it has been adopted in American statute; and political opposition to it in the United States has died away into subordinate and tepid statements which are no longer practical, but are, though never so sincere, made chiefly out of regard for the jewel of consistency so much preached and so often forgotten by statesmen. The Gold Democrats were, in 1896, neither more nor less than men of generally Democratic faith dealing with a specific and temporary question, upon the basis of their general hostility to interference with economic laws by governmental fiat. In 1900 they remain Democrats, having little practical call to deal with that question, but having every call to deal with one vastly larger and deeper. In 1900, they are concerned, not with a detail or illustration of the principles enunciated at Indianapolis in 1896, but with their very foundation. Shall this people reverse their supreme rule of government with the consent of the governed, that rule in assertion of which they have, during a

century and a third, struggled to a greater and greater result of world-reforming beneficence and domestic prosperity? Shall we substitute military and Mohammedan ideals for those of industrial righteousness and peace, which we have thus far kept steadfastly before our eyes—sweeping away one by one obstructions and exceptions which have tormented or disgraced our nation, and from decade to decade more and more nearly reaching full realization? Sound Money Democrats, if their faith in self-government remain—and without that faith they were never Democrats—are bound in 1900 to vote with a regard to the Philippine policy of the President as controlling as was their regard in 1896 to the fallacious and dangerous silver proposal.

Is not this clear? Sound Money Democrats in 1896 did not abate hostility to the system of special privilege for small and rich interest, the greater wealth of a few at the cost of the many, for which the Republican party then stood and now stands. Nor did they permanently abandon their own party because it had once and lamentably adopted, and then defended, an economic illusion which the Republican party had adopted, and which in itself was not as widely or permanently corrupting as the Republicans' belief in a paternal government. Indeed, every political party, at one time or another, preaches some illusion, economic or social; probably no great political party is ever free from such illusion. Hardly a political platform can be quoted which has on every article commanded the support of the majority of a great party, or escaped the condemnation of an important minority. When questions of slavery were uppermost, very many Democrats acted with the Republican party, although hostile to a protective tariff and to much else for which the majority of the Republican party seemed to stand. Precisely the same happened in 1896, when free coinage was uppermost. Surely illusion about coinage was in itself no worse than illusion about protective tariffs, nor as bad. The illusions were equally venerable and lamentable, but the corruption of the latter far deeper and wider and more difficult of treatment. The silver illusion had before 1896 found its most dangerous support among Republicans and its most resolute opposition among Democrats. During the concern of our politics with the money question for twenty years before 1896, President McKinley had dedicated his gift of pleasing eloquence to the cause of free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1;

that cause then seemed to be popular. From President Cleveland's entrance into national politics in 1884 until he last left the Presidency, he dedicated his gift of resolute and courageous honesty to the cause of sound money; that cause then seemed to be unpopular. Each of the statesmen found much support and much opposition within his own party. It is only ten years ago that a Republican President and Congress (Mr. McKinley voting for the bill) enacted the Sherman Silver Law—the most dangerous of the victories of the free silver forces. The same administration admitted to the Union territories which, though their populations were then meagre for statehood, were at least ready to contribute to the Senate several and perhaps decisive votes for free silver.

In 1896, the business depression created exceptional temptation to political vagary. The Republican administration of 1889-1893 not only surrendered to silver, but increased the "protective" advantage to favored interests beyond the extremest point of former Republican legislation, and enormously increased pensions for a war which had ended almost thirty years before. No doubt in 1893 other conditions of business distress had long been gathering; but these acts of national improvidence and unwisdom helped to prepare for that year its widespread financial disaster and industrial distress. To others belonged the causes; but President Cleveland had to meet the result, and he did meet it as befitted leadership of a democracy. He used no smooth words; he did not pretend that laws could take the place of harvests, or industry or thrift. He offered no nostrum or panacea. Instead, he applied all the powers which, for a few months, are the property of a newly inaugurated President, to something really within the power of law makers—a reversal of the free silver victory accomplished by Messrs. Allison and McKinley and their associates. It was a fine display of civic courage and unselfish skill, and like that of the earlier Democratic President who, in 1837, in spite of the outcry of business distress, refused to add new folly to follies which had already produced the distress, and instead drove through the Sub-Treasury a bill which brought to an end—at least for a time—the corrupting partnership between the government and the banks. The fundamental proposition of both Presidents was, that all the people should support the government rather than that the government should support some of the people at the cost

of the rest. But *post hoc propter hoc* is the easiest, as it is the shallowest, of reasoning in politics. If business depression followed President Cleveland's inauguration, did he not, therefore, produce it? The last thing which had happened was sufficient for careless or untrained minds, whether of Democrats or Republicans. The real cause, however, was something further back and more truly dynamic than a change of Presidents. If for nothing else, the Republican party deserves defeat for the shallow demagogy with which in 1900 it refers the business distresses of 1893-1896 to the slight reductions of tariff made by the Wilson bill, and to the incoming of President Cleveland. For this proposition the Philadelphia Convention and its chief supporters have declared that every vote for President McKinley shall be counted. It was wrong for Republicans to ascribe hard times to trifling tariff reductions, which were made a year after the hard times began, and the business effect of which had hardly begun when the hard times ended. So it was wrong, but no more wrong, for the Democratic Convention of 1896 to ascribe hard times to the sound money policy in which President Cleveland had been steadfast, whether when, during his first term, he prevented legislation such as his Republican successor approved, or when, in his second term, he procured the repeal of that legislation. There was, in truth, less folly in the belief that the sound money policy had produced hard times, than in the belief that Democratic tariff reductions had produced them. For it needs no Adam Smith to perceive that hard times must have been caused by a serious and long continuing cause; and the sound money policy was—as the Wilson tariff bill clearly was not—a serious and long continuing cause, which had doubtless produced economic results real, though different from, and more wholesome than, those ascribed to it by the silver advocates. If Republicans do not desert Mr. McKinley and their party for his and its long coquetry with silver, and for their immoral and shallow charge of hard times upon the Cleveland administration and the Wilson bill, surely Democrats need not feel bound, after the silver issue is practically past, to desert their party because of their candidate's devotion to the same policy, and the declaration of the Chicago Convention of 1896 that hard times had been due to the success of the sound money cause.

In 1896, Republicans demanded more protection to favored

and special interests as the true cure for hard times; and a majority of Democrats as their cure demanded free silver coinage at the old ratio. With the Republican party controlled by this chronic belief in making men rich by legislation, and with another form of the same belief in temporary control of the Democratic organization, the Sound Money Democrats had to determine their duty. They could not then support Mr. Bryan without stultification. He had, with a courageous frankness which shone in comparison with the neutral platitudes about money and the glorification of protection by the statesman of Canton, declared free coinage to be the first issue. The people, ignoring all other issues, declared it to be the all-paramount and present issue. The Sound Money Democrats came out of the campaign of 1896 with no spoils of office, but with the entire moral victory. For they had not, like President McKinley and his party, opposed Mr. Bryan with vague and insincere promises of bi-metallism. They *meant* gold and they *said* gold. To them, whether those who voted for Senator Palmer, or those who, not daring "of two evils to choose neither," voted for President McKinley, more than to any equal body of citizens, was due the character, the emphasis and the final decisiveness of the result.

The Democratic party remains. Like the Republican party and all other parties, it has, from time to time, made its mistakes and had its vagaries. But they are less deeply seated in its essential philosophy, and, therefore, less chronic, than those of the Republican party. And surely if, four years ago, good citizens adhered to the latter when they believed it to be right on a present and paramount issue, they need not scruple to adhere to the Democratic party when in 1900 it is right on that other and greater issue, which for 1900 has become present and paramount.

The American people are to-day little concerned with what the Republican administration has done willingly about the tariff, or has done unwillingly about the currency. They are seriously concerned with its policy in the Philippines and Porto Rico. They may praise, or they may condemn. But whether they praise or condemn, their concern is deep and vital. Some admire the President's policy as an inspiring departure from a career hitherto "parochial," or piously see in it a surrender to God's own leading. Others condemn it as a betrayal of democracy. But all alike, including both candidates, recognize that

policy as the chief and controlling feature of his administration. If the sound political rule for a country governed, like ours, by two great parties, is to be followed, the campaign should turn on that policy. If the programme invented and carried on by the President or by those who act through him, be right, then he should be re-elected that he may carry it to a conclusion. If it be wrong, then he should be defeated, and a President should be chosen who will reverse that policy. This would and should be the rule, if the question were no more important than the tariff or silver coinage or the Isthmian canal. The rule is rigorously imperative when the question concerns the fundamental proposition of American government and civilization.

Is such a question, then, practically presented? It is President McKinley's expressly declared policy to complete the military conquest of the Philippines, and thereafter, and for such time as we think fit, to hold in military subjugation the eight million Filipinos. For this purpose the President maintains and, if re-elected, he will continue to maintain, an army of 75,000 men, in addition to those otherwise needed. For this purpose he has inflicted and, if re-elected, he will continue to inflict, death, disease and desolation upon thousands of Americans and tens of thousands of Filipinos. For this purpose he compels the peaceful labor of his countrymen to contribute annually not less than $100,000,000, with a return in profit to a score of American traders of less than two per cent. of this cost. Here is the practical side of the question; and it is sufficiently serious. But it is the lesser part of the issue. Dollars and lives, no doubt, may be justly spent for a great cause of humanity. The President proposes (nor can his fair phrases or audacious references to Abraham Lincoln, without daring to quote him, conceal his intention, or that of the strong men behind him), as the result of our final military success in the Orient, that the American people shall adopt the policy of holding alien and distant races in permanent and military subjection, without share in their own government except as the American people choose to accord it, and also without share, as matter of right, in the American Constitution. We now call this policy Imperialism. The name is not of moment; but it fits the thing. Disraeli chose the title "Empress" for the Queen when exercising that arbitrary dominion of Great Britain over India which we are to emulate.

It is for this Imperialism that the dollars are to be spent and the death, disease and desolation to be inflicted, and all the long hatreds and corruptions of war to be incurred. Nor is it a new topic for Americans. Again and again and again, from the outcry against the Stamp Act in 1766 to the adoption, more than a century later, of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, has the whole scheme been deliberately considered and condemned by the American people. In that condemnation, we have found our supreme and characteristic political glory. Every solemn, responsible and undiscredited declaration of our statesmen, all the teaching of our town meetings, our churches and our schools have joined in the condemnation. If our practice have not equalled our preaching—if in the treatment of Indians or of Negroes within our borders our principle has been violated,—we have not, therefore, denied the principle, but have profoundly regretted that calamitous and inconsistent exceptions should have been imposed upon us by the presence of these inferior races in the midst of our population before the Declaration of Independence. These we have declared an evil to be escaped or ended where practicable, never a good to be preserved and extended. We have opposed and dreaded the addition of any like difficulty. Never before—unless in Ostend manifestoes rejected by the people with disgust—has it been proposed that our Republic should conquer another land or another race, or acquire any land or people unless to dower them with the civil rights of Americans. One by one, and sometimes at cruel cost, we have reduced the exceptions within our domain to the universality of the American principle. We have, until now, moved steadily nearer and nearer—though God knows we may still be distant—to the ideal of that Declaration, which extorts from even President McKinley a formal and reluctant reverence. The issue, therefore, is not only of blood and treasure and Imperialism, but of reversal of what we have made the fundamental proposition of our New World civilization. And more. There is in the issue this, whether we shall reverse this proposition at the very time when its fruits are more splendid than ever before, and its success, moral and material, are known of all men to be vastly greater than any achieved by empire. Out of the buoyancy, energy, courage which are born of that orderly liberty, in which every one is jealous of the rights of others, as involving for the future the safeguard of

his own rights, has come the marvellous productiveness of American labor. The wealth of the rich, never before so great, the order and safety of life and property, never so great throughout so extended a field, the well-being of labor, the wonderful reach and growth of all these in our land are due, so far as human effort or wisdom has produced them, to our translation into politics of the sacred rule of Christianity—to our supreme dedication to the doctrine that, in their rights as citizens, all men are created free and equal, and that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

President McKinley and his supporters will not and dare not directly argue the question. They evade its merits by collateral and subordinate objections, criticisms, defenses. But it will not down. They threaten a panic, as if their Secretary of the Treasury before campaign necessities constrained him, and Mr. Russell Sage, who, perhaps, of all Mr. McKinley's supporters, may be deemed most expert in panics, have not pointed out that there can be none, as if the threat were not a silly imputation upon nearly if not quite one-half of the American people. They tell us that Mr. Bryan, if President, would set up the silver standard, as if the gold law, according to the Republican platform itself, did not make this impossible without violation of his oath of office, or as if he had not made clear that he is no perjurer, but courageous, honest, law-abiding. They tell us the gold law itself will be in danger, when they know that neither a Senate nor a House can be found during the next Presidency to pass a free-coinage bill, and that a large, and perhaps the larger, part of the Democratic party are to-day hostile to free coinage. President McKinley cynically points out that, in the suppression of the negro vote, the South is doing what he is trying to do in the Philippines, as if that were a reason *for,* rather than a telling reason *against,* his course; or as if the enormous difficulties inflicted upon us by the crime committed centuries ago against the negro race ought to be matched by like difficulties assumed in Asia; or as if wise Southerners, like wise Northerners, do not hate the new departure, because it will bring upon us more of the inconsistency-breeding difficulties from which the South suffers. They point out the Chicago heresies of four years ago and their nominal re-adoption at Kansas City, as if there were no paramount issue overshadowing them all, or as if citizens voting for a can-

didate must vote for the entire platform, or as if they did not know that President McKinley himself can be elected only by inducing a sufficient number of his countrymen to forget assertions in the Philadelphia platform which are to them false and unrighteous. They give us garbled accounts of how the President got into his difficulties, as if the question were how we came to the Philippines, rather than what we have done and shall do with them and their people. They tell us that England has had both liberty and Imperialism, as if the American Declaration and the American Constitution or their splendid fruits belonged to her, or as if her prosperity and glory had arisen from her arbitrary extensions of power by the sword rather than from her vigorous extirpation of everything imperial at home, and from her self-governing and non-imperial colonies across the seas.

I cannot here argue these or other objections. Not one touches or begins to touch the question, whether or not, on the Asiatic coast, eight thousand miles from our nearest shores, the Republic shall pursue a career of conquest of foreign peoples, to hold them, not as citizens or with rights under our Constitution, but as subjects. Nor does President McKinley dare to argue or even explicitly to mention the question. To promote the wrong of it naturally assemble all who believe that might makes right, that the stronger should crowd the weaker, and that, as Senator Hanna argued, the American should find his sole creed and his sole glory in his "dinner pail."

It is a true battle for the dignity of American manhood and for the everlasting rights of the masses of men. Surely, no Democrat ought to doubt on which side he will stand.

EDWARD M. SHEPARD.

IV.

THE INTEREST OF THE FIRST VOTER.

VICTORY in November, 1900, will be won by the party which appeals most successfully to the new voters, the citizens who have come of age since the Presidential election of 1896. His first national ballot is a matter vastly more important to a young man than a vote is to a veteran. The arguments usually addressed to

men who are in the habit of voting the Democratic or the Republican Presidential ticket, are by no means the best for those who have never voted for a President, and who are making up their minds with which of the two great parties to ally themselves.

There are really only two national parties. It is not likely that there will ever be more than two, of commanding influence, at any one time.

With which of the two parties at present dividing the serious thought of the country can the First Voter ally himself, with the assurance of promoting his own good as well as that of his country? The idea that a young voter thinks of himself first, and then of his country, is, no doubt, shocking to purely theoretical politicians. Practical men, however, know it to be a fact. Facts are what the managers of national campaigns have to deal with, and the campaign manager who gets hold of the most facts and acts in accordance with them is the one who succeeds. The fight is won by the man behind the ballot. His leaders theorize, but he votes. The commanding officer in a battle may have his manual of tactics at his fingers' ends, but the fate of his cause is decided by the man behind the gun. All the books in the world cannot teach a greenhorn on the firing-line to shoot his rifle straight. The fine-spun theories of the scholar in politics are equally useless to the voter who approaches the polling-booth for the first time.

Thinking, then, of himself and of his own future, his business or his profession, his family and his friends, the average young American must make up his mind along which of the two party paths his best interests lie. By following that path, he will at the same time be best serving his country. It seems to me that there can be no sort of doubt that the welfare of the country, as a whole, is best promoted by that which is best for its young men. That disposes of the objection that the view I am advancing of political duty is a purely selfish one. The youth of the land are its life blood. How can they be most effectively and wholesomely stimulated and directed?

It is an inspiring topic, this appeal of the two great national parties to a million young men for the first time assuming the highest duty and privilege of citizenship.

Under which banner will American youth enlist in November,

1900? It is quite likely that the decision then made may determine the political affiliations of these young men, this magnificent army of American electors, for their lives. It is not unlikely, indeed, that it will also determine the political views of their brothers and sons, when they, in turn, reach the age of franchise. How vastly important it is, then, to the Democratic party that the young voters should this year cast Democratic ballots! If there are clear and convincing reasons why the Democracy offers young voters the greatest and surest opportunities, a public service, a service not only to the party but to the American people, can be rendered by a presentation of those reasons in a periodical like THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

The entire number of votes cast in November, 1884, was 10,044,985. Of these, 4,911,017 were polled for Grover Cleveland, and 4,848,334 for James G. Blaine. Of the ten million ballots, Cleveland had a plurality of only 62,683.

In four years, the Presidential vote of the American people had increased, in 1888, to 11,380,860, of which Grover Cleveland received 5,538,233 and Harrison 5,440,216, Cleveland still having 98,017 more votes at the polls, although Harrison had a majority in the Electoral College, and was, of course, elected President.

In November, 1892, the American people cast 12,059,351 votes, of which 5,556,918 were polled for Cleveland, and 5,176,108 for Harrison. Cleveland's plurality this time was 380,810.

By November, 1896, the votes of the people for President had increased to 13,923,102. Of these 7,104,779 were cast for William McKinley, and 6,502,925 for William Jennings Bryan.

Mr. McKinley's plurality, the first the Republican party had had in twelve years, was 601,854, being the largest plurality any Presidential candidate had had since 1872. In that year General Grant, the hero of the war, entrenched in power by four years' occupation of the White House, was elected President over Horace Greeley, the reformer, by a plurality of only 762,691 votes in the popular vote.

Now, the normal increase in the number of votes for President, reckoning from one four years to another, is more than ten per cent. Adding ten per cent. to the vote of 1892, would give us an estimated vote for 1896 of 13,265,286; whereas the actual vote in 1896 was 657,816 more than that. It is plain, then, that

unless the excess over the estimated ten per cent. can be accounted for by immigration, we must reckon on considerably more than a million first voters every four years. And there will naturally be a slight continuous increase in the percentage.

Adding, then, ten per cent., as the most conservative estimate of increase, to the 13,923,102 votes cast in November, 1896, it is reasonable to suppose that at least 15,315,412 votes will be cast for President on November 7th, 1900. That is to say, about 1,400,000 more electors will vote for President this year than four years ago.

But it is not accurate to treat all this increase as new voters, or rather as first voters. To be admitted to citizenship, the ordinary immigrant, who has not enlisted in and been honorably discharged from the army, must have "resided continuously in the United States for at least five years." Evidently this condition will bar from a vote next month all immigrants, otherwise eligible, who did not land prior to November 7th, 1895, and who did not properly follow up their arrival by declaring their intention to become citizens. A Presidential election has been held since that date, but none of the adult male immigrants who arrived in this country subsequent to November, 1891, could have voted in November, 1896. Therefore, all the adult male immigrants who arrived in the United States in the last two months of 1891, and in the years 1892, 1893, 1894, and in ten months of 1895, may vote in November, 1900, if they have complied with the law. The total number of immigrants arriving in that period was about 1,767,144. One-fifth of that number would be 353,228. In round numbers there are 350,000 immigrant adults who may cast their first Presidential vote next month. Nearly all of them will do so. Our newly admitted foreign-born citizens seem to have a higher opinion of the value of the franchise than some whose families have been here for a hundred years or so.

Deducting this estimate of 350,000 electors naturalized since the last Presidential election, we still have more than 1,000,000 young Americans to cast their first votes in November, and thereby to decide whether Mr. Bryan or Mr. McKinley shall go into the White House on the fourth of next March.

Mr. McKinley's plurality in 1896 was 601,854. There are twice as many voters now coming to the polls, in addition to 350,000 citizens naturalized since 1896. The right sort of an appeal to these new voters is all important.

There can be no doubt that these electors casting their first Presidential ballot will decide this Presidential election.

How are the majority of the new voters likely to go? Which of the two great parties will they choose—for I assume they will not throw away their votes by casting a ballot for Caffery, or for any crank ticket? Where do the interests of the young men lie?

Coming to the United States more than fifty years ago, I have had, boy and man, opportunities of watching what is to me the most significant change this wonderful half century has wrought. I, too, have experienced the perplexities and thought out the responsibilities attendant on the right casting of a first vote. In the year 1864, at the age of twenty-one, I cast my first ballot. I felt then that the Democratic party was the young man's party; that the young blood of the nation must naturally be drawn toward Democracy, which made a ready place for the newcomers, and welcomed them to a share in the management of the affairs, even into the councils, of the nation. Nor, in the thirty-six years since I cast a ballot for George B. McClellan, have I seen any good cause for changing my views on this subject. It is, indeed, my deliberate opinion that the Democratic party is the only party which offers an even chance to the first voter, not only in the political contest, but in the battle of life as well.

The struggle for existence has gradually become harder and harder in the United States. Man has a right to more than bare existence. Yet the competition between organized wealth and individual effort grows more and more cruel. Everywhere is felt the greedy grasp of corporate monopoly, destroying the first voter's opportunity of making his way in the world; closing the little shops in which his father made a fair living for himself and his family; absorbing one line of individual business after another; converting the successful lawyers into corporation advisers, driving the others into poorly paid clerkships; concentrating into the hands of the few the opportunities which were formerly open to the honorable competition of the many. Must the young men of the United States clerk for corporations at home, or fight for corporations in the Philippines, and see the other avenues of life gradually closed by the inexorable grip of the Trusts?

I do not believe the first voters in November, 1900, are going to stand for anything like that, or vote for any party which offers

them no better prospects for achieving success in public or private life.

This is a young country. The young men must decide its destiny. Will they cast their first votes for William Jennings Bryan, the youngest Presidential candidate of the century, young in blood, young in ambition, young in the healthy activities of life, willing to give them all a new chance in the world, representing the party of young men all over the country? I believe the new voters will answer this question in November by a tremendous majority for Bryan and Democracy.

RICHARD CROKER.

V.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST POSITION.

If it were not that an attitude of something like intolerance has found expression to an ominous extent among Administration partisans concerning the Anti-Imperialist movement, it would seem that the existence of an active agitation in the United States of a great public question needed no apology. De Tocqueville has only expanded the aphorism that vigilance is the price of liberty in "Democracy in America," and every student of our institutions has recognized the fact that independent and vigorous criticism is not merely permissible, but that it is the only safeguard of our liberties. Governor Roosevelt asserts, in his "Life of Benton," that the most dangerous element in the community is not what is called the criminal class, but a non-combatant class like the Quakers. The assertion is a characteristically vicious one; but the Rough Rider would be justified in the contention that, in civil affairs, the complacent and inactive citizen comes pretty near being a criminal. Nevertheless, one of the most eminent and honored citizens of a city famous for public spirit and patriotism —and it is to be feared representative of it in this as in other matters—has contented himself in the crisis of 1898-1900 with a passive attitude of acquiescence in the course of the Administration, "because the President must know more about public matters than the people, and the President can be trusted." Were such a precept generally followed, the fate of the Republic would be

justly sealed, and its citizenship would be forfeited by demonstrated unworthiness.

Whatever the result of the Anti-Imperialist cause, it will be set down in history that a generous, philanthropic and loyal movement grew up in the United States, which, in spite of bitter obloquy, artful appeals to selfishness and to every vulgar and glittering motive, and in spite of opposition by all the unscrupulous influences of a party supported by an enormous money power, has stirred the whole country and dictated the policy of a great national organization.

The momentous character of the imperial aggression transcends the issues of the Civil War, or those of any imaginable question that could be presented to a Republic. Its aim is more deadly than to rend the Republic in twain. We believe that it is to sap the sources of its life and to sow the seeds of its destruction. Its most bigoted adherent cannot minimize the fact that the addition of tropical and unassimilable peoples, in permanent colonial relations, to our Republic is the most tremendous departure conceivable from our traditions and principles and practice. No mere phrases ringing changes upon "expansion," "world power" and "destiny", can disguise the right and duty of each citizen to ponder, and decide for himself, propositions so serious and so pregnant that the attempt which has been made to forestall his judgment concerning them is in itself the grossest act of Imperialism.

The few words which follow are to treat of the historical, the legal or constitutional, the commercial-financial and the ethical aspects of the paramount question, the wrong side of which is represented by William McKinley, and the right by William Jennings Bryan.

The history of the Imperialistic movement is perfectly authenticated by official reports, by contemporaneous testimony given by those who have afterwards tried to recede from compromising positions under obvious influences, and by the evidence of civilians, officials, travellers and newspaper correspondents, sometimes by the news telegraphed and written and sometimes by the significant absence of news when the censor interposed to prevent its dispatch. Unfortunately, there are many self-contradictions in written and spoken words by persons in high places. It would

ill become a writer in these pages to accuse the President or his commanding generals or civil subordinates of falsehood. That the contradictory statements automatically accuse their authors is a circumstance beyond his control. The publications of the Anti-Imperialist League, which can be consulted by any person who desires to know the truth, have established a series of facts which will be authentic material for the future historian of the United States, whatever contemporaneous treatment they may receive.

(1.) The secret correspondence of the Government, at an early period of the war with Spain, indicated its interest in the Philippine Islands as a possession.

(2.) The dealings with Aguinaldo, as the leader of the military forces of the Filipinos, by Consul Wildman, Consul Pratt, Admiral Dewey, General Anderson and other officers and representatives of the United States, were, until the capture of Manila was effected by the co-operation of the native troops, allowed to go on, with the distinct knowledge by these officials and representatives that Aguinaldo and his people believed, and had reason to believe, that their independence was to be the result of the joint campaign, in case of its success.*

(3.) The Philippine Government at Malolos, under an excellent constitution, was set up on September 15th, 1898, with a Congress of the chosen representatives of the Tagalog and Visayan races, embracing a large majority of the civilized tribes of the whole archipelago,† with the tacit consent of the functionaries of the United States then present in the Philippines.

(4.) A change of attitude toward the native people, their rulers and their military officers abruptly took place, in compliance with inspiration from Washington; the native launches which had been saluted by our officers when flying the Filipino flag were seized; and our lines about Manila were pressed forward, in spite of the stipulation in the protocol with Spain that the *status quo* should be sacredly respected.

(5.) The Filipinos were denied admittance to the sessions of the Peace Commission at Paris; and, though the President had at first let it be known that he intended only to ask for an island or a coaling station, he changed his instructions and caused his representatives to demand the whole archipelago, inserting the clause

*"I never treated them as allies, except to make use of them."—Dewey.
†Report of Senator Lodge, Chairman of the Committee on the Philippines, Fifty-Sixth Congress, first session, Senate document 171.

of the $20,000,000 payment to Spain, to avoid the complications which might arise from the fact that we had made no conquest beyond Manila.

(6.) The opponents of the treaty in the Senate were so numerous that, though challenged to do so, the Administration did not venture to submit its ratification to a vote. The writer's presence in the Senate and in the Marble Room during these critical sessions,—laboring for the rejection of the treaty,—gives him the opportunity to offer personal testimony to the progress of events. On the night of Friday, February 3d, 1899, the Administration leaders came to the leaders of the Opposition, and virtually confessed themselves beaten by asking what form of joint resolution, declaratory of the intention of the United States to grant the Filipinos independence, would be satisfactory to them. Whatever influences might have been exerted upon Senators, a sufficient vote to defeat the ratification of the treaty seemed assured, unless such a concession were made. The White House, however, did not back up its representatives in the compromise which they had proposed. It had still another card to play. Though Senator Wellington told the writer that, "if the President would allow his private assurances of his intentions to give independence to the Filipinos to be made public", the treaty could be easily ratified, Mr. McKinley still declined to allow any such pledge to be made. Why?

(7.) While the treaty was before the Senate, the President had issued a proclamation on December 21st, 1898, ordering the immediate extension of the sovereignty of the United States and its military government "to the whole of the ceded territory."* This proclamation, General Otis declared, was certain "to incite widespread hostilities", and he actually endeavored to suppress it and supersede it by a conciliatory address of an entirely different character. As a commentary on these transactions, the words of President McKinley at Pittsburg, August 28th, 1899, may be quoted: "Until the treaty was ratified we had no authority beyond Manila city, bay and harbor. We then had no other title to defend, no authority beyond that to maintain."

(8.) Though the original proclamation was promulgated through the misunderstanding of an inferior officer, and though an intense feeling of suspicion was aroused, while our soldiers indicated by their aggravating conduct that they were still

*"Report of General E. S. Otis, Aug. 31st, 1899.

spoiling for a fight and still pressed back the Filipino lines,—to the everlasting credit of Aguinaldo and his army, no serious outbreak had yet occurred.

(9.) The immediate cause of the ratification of the treaty was furnished by the attack on the Filipino lines, February 4th, 1899,* when the principal officers of the Filipino forces were absent, and the American lines sprang into action with ready equipment and instant celerity. The affair was reported to the United States Senate as an attack upon the United States forces by the Filipinos, and thus, at last, the votes needed for the ratification of the treaty were obtained.

(10.) The immediate request by the Filipino leader for an armistice and a neutral zone was refused by the United States commander,† and ever since a war has been prosecuted by the Administration, with no quarter and no hope of quarter unless through the absolute submission of a nation, once our allies against a common foe, and fighting for a liberty which we had virtually promised them, with a courage and persistence which makes them worthy of it, if any people ever were.‡

The Constitutional aspect of the imperial aggression has been discussed by many writers and speakers according to their points of view. It seems hardly necessary to controvert the extreme assertions which have been made, that the sanction of a treaty with a foreign nation can supersede the sanctions of a Constitution. The right of the Congress to dispose of territory, which has been availed of in similar cases, obviously makes it possible to transfer such sovereignty as has been acquired in the Philippine Islands to their inhabitants. The authority to retain them as territory and to govern them permanently outside of the Constitution, will doubtless be sought from the Supreme Court, as the recognition of an existing politi-

*"Firing upon the Filipinos and the killing of one of them by the Americans, leading to return fire."—Maj.-Gen. E. S. Otis. Report up to April 6, 1899.

†"Feb. 9, 1899. "Aguinaldo now applies for a cessation of hostilities and conference; have declined to answer."—Maj.-Gen. E. S. Otis's report. This statement, confirmed by General C. McReeve, has recently been denied by General Otis, who says his own "dispatch" was "misleading!"

‡"I do not think so meanly of the most unscrupulous advocate of a policy of aggression and subjugation as to doubt that, if the case were reversed, and we or he were in the place of Aguinaldo and the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, he would resist to the last extremity and would counsel his countrymen to resist to the last extremity. But we are yet to learn of what temper these islanders are made; whether their powers of endurance are equal to their courage and their love of liberty."—Letter from the Hon. Geo. F. Hoar, March 29, 1899.

cal fact. Hitherto, the march of the Constitution, as the progress of the interpretations of that instrument has been called where doubts existed, has been enlightened by the principles of the Declaration of Independence. John Marshall, who has been justly characterized as the guide, the light and the defender of the Constitution, won his imperishable fame by the diligence with which he sought the attainment of those objects for which it is declared to have been instituted. While Marshall might not have adopted the strict construction in the Dred Scott case maintained by Judge Taney and his associates, because it involved the extension of human slavery contrary to the spirit of the instrument and of the Declaration of Independence, it can hardly be doubted that now, since this construction involves, under the changed conditions, the extension of liberty, Marshall would have to-day maintained that very construction. The survivors of those who then opposed it may now support that construction with absolute consistency. If the Supreme Court is still inspired by the spirit of its great leaders, its illumination, from the Declaration of Independence and the traditions of the Government, will enlighten its counsels so that the contentions of the present Administration will be defeated, and those arrogated powers which have been exerted with such fatal results will be overthrown. Then Porto Rico must have statehood or it must be alienated, and the Philippines must have statehood or they must be alienated.

It is a part of the Constitutional or legal aspect of the matter, that no embarrassment need be feared from possible complications involved in such a protectorate as has been suggested for the Philippines, or which might be implied by an enfranchised Porto Rico. Who can doubt that the nations of the world would accept, at the suggestion of the United States, the neutralization of these countries, as in the case of Belgium and Switzerland?

Finally, it should be noted that the Administration has never even suggested the obvious and legal method by way of amendment to the Constitution for so vast an extension of the powers of the Government, but that it has endeavored to foist upon the people a party measure, which transcends in importance any change of which its authors could have dreamed.

There are several aspects in which the commercial or financial results of tropical colonial expansion may be regarded, all equally

fatal to the specious arguments which have been exploited by the friends of the Administration.

(1.) The consideration of the balance between the cost of subjugation, now called "policing" vassal states, and any possible profit therefrom, is one of the most interesting of these. The expenses incurred on account of the Philippines are at the rate of about $200,000,000 per annum. There is no immediate prospect of any considerable reduction in this pretty little bill. The total sum of the exports and imports of the archipelago has not exceeded $30,000,000 a year. Let the Imperialist indicate any possible source of increase in the consuming or producing power of the islands which can overcome the frightful debit.

(2.) It is impossible to believe, after the uprising against the "scuttle" policy of the Administration in the matter of the Porto Rican tariff, that the tyrannical policy could be maintained of imposing duties to prevent colonial productions from competing with our own industries. Thus the sugar growing of tropical dependencies, promoted by our own capital, will ruin the sugar industry of the United States. The tobacco trade will, by similar means, be largely transferred to these favorable regions. Labor will be brought to the level of the standard of Asiatic living. For, even though sovereignty did not imply freedom of movement on the part of the subject peoples, the indentured labor system, a form of slavery, which English emissaries are endeavoring to induce the United States to graft upon our colonial system after the example of Great Britain, would probably sooner or later be adopted by the Imperialists.

(3.) The ultimate result of the extension of our Eastern policy to China is easily foreseen. A development of commercial opportunity in that densely populated country, to which we are pointed with such enthusiasm, means what? Not a market but a menace—the opportunity to export some tools and machinery to create Chinese industries which may soon supply the markets of the world. As Richtofen says: "The slumbering factors of an immense industrial production all exist here." There are already five large cotton mills in Shanghai. Wages average about ten cents a day, and the ready adaptiveness of the labor is indicated by the fact that productive capacity has increased twenty-five per cent. in one year. Not prosperity but ruin and disaster are the auguries of expansion.

The ethical side of a condition which has followed avoidable war need only, it might be supposed, be calmly contemplated to arouse the conscience of the whole nation in vehement opposition. In Cuba, a population on the verge of revolution; a broken and bitter subject race in Porto Rico; in the Philippines, a defiant and persistent enemy. Corruption in the Administration, horrible licensed vice in Manila, the outrages of an irregular contest beyond even the cruel laws of war and the chartered savagery of barbarous allies, the treatment of Catholic Christians as heathens, the desecration of churches, rapine, ravishing and murder; in what a horrible propaganda of wickedness the United States has been engaged for months, which are now gathering up their dread account into years. This explains the censorship which keeps the truth from America. While all these horrors are going on, because they do not come within reach of the senses, the defenders of the Administration rely upon the comfort and prosperity which are as yet superficially apparent in domestic affairs to dull the ears and steel the hearts of the American people. It is the old Imperial idea that nothing matters while there is a plenty of bread and circuses. It is impossible that we should long remain thus callous; but, even should we otherwise do so, there is reason to expect that the inflation of a vastly expanded currency is about to collapse, and that wages, which have not now the purchasing power of four years ago, will be reduced or cut off, and that bad times will arouse the people to the wrong which is being done at home and abroad.

As for the bogie which the Republican party is trying to manufacture out of the corpse embalmed in the Democratic Platform, it may be said that, if it has any living menace, the mind which could place the Silver Issue in the same plane with or above the issue of Imperialism would have sacrificed the Union in the war between the States, rather than have risked the depression of the currency.

President McKinley, as Governor Boutwell has eloquently said, was given "an opportunity for the enrollment of his name with that of the Czar of Russia, who emancipated millions of hereditary serfs; with the name of Lincoln, a name that can never die; with the name of the Emperor of Brazil, who struck the shackles from the last slave on the American continent. Presi-

dent McKinley could have said to the inhabitants of Porto Rico and the Philippines: "We have acquired the title of Spain, such as it is; but your title, by possession, is the better title. We are prepared to surrender the Spanish title to you. The yoke of Imperialism is broken. Organize free governments and prepare to found free states, and thus to create happy and prosperous commonwealths."

He has refused the great opportunity. "And this is the writing that was written,—'Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin'."

ERVING WINSLOW.

VI.

THE VITAL ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN.

THE crucial issue of this Presidential campaign is, whether we shall keep or lose our present prosperity at home and our new gains and prestige abroad. We know what we now have. We know that a change of Administration would reverse our existing policies, both domestic and foreign, and overturn their results. The decisive question of the hour is whether the American people want such a change.

There are many broad differences between the policies and purposes of the two great parties, as now led. They touch the sanctity of the courts, the power inherent in nationality, the efficiency of a protective tariff, and various other subjects. But, while other matters are at stake and will be affected by the result, the battle this year is waged over two central and conclusive questions. First: Shall we maintain the existing gold standard, with business confidence and stability, or shall we change to the silver standard, with an immediate and inevitable financial convulsion? Second: Shall we fulfill the duties and responsibilities and preserve the advantages which have come to us with the expansion of our country, or shall we renounce the obligations of our victories and abandon all that we have gained?

Whatever other phases may be suggested, whatever sidelights may be thrown on the contest, the vital struggle turns on these two salient and overshadowing propositions. The paramount issue of a campaign is determined, not by the assertion of any candidate or convention, but by the obvious effect of the election

and the relative importance of its results in their bearing on the welfare of the people. It is fixed, not by declarations, but by events and consequences. We measure issues by practical tests. We knew and felt the hard times from 1893 to 1897. We know and feel the good times since. Both conditions were and are visible, tangible and palpable. They are within the consciousness of every man. They have directly affected every man's interest and well-being.

We hear a great deal about "Imperialism" as a paramount issue, but who sees it or feels it as we see and feel hard times or good times? Whatever it is, it is already here, according to the phantom-fanciers; it has been here ever since our flag waved over the new possessions; with such Cæsarism actually oppressing us, we ought to know it and groan under it. But, as a matter of fact, are there any real evils which men are suffering from it, and of which they are so conscious that, in order to escape these evils, they are ready for business panic and calamity? The supporters of President McKinley point to a real, living, unparalleled prosperity, and contend that the success of their opponents would blight it and bring disaster. The supporters of Mr. Bryan point to an imaginary "Imperialism," and contend that the success of their opponents would continue it. Would the continuance of this spectre, whatever it may be, have any such direct and vital bearing on the immediate interests, happiness and welfare of the people as a change from good times to hard times? Which, then, is the paramount issue?

If Mr. Bryan's election would produce the result of overturning our existing prosperity, this question manifestly transcends all others in importance. If any issue he represents involves that effect, it is plainly paramount, whether called so or not. No other question, significant as it may be, can approach in supreme consequence that of preserving the general well-being, content and success of the great body of the people. Now, our present prosperity can be wrecked and general disaster produced, either by the actual adoption of the silver standard or by such menace and fear of its adoption as would destroy confidence. Mr. Bryan was defeated in 1896 because the country realized that his election would bring in free silver and the silver standard, with its destruction of confidence, its unsettlement of values, its paralysis of enterprise and industry, and its universal losses. He

holds to the same policy now, and, in the event of his election, what is to prevent the same result?

He publicly declares that the gold standard shall not remain, if he is able to get rid of it. If he is honest and sincere in the convictions he has expressed for years, he is bound to make warfare on the gold standard. The way for attack is just as clear now as it was in 1896, except for the currency law passed last winter. That is the only obstacle to the silver standard which did not exist when Mr. Bryan was running before. It is an effective barrier in the hands of an Administration that wants to make it such. But it is only a statutory enactment, capable of being amended by another Congress, or of being neutralized by an unfriendly Administration. A popular current strong enough to elect Mr. Bryan would inevitably elect a Bryan House of Representatives. It would carry States with Senatorial elections pending that would assure a close and doubtful Senate. A President aggressively for the free coinage of silver at sixteen to one and an uncertain and plastic Congress would make it an imminent danger. Even if Congress did nothing, a compliant Secretary of the Treasury, agreeing with Mr. Bryan and obedient to his directions, could pay coin obligations in silver and practically paralyze the statute. Law does not enforce itself. It is inert unless executed. A hostile and ineffective Administration makes it a dead letter.

But the deadly effect would be felt without waiting for direct action. The menace and fear of the silver standard, even before its accomplishment, would blight our prosperity. The election of Mr. Bryan would at once excite that alarm. He has publicly announced that he would summon the new Congress in extra session immediately on taking his seat. If he were elected in November, the country would know that, in four months, the Pandora's box of evils of a silver President and a dubious Congress would be opened. The uncertainty and apprehension thus created would destroy the general sense of confidence and security. Nobody would know what to count on. Confidence is the vital breath of trade and enterprise. Destroy confidence, and you undermine the foundation of men's dealings. Values would tumble, panic would come, and widespread disaster would follow.

And it must not be overlooked that the disaster would be greater now than it would have been in 1896. It is the character-

istic of human nature, long associated with possible perils, to minimize them and lose its dread. Pompeii, familiar with the terrors of Vesuvius, ceased to fear until the fiery avalanche came. The submersion and destruction of Galveston from a tornado and a tidal wave had long been predicted, but years of escape had bred thoughtlessness of the danger. Johnstown grew and prospered and lived merrily under an overhanging reservoir, but at last the cataclysm overtook it. In 1896, the menace of the silver standard, with all its perils, was new and startled the country. The awakened sense of a great possible catastrophe put us on guard, and it was warded off. That escape, and continued familiarity with a threat which did not eventuate, have served to benumb and deaden the general sense of danger; but, in reality, the calamity of Mr. Bryan's election, with the consequent financial convulsion and business distress, would be far severer now than it would have been in 1896.

The reason is that we have more to lose. We have farther to fall. We should be plunged to the same depths from a higher altitude. In 1896, we had already suffered four years of hard times and low prices. Widespread bankruptcy, universal depression and a general fall of values had brought us down toward the silver level. We should have dropped, but dropped from a low plane. On the other hand, if we fall now we shall fall from a loftier height with more disastrous results. Prices, values, securities, wages are all far higher than they were in 1896. They are on the recognized and accepted gold level, with the buoyancy of unprecedented prosperity, and a fall to the silver level would produce an immeasurable shock. The sudden realization of such a possibility through Mr. Bryan's election would immediately shatter confidence, and cause the greatest financial convulsion the country has ever seen. Our markets are more closely connected with those of Europe than ever before. With our present splendid financial standing we have become a creditor nation The Powers of Europe are coming to us for large loans. The upheaval of our markets by the threat of the silver standard would convulse the Bourses of London, Paris and Berlin, which would react here, and the sweeping extent of the financial, business and industrial calamity would be beyond calculation.

In domestic affairs, therefore, the vital issue of the campaign is between the gold standard and the silver standard, between

prosperity and panic. In the very nature of the case, because it directly touches the daily life and well-being of every man, woman and child in the country, this issue must overshadow all others in practical importance. When we pass to the questions which have grown out of the Spanish war and of the resulting territorial acquisitions, the attitudes of the two candidates are equally distinct, and the conclusion must be equally decisive. These questions are substantially concentrated in the discussion over the Philippines. President McKinley recognizes the duty of maintaining our sovereignty and giving the people of the islands self-government as fast as they are prepared for it. He follows Jefferson's course in Louisiana and Monroe's in Florida. Mr. Bryan, on the other hand, proposes to abandon our sovereignty, to set up a supreme government of Aguinaldo and his followers, to recognize its independence, and to maintain its independence and authority against domestic violence and foreign aggression by an American protectorate.

Here are two distinct, sharply defined plans of procedure. What they involve must, under limitations of space, be stated in few words. President McKinley's plan holds what we have gained; maintains our authority, which is recognized by all of the outside world and accepted by all of the Filipinos, except a small and diminishing band of insurgents whose insurrection will cease the moment he is re-elected; requires no additional but a decreasing force; and develops the inhabitants into self-rule. Mr. Bryan's plan surrenders the only authority now existing in the islands; undertakes to establish the rule of Aguinaldo; precipitates a bloody conflict among the inharmonious tribes, which, while bowing to us, will not recognize each other's dominance; leaves the islands open to foreign complications and aggression; and, after giving a free hand to the Filipinos, commits us to protect them against these inevitable dangers. Mr. Bryan's idea, as indicated both in his earlier speech and in his recent letter of acceptance, is to protect them by the Monroe doctrine. This shows an astonishing confusion of mind. The Monroe doctrine is a policy framed for the protection of this hemisphere and limited to the American half of the world. Europe recognizes and respects it, because it is confined to the two Americas. Undertake to extend it to Europe or Asia or Africa, and it would break down here. In assuming to apply it for the protection of

the Philippines, Mr. Bryan would destroy its force for the protection of America.

Besides thus dealing the dealiest blow at the Monroe doctrine through its complete misconception and misapplication, his policy would equally approach the militarism and imperialism he professes to abhor. There is no imperialism in lawfully maintaining our rightful sovereignty, as we do in Alaska. There is no militarism in suppressing revolt against our authority, as we do in Arizona. But, in undertaking to set up the government of another power where we had expressly surrendered sovereignty and title, Mr. Bryan's policy involves imperial prerogative. And in assuming responsibility for Aguinaldo's administration, while abdicating all authority of our own, it would require a far larger force than is needed to maintain our existing rights, and would give an exhibit of militarism. His policy for the Philippines is as fatal as his policy of free silver.

CHARLES EMORY SMITH.

VII.

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY OR PRESIDENT BRYAN?

The American people have come to know that each of the candidates for the Presidency is a man of strong and forceful personality. The notion that either is a man of weak intelligence, or uncertain will, controlled by some stronger nature, has gone by. President McKinley has not only been Chief Executive of the United States for nearly four years, but he has been Chief Executive in his own mind. I was told—what I do not doubt in the least—by an eminent Senator who was at one time popularly supposed to make up the President's mind for him every morning, that he had been to the White House to talk politics with the President but twice during the whole winter, except on such local matters as all Senators are consulted about, and that, in many of his visits to the President in leisure hours, politics or public affairs were not mentioned at all. President McKinley has exerted a large personal force, concealed in a quiet courtesy of manner, and tempered by great kindness of heart and considerate respect for other men, ever since he entered the public service as a young soldier during the War of the Rebellion.

It is but the idlest folly to deny that Mr. Bryan, who, in a single speech, took by storm the National Convention of a great party then full of an exultant, though vain, hope of triumph, compelled it to discard all its old leaders and to adopt him and his theories, and who, after one signal defeat, has maintained himself not merely as a leader, but a dictator, in spite of the remonstrances of the wisest, ablest and most popular of the party chieftains, is possessed of a strong will, a vigorous understanding, and an earnest and steadfast purpose. Without being President, he has twice compelled the Democratic party to take him as a candidate, and dictated a platform setting forth his own opinions, or the doctrines he thinks will command success for him in his political aspirations. If he shall be President, he will compel his party to renominate him again on such a platform as he shall think fit. There have been Presidential elections in which the personal quality of the candidate made little difference, except as he might happen to have more or less the gift of attracting votes. Pierce would have done pretty much the same thing as Buchanan did, and Buchanan as Pierce did. Monroe would have done pretty much the same thing as Madison. Sherman would have done pretty much the same thing as Harrison. Seymour would have done pretty much the same thing as McClellan. But each of the candidates this year not only means to be elected President if he can, but means to be President himself after he is elected.

There are two classes of men whose minds are made up. I will not say that all argument will be thrown away upon them. But all arguments I can make would be thrown away upon them. One is the zealous partisan, who follows party wherever it leads. To him the party and its President, or its candidate for the Presidency, are what the Holy Father and the Church are to the devout Catholic. He has no opinion of his own. He looks to his party to furnish his platform and political leader, as the zealous devotee of the Church looks to it alike for doctrine and for spiritual guide.

The other class comprehends a great variety of men—Populists, Socialists, Anarchists—men who think the free coinage of silver a panacea for all sorrows; men who have a special crotchet which they think will reconstruct society. To neither of these, nor to the thorough Democratic partisan, is it worth while to address political discussion now.

There are two classes of men open to argument. Many of them are still undecided. If they unite to support Mr. McKinley, it will make his election sure.

First, there is the conservative Democrat. He is probably a free-trader, unless, as is quite apt to be the case, he is himself engaged in a protected industry. He has no faith in the National authority to protect the negro, or to secure fair elections. He has been a Democrat always, as was his father before him, unless possibly he may be the son of a Hunker Whig who opposed the war and the Constitutional amendments. He has a general dislike of Republican ways and Republican leaders. But he believes in public honesty, in sound finance, in the authority of the Supreme Court; and he has no sort of respect for Mr. Bryan, for Populism, or Socialism, and does not wish to risk the safety of his investments, or the value of his comfortable property. He is doubting whether it is not better to continue Republican power for another term, and calmly bear the ills we have, than to fly to those we know not of, under Mr. Bryan. He hopes, also, that if Bryan be thoroughly defeated once more, the Democratic party may be purified, and be fit again for his support. I think he will vote for McKinley, or he will not vote at all. But he will not look to me for counsel, and I have nothing in the way of argument adapted to persuade him.

The other man in doubt is the Anti-Imperialist Republican. He has been saying all his life that all men are created equal in political rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. He thinks the United States have no right to hold vassals or subjects. He is a great expansionist; but the expansion he believes in is the extension of the country by adding new States and enlarging the population of freemen. He believes there is such a thing as Imperialism, in spite of the disclaimer of his Republican friends. When anybody says the Philippine Islands are ours, he understands that to be Imperialism, and he replies, "The Philippine Islands belong to the Philippine people." When anybody says, "We will establish for them such good government as we think they are fit for," he answers, "That is Imperialism. They are entitled to establish for themselves such government as they think good and fit for themselves." That he calls Anti-Imperialism. He is considering just now, painfully and sorrowfully, whether he will

vote the Republican ticket or no. Perhaps he will listen to a few suggestions before he decides. To him I wish to appeal.

First. Either William McKinley or William J. Bryan is to be the next President. Unless you vote for one or the other, you will vote in the air. You may as well leave your vote with the census officer, or with the grocer, as with the election officer, unless you vote for one or the other of these two men.

Now, some things have happened in the past which, however you regard them, cannot be helped now. The treaty with Spain has been ratified. We have had eighteen months of war in the Philippine Islands. Instead of another Japan, taking its high rank among the powers of the earth; instead of Cuba, sending its youth to our shores, grateful to us as their liberators from centuries of oppression, to sit docile learners at our feet, we have a sullen, angry and shattered people. Whatever has caused all this, whether it was a mistake, or whether it was the inevitable cost of the discharge of a great duty, we cannot help it now. We have to deal with the future.

Now, the only question for the Republican Anti-Imperialist is, whether the chance that Mr. Bryan and the Democrats will do what the Republican Anti-Imperialist thinks should be done in the future, which will not be done by Mr. McKinley and the Republicans, is worth the price he is to pay for it if he votes for Mr. Bryan. It is not whether we should instantly withdraw from the Philippine Islands; it is not whether the abandonment of our claim to hold them in subjection be worth accomplishing at the cost of national bankruptcy, or financial distress, at the cost of free trade and the ruin of our manufactures, at the cost of repeating again the nightmare of Democratic administration. If we concede that we are willing to go through with that, if we can only get back to the Declaration of Independence again, still that is not the important question now. The important question now is: Is there anything that Mr. Bryan can be trusted to do about it that is worth the cost of giving him the power to do what he will do, if he can, in other matters?

Now, let us understand exactly the price we are asked to pay, and then let us understand exactly what reasonable hope there is that Mr. Bryan can or will accomplish anything for the independence of the Philippine people, if he be elected. You agree, my friend, that the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 means

national dishonor, great injury to business, the reduction by half of all savings, the destruction of the standard of value—making all business transactions gambling transactions, and a great reduction, not only of the savings of the wage-earner, but of the wages he is to earn hereafter. Now, can Mr. Bryan put us on a silver basis, and will he? He says he will, and he says he can.

At Knoxville, Tenn., Sept. 16, 1896, he said: "If there is any one who believes the gold standard is a good thing, or that it must be maintained, I warn him not to cast his vote for me, because I promise him it will not be maintained in this country longer than I am able to get rid of it."

And at Topeka, when he accepted the Populists' nomination the other day, he told them:

"No Populist, however sanguine, believes it possible to elect a Populist President at this time, but the Populist party may be able to determine whether a Democrat or a Republican will be elected.

"If the fusion forces win a victory this fall, we shall see the reform accomplished"—he was speaking of monetary reform—"before the next Presidential election, and with its accomplishment the people will find it easier to secure any remedial legislation which they may desire."

He means to do just that thing. He believes he can do it by Executive power, and believes, as he says, that "with its accomplishment the people will find it easier to secure any remedial legislation which they may desire." Monetary reform first, remedial legislation next, is what he promises to do.

Mr. Secretary Gage says he can do it, and that he can do it by the exercise of the lawful power now lodged in the Executive. Some people think Mr. Gage is mistaken in his conception of the extent of the Executive power under existing laws. But whether he be mistaken or no, have you any doubt that Mr. Bryan agrees with him, and that he will not hesitate to do what he now promises to do, what he has the great authority of the Republican Secretary of the Treasury for saying that he can lawfully do? You think to do it means national dishonor and business ruin. So you are to pay national dishonor and business ruin as part only of the cost of getting a President who now professes to agree with you about the Philippine Islands.

Now, in four Southern States, by an ingenious device, they have undertaken to legalize the disfranchisement of the negro, and to overturn all the Constitutional amendments. Two other States are about doing the same thing. If they succeed, there can be no question that the same thing will be done in every other Southern State, with one or two possible exceptions. Now, with that accomplished, there will be disfranchised ten million American citizens at home. It will give the Southern white Democrats fifty or sixty Representatives, and the same number of votes in the Electoral College, not dependent upon numbers, and representing sheer usurpation. It will not only disfranchise ten million American citizens in the Southern States, whose numbers are, of course, to increase with every census, but it will disfranchise to that extent the free white citizens of the North. In every future election, the Republican party of the North is to play against Tammany Hall and the Southern Democracy, and the latter will hold these loaded dice. It may be that we cannot baffle the purpose which has already been so far accomplished. But the express mandate of the Constitution is that in such case the representation of the offending States shall be proportionately diminished. I am not now waving the bloody shirt. I am not now reviving the old issues. I am not now talking about election laws, or laws for the suppression of violence. I am simply calling your attention to the question, whether you mean to be disfranchised yourselves, and to have fifty or sixty Southern Democratic Representatives in the national House of Representatives to vote you down for the indefinite future. Now, nobody will dream for a moment that, if Bryan and the Democratic party shall come into power, this Constitutional mandate will be obeyed. And you, a Republican; you, a friend of equality; you, who believe that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed; you, who believe that all men are equal in political rights; you, who mean that your government, at least, shall rest on your own consent, and that you are yourself equal in political rights to the best Southern Democrat that ever trod the country's soil—are asked to sustain this thing in the next Presidential election by your vote, because Mr. William J. Bryan says he is in favor of justice and freedom and independence in the Far East.

Another thing: I agree that it is not equal in importance

to the two considerations I have stated. You have believed that the prosperity of the American workman, and of the American employer, the prosperity of labor and capital alike, the comfort of the workman's home, the independence of American manufacture, depend on our protective system for which you have been working and voting ever since you came to manhood. Will Mr. Bryan and his party have learned anything by experience? They are pledged to overthrow that if they can, and they ask you, without disguise of their purpose, to help them to overthrow that, if they can.

Another thing: Mr. Bryan stands in 1900 on the platform of 1896. He will, if he can, fill the Supreme Court of the United States, whose membership is now largely composed of old men, with judges of his way of thinking. You are to commit to him that august tribunal, which has been our rock of defense and our ark of safety so often. When you bring a President into power, you bring with him into power, as his counsellors, the men who have been his political companions and advisers, and who have contributed most to his elevation. I will not name names. But the intelligent Republican who is hesitating as to his duty now, knows very well who are the active and efficient Bryan men, South and North, East and West. Whom will he consult in Massachusetts? Whom will he consult in New York city and State? Whom will he consult, whose advice will he take, in the West, and in the South? Mr. Tillman, of South Carolina, of whom I have no word of disrespect, reported the Democratic platform to the Convention at Kansas City. He is, I think, an honest, manly and able statesman. He has a marvellous gift of racy speech. He has become the dominant power in his own State and section, where he overthrew the old Democratic leaders, like Hampton and Butler, with one hand, and put the Republican majority of his State under his feet with the other. This is what he said last winter in the Senate. The terrible, tragic meaning of his words is almost forgotten in our admiration for the manly frankness of the avowal.

"We took the government away. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it. The Senator from Wisconsin would have done the same thing. I see it in his eye right now. He would have done it. With that system—force, tissue ballots, etc.—we got tired ourselves. So we called a constitutional convention, and we

eliminated, as I said, all of the colored people whom we could under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

"I want to call your attention to the remarkable change that has come over the spirit of the dream of the Republicans; to remind you, gentlemen from the North, that your slogans of the past—brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God—have gone glimmering down the ages. The brotherhood of man exists no longer, because you shoot negroes in Illinois, when they come in competition with your labor, as we shoot them in South Carolina, when they come in competition with us in the matter of elections. You do not love them any better than we do. You used to pretend that you did; but you no longer pretend it, except to get their votes.

"You deal with the Filipinos just as we deal with the negroes, only you treat them a heap worse."*

Now, if you elect Mr. Bryan, the one most powerful force in Mr. Bryan's counsel at the South will be Mr. Tillman, the rising young leader of the powerful Democracy of that section, as in New York it will be Richard Croker, who has been faithful to Mr. Bryan and to his principles from the beginning, and who is the political despot of the Empire State. There are twenty million human beings, whose rights as freemen are at stake—ten million at home and ten million abroad. Will you consent to put your heel on the ten million at home, and, standing on their prostrate liberties, proclaim liberty to the nations of the world? You believe Mabini and Aguinaldo fit for self-government. So do I. You believe that Booker Washington is fit for self-government. So do I. Shall we—as Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party do, as Mr. Bryan and his Mugwump and Independent supporters do—strangle Booker Washington with one hand, and wave the flag over the head of Aguinaldo with the other?

This is the price, or a part of the price, you are to pay. You are to commit all the unknown questions of the unknown future to Mr. Bryan and his Democratic allies, if you elect him to power. What sort of statesmanship do you think they will furnish, to deal with great questions that now confront us?

Abraham Lincoln said in 1864 that it was not a good plan to swap horses while crossing the stream. Is it a good plan to swap horses while crossing the dangerous and stormy Chinese sea in a typhoon? What are you to get in the way of an equivalent for the terrible price you are asked to pay? You remember Dr. Franklin's story—trite as the a-b-c or the multiplica-

*Congressional Record, February 26, 1900, pp. 2,347-2,348.

tion table; yet we may well repeat it, since the wit of man cannot improve it—of the boy who paid too dear for his whistle. Will you get anything from Mr. Bryan, except a whistle?

It is said by some of our friends that we wish to punish President McKinley and the Republican party for the great wrong they have committed. Which deserves being punished the more, President McKinley and the Republicans who made the treaty, and who voted for it, believing that the Philippine people were semi-civilized, incapable of self-government, sure to fall an easy prey to the ambition or greed of foreign nations, or wear themselves out in domestic strife, or Mr. Bryan, who, thinking as we do, by his personal influence caused the treaty to be ratified? You and I think Mr. McKinley and the Republicans who supported the treaty were all wrong in their belief. But the President negotiated the treaty, and the Senate gave its consent. Now, what did Mr. Bryan do? He thought the people of the Philippine Islands were entitled to govern themselves. He thought we had no Constitutional power to govern them. He thought that to undertake that government was to convert this Government into an Empire. He thought it was to do infinite mischief to our citizenship, and infinite wrong to the people we were to subjugate. Now, so believing, Mr. Bryan came to Washington and stabbed the cause of Anti-Imperialism in the back in the hour of its assured victory. The treaty would have been beaten, almost by a majority; at any rate, with a very large vote to spare. Mr. Bryan put forth all his power as a great political leader—the last candidate of his party for the Presidency, certain to be its next candidate—to secure the adoption of this treaty which contained and wrought, as he believed, all these evils. I will not discuss his motive. But I cannot think of any good rational explanation, except that, knowing very well that he was more likely to be beaten on them in a time of prosperity, he wished to keep this question alive for the campaign.

The Senate was the West Point of the resistance to Imperialism. It could not be captured unless the forces of one side outnumbered the forces of the other two to one. It was as if some great General and great political leader in the Revolution had surrendered West Point to the British enemy, and had induced the Continental Congress to declare by vote that George III. was the lawful sovereign, and the British Parliament the lawful legis-

lature for the American Colonies. That vote made it the Constitutional duty of the President to reduce the Philippine Islands to subjection, and to restore order and peace. From that duty he could be relieved only by an act of Congress, requiring the assent of Senate and House, and his own Constitutional approval —an assent and approval which Mr. Bryan then knew full well it was utterly preposterous to expect.

Mr. Justice Grier, giving the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Prize Cases, 2 Black, 665, declared that although the President cannot initiate or declare war, he is bound to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and that by the acts of Congress of February 28, 1795, and March 3, 1807, he is authorized to call out the military and naval forces of the United States to suppress insurrection against the Government of the United States; and that although he does not initiate war, he is bound to accept the challenge without waiting for any special legislative authority, and must himself decide whether, in fulfilling his duty in suppressing an insurrection, he is met with such armed resistance as will compel him to give them the character of belligerent, and that this is a question to be decided *by him.*

Mr. Justice Nelson adds: The whole military and naval power of the United States is put under the President's control to meet such an emergency. There was some dissent as to other parts of the opinion. But in this opinion the Court was unanimous. These two judges were distinguished Democrats, and upon the Court sat at the time Taney and Catron and Clifford.

In American Insurance Co. v. Canter, 1 Peters, 511, Chief Justice Marshall says: "The Constitution confers absolutely on the government . . . the power of acquiring territory, either by conquest or by treaty. . . . If it be ceded by treaty, the acquisition is confirmed, and the ceded territory becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed, either on the terms stipulated in the treaty of cession, or on such as its new master shall impose."

The treaty, whose adoption Mr. Bryan procured, by putting forth his whole power to secure it, declared the people of the Philippine Islands subjects of the United States. It made their warfare insurrection against the Government of the United States. It made it the Constitutional duty of the President to put that

insurrection down. It also affirmed and exercised the power of the United States to purchase sovereignty over ten million people for money, pledged the faith of the country for payment and promised that Congress, and not the people concerned, should dispose of their future. All these things Mr. Bryan helped to do. He is more responsible for them than any other man in the country, since the treaty left the hands of the Executive. When you punish President McKinley and the Republican party for what they did, you punish the country and you punish yourself. Do you not think Mr. Bryan and his seventeen followers who voted for the treaty deserve a little punishment also? You can inflict that by saving and benefiting the country, without endangering it in any degree.

Mr. Bryan says he thought the mischief would be cured by the passage of the Bacon resolution affirming our purpose to give that people self-government hereafter. Mr. Bryan, it seems to me, must have known that the passage of such a resolution was quite improbable, and that, if it had passed the Senate, it would have been of no vigor or effect whatever, a mere idle resolve, without any Constitutional potency, unless it were agreed to by the House and approved by the President. The treaty became the law of the land by the express terms of the Constitution. A treaty is greater than a common statute, because it not only is the law of the land, but it pledges the faith of the American people. Now, how idle for a gentleman aspiring to the great office of the Presidency to say: "Oh, yes, I made it the law of the land that it was the duty of Congress to govern the people of the Philippine Islands; I bought them and paid for them; I pledged the faith of the Government that this thing should be done, and that this thing should be done in this way, and I trusted to the chance hereafter that one House of Congress alone might pass a resolution that they did not mean to keep on in that policy."

But Mr. Bryan says he wanted to get the matter out of the hands of the President, and into the hands of Congress. Now, in the first place, his whole theory was and is that the Philippine Islands is a matter with which Congress has rightfully or Constitutionally nothing to do; and, in the second place, the method he took was not calculated to take the matter out of the hands of the President or to put it into the hands of Congress.

But he says he wanted to get peace with Spain, and he did not want to run the risk of making amendments to the treaty to which Spain might not consent. But he knew very well then that the war with Spain was over. Her fleets were shattered, her armies were captive, she had sued for peace, and her Commissioners had said to the people of the United States in express words, "We are in your power, and Spain is compelled to accede to any terms you may dictate." How idle is any suggestion that Spain would not gladly have acquiesced in an amendment of the treaty which put the Philippine Islands on the same footing with the people of Cuba. A cable dispatch would have brought the eager consent of Spain to such an amendment in twenty-four hours.

But Mr. Bryan says that if the treaty had been defeated, then the President would have called, after the next 4th of March, an extra session of the Senate, in which the Republican majority would have been larger, and would have secured its ratification then. I do not believe it. That would have required a delay of several months, and if Mr. Bryan had exercised his influence as a political leader against the treaty, instead of in its favor, the two-thirds majority would never have been commanded for it.

But, talking of what the Senate would have done at its extra session, can Mr. Bryan doubt that if he had got through his resolution, which failed, that it would have been repealed in six weeks? A treaty is the law of the land, as I have said, and pledges the faith of the Government. The Senate cannot abrogate it, if it would; and it will be a rare case when Congress and the President will undertake to abrogate it, if they can. But this empty resolution of Brother Bryan's, if a majority had been for it, and not against it, as it was, he knows as well as I do, and his supporters know as well as you do, would have been doomed to a life of less than six weeks, if it had ever been adopted.

If you look at Mr. Bryan's promises as to silver, you will not find them vague and unmeaning. He does not say, when he talks about his financial schemes, that he shall call an extra session of Congress, and hopes they will do something. He says the thing will be done. He means business.

If you analyze Mr. Bryan's assurances in regard to the Philippine Islands, they do not differ much, practically, as to the future, from those of the present Administration. In everything else we

have got the same Mr. Bryan and the same Democratic party. If the Democratic campaign of 1896 was, as we all believed and styled it then, "a passionate crusade of dishonor," is it any less a passionate crusade of dishonor now? Will the policy which would have overthrown the public credit then not overthrow it now? Will the policy which brought suffering into the homes of the American workingman in 1892 fail to accomplish the same result in 1900? Will the ring of a dishonest dollar, or the outcry against the disgrace of a broken promise, please the ear any better in the new century than in the old?

Have the laws of trade, and the maxims of finance, and the Constitutional rights of American citizens; has the authority and supremacy of law; has the character of Tammany Hall; have the purposes of the old Democratic leaders—changed in four years?

My zealous friend, the old story will repeat itself again. The Southern Democrat will hold you as fish to his hook as long as he wants you, and then he will toss you back, half dead, into the sea.

You and I think that the Republican party, whatever mistakes it has made, has been true to freedom and justice and righteousness in the past. The men who have composed it, and who still compose it, have wrought everything for justice and righteousness and freedom that has been wrought in this country for half a century.

It has made, in my judgment, one great mistake. But with these two parties standing side by side, promising justice and good government to this Oriental people, I trust the party that has made but one mistake, rather than the party whose sole existence has been a mistake. I prefer the Government which the Republican party has established at home, to the Governments which the Democratic party has established and has sought to establish at home. I prefer freedom and justice and equality and local self-government after the pattern of New England and Massachusetts, rather than after the pattern of Mississippi and South Carolina. I like the gospel according to McKinley better than the gospel according to Bryan. I do not believe that Mr. Bryan or his associates will do better for ten million people of another race in the Philippine Islands than they have done and mean to do for ten million American citizens in the United States. I have an assured hope, and an assured and confident faith, that this matter, in spite of the mistakes of the past, will yet be

wrought out in accordance with the old principles of the American people and the old principles of the Republican party. I thought we ought to deal with the people of the Philippine Islands as we dealt with the people of Cuba. It was a mistake not to do so. But that having been done which was done, the war having gone on, the next thing to do is to establish peace; and peace being established, if that people prove intelligent and fit for self-government, actually governing themselves in freedom and in honor, and if they desire independence, they have the right to independence; and if I know the American people, if I know the Republican party, the people of the Philippines will find no obstacle to their independence in the power of the American Republic.

GEORGE F. HOAR.

VIII.

THE COST OF A BLUNDER.

THERE are several reasons why it is more important than usual in Presidential elections that American citizens should vote right next month. Ordinarily, the Democrat and the Republican, recognizing the necessity of party alignment, can each vote his own ticket conscientiously, with a reasonable assurance that he is doing his duty to his country. Government by party is as much a part of our American administrative system as if it were embodied in the Constitution. No practical man can conceive of a method of carrying on the affairs of the Federal, State and municipal organizations without responsible heads, to whom the people can look for efficiency and integrity.

Party organizations furnish the people with their only means of enforcing this responsibility. That one of the two great parties which happens to be in power can be punished by the citizens for the misdeeds of its chosen representatives only by voting for those of the Opposition party. In the same way, the party in power can be rewarded for good service by continuing its chosen representatives in office. These are the alternatives usually presented in Presidential elections.

On November 7th, 1900, the electors of the United States will have quite a different and a vastly more important problem presented for their decision at the polls. The duty of American

citizens to put patriotism above politics at this time, and to vote for the best interests of the whole country, seems to me to be unusually clear. The considerations leading to this conclusion it ought not to be difficult to state. The situation is an extraordinary one. When a man's house is threatened by fire, he does not stop the firemen to ask if they are members of his lodge, or whether they entertain the same views as he does about the tariff or the income tax. In the presence of the graver peril, minor issues are lost sight of. Self-preservation is the first law of nations as well as of individuals.

It is my firm conviction that the vast majority of the voters of the United States will, within a year, have abundant and unmistakable evidence, in their homes, shops, counting-houses and offices, that their decision at the polls this fall gave the United States the greatest impetus it has ever received toward its goal; or, contrariwise, its greatest setback.

For, in the 124 years that have elapsed since the Declaration of Independence, the two parties have never offered the voter so startling a choice. In the face of approaching dissolution, a sick man may contravene the precedents of a long life of well-being and consent to the most critical experiment. But to a healthy man, the suggestion of a desperate and radical departure from all he holds sane and prudent must come as little short of the diabolical.

The American nation is in the hey-day of life and usefulness. It has just passed through a period of four years of absolutely unexampled prosperity. Abroad, it has achieved a place among the Powers of civilization, which surpasses the fondest aspirations a reasonable American could have entertained, when McKinley and Bryan first entered the political lists as antagonists. At home, it has strengthened the confidence of industrious capital and widened the horizon of remunerative labor to a point never before attained. Now, it follows that a vote for McKinley and Roosevelt is not only a vote of confidence in the men who, as the agents of the people, have brought this prosperity about, but it is also a declaration that this, of all others, is no time for dangerous experiments with our national finances—the rock-bottom basis of all our prosperity.

The ship of state is sailing along the high seas, in the sunshine, with the Stars and Stripes floating proudly from her top-

most mast, with all the countries of the world welcoming her to new havens, with McKinley at the helm, after four years of honorable and successful experience. There are no clouds on the horizon, no rocks on the chart, save such as he is best equipped to steer clear of. The Bryanized Democracy is seeking to board the ship of state, at this juncture, with the deliberate intention of running her out of her course, out of the course of the world's commerce, to a quicksand of free silver on a desert island.

The commercial agencies of the world now rate the United States "A1." She pays her debts at home and her debts abroad in the same coin. Her rating is the result of a steadfast adherence to the gold standard, to which the Republican party was significantly committed in the St. Louis Convention in 1896. Any doubts in the minds of reasonable men as to the wisdom of this course, must have been long since resolved. The unqualified adherence of the Republican party to commercial honor and financial integrity has been its greatest achievement since it freed the slaves.

A vote for Bryan is a vote to haul down the gold standard and hoist the white flag; to sail out of the path of international prosperity into the dead waters of isolation; to call down the noblest aspirations of patriotism and to proclaim our country a coward and a shirk in the family of nations!

So much for our obligations to mankind in general. As to our duty to ourselves—our obligations to be honest in our own financial and industrial affairs; to provide for our own people; to continue in our own land the conditions which have enabled us to provide remunerative employment for labor, active and increasing operations for capital, and a general support of and respect for the tribunals of justice—that duty needs only to be stated to stand out to the eyes of all men. The elections in Vermont and Maine show that the citizens of New England abide by their convictions, and favor, as they did four years ago, the unflinching discharge of duties as well as debts. They refused to be frightened by the bogie of Imperialism. They set an example to their fellow-citizens, North, South, East and West. They have heartened the strong and strengthened the weak. I have every confidence that the voters of the United States, now fifteen millions strong, will re-elect President McKinley. And not the least interesting element in this deliberate exercise of the highest

duty and obligation of citizenship will be a disregard of party lines. The best men in the Democratic party realize that the interests of our common country would be seriously imperilled by the election of Bryan.

The cost of a national blunder this fall would be inconceivable. The paralysis of capital, the destruction of wages, the suspension of payments, the cessation of business operations, would, after all, be of minor moment, as compared with the profound discouragement of our national aspirations and the world-wide disgrace of our commercial name.

T. C. PLATT.

IX.

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE.

THE welfare of the country is paramount in every political contest. No political party can always be right; but one party or the other must be trusted with the reins of government. It is sometimes difficult to determine which party would be likely to govern the country best. In the present contest the Republican party stands for law, order, honor, progress, and good government, while the Democratic party makes loyalty to rebels in arms against the United States the paramount issue. Under these circumstances, it is plain to every patriotic man that duty to our country demands that the Republican party should be continued in power.

Four years ago the silver question was the paramount issue. I believed then, and I believe now, that the demonetization of silver, whether ignorantly or corruptly accomplished, was the greatest calamity of the nineteenth century. It reduced the supply of money and enhanced its value fully one hundred per cent., and the general range of prices fell in twenty years more than fifty per cent. Property invested in bonds and other money futures was doubled, while all other property lost one-half of its exchangeable value. I believed that Mr. Bryan was earnestly in favor of silver, and that he was an honest and sincere man, and I believed that if the Democratic party could gain power on that issue, it would do everything possible to restore the coinage of silver. So strong was my conviction that the good of the country

required the mintage of silver equally with gold, that I left the Republican party and labored zealously to elect Mr. Bryan.

But times have changed, and Mr. Bryan has changed. At all events, he has developed characteristics incompatible with patriotism or honor. The contention of the silver men that more money would restore prosperity has been verified. A thousand million dollars of new gold from the mines since 1896, a hundred million dollars added to the bank currency, and the war expenditures have raised prices, furnished employment for all, and created the good times which the remonetization of silver would have produced. The money question will not be considered by the people when money is plentiful, and the advocates of silver must wait until the bounteous flow of gold from the mines is diminished and falling prices come again. The financial issue will then be paramount. Any attempt to make the silver question an issue when money is abundant will not advance the cause, but, on the contrary, will create a prejudice in the minds of the people against the white metal.

Under these circumstances, it was natural for Mr. Bryan to seek some other issue. His success in creating what he terms the "paramount" issue, and forcing the Democratic party to adopt it, is an exhibition of genius and leadership without a parallel in American politics. "Imperialism" is a myth. It does not exist, and it can not exist in this country. Everybody in all parties is opposed to it. No President has ever attempted to maintain a larger army than was necessary to defend the honor of the country and maintain law and order.

No one knows better than Mr. Bryan that there is no real issue of imperialism, because he virtually admits that there would have been no imperialism to fight if he had not secured the ratification of the treaty with Spain, by which we acquired the Philippines. Nearly all of his two hours' speech of acceptance at Indianapolis was devoted to imperialism as growing out of the acquisition of these islands. He even congratulates himself on having secured the ratification of the treaty, and points to the result as justifying the means. He says:

> "I believe that we are now in a better position to wage a successful contest against imperialism than we would have been had the treaty been rejected."

Very true. If the treaty had been rejected, Mr. Bryan's two

hours' speech against the acquisition of the islands would have been inapplicable, and he might have been unable to discover any other mirage with which to deceive the Democratic convention. The conduct of Mr. Bryan in securing the ratification of the treaty to create the issue of imperialism is crafty, and would be harmless in a person not the candidate of a great party for President of the United States.

The most remarkable part of Mr. Bryan's scheme is his assumption that expansion and imperialism are one and the same thing. The Democratic party is responsible for every foot of expansion previous to the purchase of Alaska by Johnson's administration, and every acre of territory acquired since the adoption of the Constitution has been acquired against the protest and generally against the sanguinary opposition of the inhabitants. The consent of the people has never in any case been given or asked. The few inhabitants of the land embraced in the Louisiana purchase, who knew what was taking place, protested, but the great mass of the people in that territory have continued their opposition in bloody wars for nearly a century, and still regard themselves as independent tribes or nations. The Florida purchase brought on the Seminole war, which lasted seven years. Both Mexicans and Indians occupying Texas, New Mexico, California, and Arizona were bitterly hostile to the change of sovereignty. The language of all cessions to the United States is precisely the same. The Philippines were acquired, so far as manner, form and substance are concerned, just as all other territory has been acquired by the United States.

Mr. Bryan's contention that the acquisition of the Philippines is imperialism stamps Presidents Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, and Pierce as imperialists, and makes the establishment of free institutions and the erection of great states in newly acquired territory the very essence of imperial dominion.

Every act of Mr. McKinley's administration in dealing with the Filipinos has been based upon and modelled after the precedents of the great Democratic Presidents, whom the American people love to honor. The audacity of Mr. Bryan's charge of imperialism against President McKinley for following in the footsteps of Democratic Presidents in the acquisition and government of territories has taken the country by surprise.

If the contention of Mr. Bryan be right, then President Cleve-

land was the only occupant of the White House who was a real anti-imperialist. His refusal to accept Hawaii makes him the only Democratic model worthy of imitation, and distinguishes him as the only true patriot whose administration conformed to the Declaration of Independence. It is unfortunate that the greatest Jeffersonian Democrat who ever occupied the Executive chair should be unable to endorse Mr. Bryan's candidacy for President, with anti-imperialism as the foundation of mutual admiration.

The motives of Mr. Bryan in taking sides with Aguinaldo and his rebellious followers are not as well understood by the Filipinos as they are by our own people. The inhabitants of Luzon do not know that Mr. Bryan invented "imperialism," or that he has taken sides with them against his own Government, solely for the purpose of gaining votes. They do not know that an honest, successful administration and great prosperity are persuasive arguments in favor of the re-election of Mr. McKinley, and that the encouragement which the rebels in the archipelago are receiving from Mr. Bryan is a part of the great drama of legerdemain by which he hopes to hypnotize the American people, and induce them to jump out of the frying pan into the fire.

Mr. Bryan seems utterly heedless of the consequences of the aid and comfort he is extending to rebels in arms. He pays no attention to the accumulation of evidence that the guerilla warfare in Luzon is prolonged in anticipation of immediate independence in case of his election. The shooting of American soldiers and the murder and robbery of natives friendly to the United States, in order to keep up a show of resistance until the Democratic candidate becomes President, count for nothing when weighed in the balance against Mr. Bryan's ambition. I call upon all fair-minded citizens to read Mr. Bryan's speech of acceptance, delivered at Indianapolis on the 8th of August, 1900, and compare his utterances with the statutes of the United States against aiding and encouraging rebellion. It seems to me that section 5,334 of the Revised Statutes is applicable to his case. It is as follows:

"Sec. 5334. Every person who incites, sets on foot, assists, or engages in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States, or the laws thereof, or gives aid and comfort thereto, shall be punished by imprisonment not more than ten years, or by a fine of not more than ten thousand dollars; or by both of such pun-

ishments, and shall, moreover, be incapable of holding any office under the United States."

Mr. Bryan evidently fears that the paramount issue of imperialism which he has created will fade if kept too constantly in the focus of public opinion. His acrobatic qualities are brought into service nearly every day in mounting a new stalking-horse. His recent rough-riding of Trusts puts to shame the cowboys on a thousand hills. He proposes to destroy Trusts by creating a federal trust to control all other trusts. He says:

"Let Congress provide that, whenever any corporation organized in any State wants to do business outside of the State, it must go to the federal government and obtain a license which will enable it to do such outside business."

He does not say to which department of the Government he would assign this duty, but the presumption is that he would organize a Department of Trusts, in which only trusted favorites would be appointed. He says in his letter of acceptance:

"I shall select an attorney general who will without fear or favor enforce existing laws."

He does not say which party passed those laws. The only effective law against Trusts was recommended by President Harrison and passed by a Republican Congress in 1890. This law has been upheld and enforced by the Supreme Court of the United States. Under it, the Supreme Court of the United States held that a traffic agreement between thirty-one different railroad companies was illegal, and the court enjoined its further execution. Judge Taft, in the Circuit Court of Appeals, held, in the case of the Addystone Pipe and Steel Company *vs.* the United States, that a combination between six corporations not to compete with each other was illegal.

What law against Trusts was passed during either the first or the second term of Mr. Cleveland's administration? What efforts were made by Cleveland's Attorneys-General, Garland, Olney or Harmon, to prosecute trusts?

Mr. Bryan, in his Wheeling speech, says:

"I want to destroy every private monopoly in the United States."

Mr. Bryan's election would, therefore, sweep out of existence all patent rights, close the Patent Office, and destroy many other private rights which are of necessity exclusive and, consequently,

monopolies. It would put an end to the marvellous development of the mechanical skill of the American people, which has made the United States conspicuous throughout the world. It would deprive genius of both the incentive to exertion and the means of subsistence, and turn back indefinitely the tide of progress. Mr. Bryan's undigested views, wild assertions, and disastrous remedies for Trusts are undoubtedly the result of want of time to consider thoroughly any one subject, on account of the multiplicity of issues he seeks to utilize in order to be elected President.

In view of the prosperity of the country and the general increase of wages since 1896, the coal miners will naturally inquire whether their grievances result from McKinley's administration or are the work of a New York syndicate of heartless speculators, who miss the bond deals and the plunder of wrecked fortunes which they enjoyed under the Cleveland administration. When they discover, as they must, that the policy of the Administration has created general prosperity, and that extortion and oppression are inspired by private greed, they will not gratify the malice or desire for plunder of their real oppressors; nor will they listen to the cry of "stop thief" from those who rob their dinner pails, although that cry is echoed by the melodious voice of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

Mr. Bryan is a great orator, but he can hardly maintain the charge that the Republican party is responsible for all the evils, real and imaginary, that flesh is heir to. The assumption that all monopolies are created by legislation of Congress, and that the President of the United States is responsible for all disagreements and conflicts between employers and employees will not commend itself to sensible men. Mr. Bryan will learn that the American people do not live on hate alone, and that his efforts to array neighbor against neighbor, class against class, and to embitter the masses against the owners of accumulated wealth will not increase, but will diminish, his following.

I believe that a great majority of the people of the United States are beginning to regard Mr. Bryan as an able, adroit, and plausible sophist, possessed of wonderful magnetism and will power, but an unsafe man to be trusted in the high office of President of the United States.

WILLIAM M. STEWART.

X.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION—OUR DUTY.

Government by party, which seems essential under present conditions, furnishes platforms which usually commend themselves unreservedly to supporters; being made not so much to "stand upon" as to "get in" upon, nothing is proclaimed in them which is likely to offend any section of the party. Points likely to meet with disfavor are either ignored or smothered in meaningless platitudes. But occasions arise when the supporter who regards parties only as means to ends, differs from the official rulers and makers of platforms upon a vital issue, and he is then called upon to consider seriously whether it be of such paramount importance as to make it his duty to refrain from voting, or even to vote against his party. The former course is adopted frequently, the latter rarely; nevertheless it sometimes becomes our duty to go to this extreme.

In the last Presidential campaign the Gold Democrats reached the first stage and refused to vote for the candidate of their party, but did not generally vote for the opposing candidate. A candidate of their own was nominated; but many felt the standard of value to be of such vital importance as to dwarf all other considerations, and, preferring Country to Party, left their party, to support the Republican candidate. Those who did so were certainly actuated by a compelling sense of duty, for the leaving of party by loyal members is equivalent to the breaking up of family relations hitherto harmonious and happy. It is the last resort, only justified when all else has failed. We should labor long and hard for reform within our party before attempting to enforce reform upon it from without, yet it is not among the unswerving supporters of party that a country in times of trial finds its saviours. "My party, right or wrong!" and "My country, right or wrong!" are the cries of those who can never be of the highest value as citizens, or safe guides in a national crisis. On the contrary, these are the most dangerous of all classes to their country's welfare; for parties and States are bound to regard what is right and must be opposed by those whose conscience is awakened to wrongdoing by either. The most precious citizen is the man who will go with his country or his party only if it be

right, but who upon occasion hesitates not to condemn either when in his opinion it champions the wrong. It is not those who support but those who rebuke the wrong, whether of country or party, who are the salt of a nation, and truly patriotic. History abounds in instances where the voice and action of the few have saved a country, or have so impressed it that it has been deterred from following in a wrong path into which it has strayed. This is particularly true in regard to questions involving Peace or War. Among the axioms of the demagogue, none is considered safer than this: "Show the people 'sport' and they will follow you," the "sport" being the killing of men by men in battle under the name of war. It is so easy to "wave the flag" and carry the excited masses into bloodshed, but how low has the statesman sunk who descends to this! Dr. Johnson said to Boswell that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." It is also the sure resort of the demagogue. War is always a winning card for the scheming politician to play when differences arise between nations, because it appeals to the baser part of man, dethrones divine reason, exalts brutal passion, excites the traits man shares with the brute which degrade humanity

Our own country is young and its record, until recently, has been free from the crime of aggressive warfare upon other civilized peoples. The War for Independence was righteous, being in defence of constitutional liberties, which we should ever stand ready to defend. Its triumph benefited both oppressor and oppressed. It is better for Britain and for America that the one should be independent of the other. The War of 1812 was in defence of rights assailed upon the sea, and what the Republic fought for is now established. The War for the Union was equally for the benefit of North and South, of slave and of master. It preserved for all a common country.

It is from Britain, the elder branch of our English-speaking race, that the most valuable lessons are to be derived as to the folly of aggressive wars. The war against the American Colonies is now admitted by all parties in Britain to have been a mistake. The whole campaign against Napoleon, which still loads Britain with her huge national debt, is now seen to have been a mistake also. Under similar conditions, it would not be entered upon today. As to the Crimean War against Russia, Lord Salisbury has recently stated that it was a great blunder. The men most highly

honored in British history, as having been the true guides who pointed out the path their country should follow and denounced its errors, are Burke and Chatham, who denounced the American War; Bright and Cobden, who denounced the Crimean War; not George the Third and Lord North, nor the Jingoes who howled for the Crimean War against Russia. These now stand in their proper places as false guides, and, if truth be spoken, in many cases as demagogues, who played the card of war simply because that was the issue upon which they could ride to or retain power. The same fate awaits those who have precipitated war against the South African Republics, upon the pretence that they were concerned to make it easier for Britons there to abandon citizenship and become Afrikanders. Not these men, but Campbell-Bannerman, Harcourt, Morley, Courtney, Sir Edward Clarke and their colleagues are soon to be held in esteem, and extolled as the true patriots who protested against the wrong. In due season, also, those of our Republican party who drove the President into war and the purchase of the Philippines, against his own wise desires, will occupy a position similar to that of the British Jingoes. If there be one duty which a man of influence has to perform to his country higher than another, it is to refrain from arousing the passions of the people against other nations and to keep them in the paths of peace. Humanity has travelled far and upward in the ages past, but there still remains in us a sub-stratum of the savage, far too readily moved to draw the sword and kill. He who appeals to this as a means of popularity must despise himself, and in the court of his own conscience stand ever condemned, the most torturing punishment that can fall upon man.

In the present Presidential campaign, many Republicans who, like the writer, voted for the first Republican ticket and never voted any other than a Republican ticket, are called upon to consider the departure of the official leaders of their party from the policy of the Republic, in the purchase and attempted conquest of the Filipinos, with the intention of holding their country as conquered territory and not as part of the Union, with its citizens equal under the flag The Union is to be composed not of one homogeneous whole, the flag is to wave not over citizens possessed of equal rights, but we are to follow the example of the military nations of Europe and endeavor to govern far distant peoples as subjects not citizens, vassals not freemen. No more complete

reversal of doctrines hitherto held precious by Americans can be conceived. In this attempt, up to last returns, we have already sacrificed 5,467 men killed or wounded, and squandered 186 millions of dollars, no doubt over two hundred millions to date, and constantly increasing, all wrung from the people by additional taxation. We have sent 81,000 soldiers to one of the twelve hundred islands we forced Spain to sell us for twenty millions of dollars, contrary to the instructions first given to the Peace Commissioners. Sixty-three thousand soldiers still remain there, and this force, more than double the entire standing army of the United States until recently, is still required to keep down the people. Hence, sufficient force could not be spared from Manila to rescue our Ambassador at Pekin. One writer states that four thousand of them are in hospital; thus wastes our army away! And we only hold the region around Manila; all else of the 115,000 square miles of the territory we claim to have bought and are vainly hoping to conquer remains, as before, unvisited by our force. This is a serious situation.

The question which the member of the Republican party has to decide at this juncture is, whether this mis-step be sufficient to cause him to refrain from voting for its nominee, or even to vote against him. Before this can be decided, we must consider the alternative and its consequences, for our acts are right or wrong in political life according to the results to be avoided or attained for our country through them. It is to-day a question of weighing differing results against each other and deciding upon which side the balance of good lies.

Let us therefore consider the platforms of the contending parties.

The Republican platform is vague upon the anti-American idea of permanent, conquered, foreign dependencies outside of the Union. It says:

> "Our authority could not be less than our responsibility; and wherever sovereign rights are extended, it becomes the high duty of the government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples. The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law. To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed."

No serious objection need be urged to this, except that we do not believe that the payment of two dollars per head for ten millions of the Filipinos can give sovereign rights over men, nor that Spain could give clear title against our allies the Filipino patriots, who had risen against her in righteous rebellion for independence. But the important point is that our party here pledges itself anew in its platform to give Cuba independence and self-government, fit work for the party of Freedom. What we should continue to press upon the party is to consider whether it would not be best to promise the Filipinos what we have promised the Cubans. It does not seem good sense to pursue a different policy for them. Admiral Dewey is not the only one who assures us that they are better qualified to govern themselves than the Cubans. What was good and wise policy for the one seems so for the other. We have encouraged "the highest aspirations" of the latter for independence, as President McKinley so finely said. We see here that the true mission of our giant republic lies in the creation and protection of the new republic of Cuba. We should one day, and not long hence, make our country the mother of nations, and regard the Republic of Cuba and the first Republic of the Orient as our noblest work, in line with the emancipation of our slaves. There is nothing in our platform antagonistic to this policy. The Republican party is the only proper agency for this sublime task. The Democratic party has earned no right by virtue of its past record to rob our party of its heritage.

The apologetic note is heard more and more touching the Philippines, which are rapidly proving themselves in every respect undesirable, and few indeed fail to express the wish in private, though their tongues may be silent in public, that the President had adhered to his original instructions to the Peace Commissioners. We shall probably soon return to the true path, welcoming expansion of contiguous territory where we can grow our own race and enrol them as citizens, but refraining from forcing our rule upon others in far distant lands or from ever accepting the idea that the American flag can permanently float over any but citizens possessed of equal rights, members of the one glorious Union, "now and forever indivisible."

Along with the platform, we are bound to consider the Man who is to steer the Ship of State under its provisions. Much depends upon him. What, then, of President McKinley, if his

official career is to be extended over a second term? What manner of man is he? No one who knows Mr. McKinley and his life can fail to wish for him, as an individual, many long years of unclouded happiness, for every domestic virtue is his. His place as a man is securely fixed in all hearts; but his official place in history, as one who has filled the highest political office upon the earth, we trust is not to be determined by his past, but by his future conduct of affairs; for, were he to retire at the end of his first term, his position must rank low indeed, for he would leave his country still involved in one of the most complete failures of modern times, the attempt to bring forth from his Pandora box, the Philippines, any result other than deplorable—a Sisyphean labor in which success is impossible.

The writer believes that the President, freed from the many embarrassments which hamper all Presidents during their first term, will prove more of a master, and that more of the President and less of his party managers will prove most advantageous for the country. He has been much wiser than others in the party who have shouted loudest. Let it never be forgotten that he was sound upon the question of war, and that his hand was cruelly forced by men far his inferiors in statesmanship. Again, he was entirely right in regard to the Philippines, as his instructions to the Peace Commissioners prove. Here, again, the shouting crowds, backed by political managers, drove him into a reversal of his wise policy. He was right, also, in regard to Porto Rico, but compelled by his political managers to retract, and agree to the present discreditable legislation. The writer has no desire to imply that, in his opinion, the party managers were not right in their view that an extension of our laws to Porto Rico, with the dark shadow of the Philippines behind, would have disrupted our party. He believes that the masses of working-men, both in agriculture and manufacturing, upon whom our party rests, will never agree to the free introduction of the products of tropical possessions; hence the mistake, in his opinion, of our party persisting in the effort to attach the Philippines or merge them into our political system. But Porto Rico being now a part of the Union, merged as a strategic base never to be surrendered, the President was right in holding it to be our plain duty to give it all the rights of Union

Thus, upon all these important issues, the President has shown true statesmanship, and gives foundation for the hope that, during

his second term, with the people at his back, he will show increased and justifiable confidence in his own conclusions. He would be his own wisest counsellor, if he had a proper estimate of his own remarkable insight and faculty for grasping at once the true bearing of public affairs.

The marked success, thus far, of his management of the dangerous Chinese question, when Congress and party leaders are fortunately scattered, is another case in point. Left to himself, he has succeeded in giving our country a position never before attained in international affairs, and kept our government right when all others were wrong, Russia perhaps excepted, whose views were withheld until recently from public expression. The United States have taken and held the leading position among the co-operating nations from the start, and seem now to be the natural mediator through whom peace is to be restored. A higher honor for the Republic could not be imagined than that she should be the blessed instrument to bring about peace among men.

There is thus abundant reason to hope that President McKinley may yet shape events in such a way as to be able to repeat to the Filipinos his few potent words to the Cubans, promising his aid and protection in establishing a free and independent government, "thus realizing their highest aspirations." These few words would change the entire situation and give him rank with the greatest; for the future would then remember him as the Father, not the Suppressor, of the first Republic of the Orient, which, like the Cuban Republic, would come slowly but steadily forth under his fostering care. Next to Lincoln's emancipation of our own oppressed, this act would rank in the history of his country. Here lies true glory for a patriot to win for the Republic. Some President will win it; but we shall not believe that the prize is not reserved for President McKinley, and for the Republican party, to which such work properly belongs. It was born to emancipate, not to enslave. If it ceases to create Citizens, and creates and rules over Vassals to whom it denies equality in the Union, it deserves to die.

When we study the Democratic platform we find that its Americanism, as opposed to Imperialism, rings true. It stands, as the writer feels, for the true policy, the only policy consistent with the fundamental ideas which gave birth to the Republic, and to which it must hold true or fall from its hitherto proud position

among the nations of the earth. It is also American in every syllable against militarism, and the huge standing army for which our party is responsible, but which, let us hope, the coming Congress is to reduce. It is right upon Porto Rico, where it occupies the President's first position, and tells the people our "plain duty." It is right in regard to Cuba; but here our party, the writer rejoices to say, is in full accord. It is right, also, in regard to expansion. It is right in condemning the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty as un-American. It is right in regard to the Boers. It is right in regard to the speedy repeal of war taxes, but here again our party is equally so. One of the first acts of the new Congress, both from a party and a national point of view, should be the repeal of many petty, irritating taxes which should never have been imposed.

This being said, all has been said that can be urged in favor of the Democratic ticket. The most serious objection to it is not the proposed lowering of the standard of value, serious though that be. It lies in the insidious attacks upon the Supreme Court, which strike at the foundations of human society. It saps the roots of peace and order, and, if successful, substitutes license for law, and throws us back to barbarism, even to savagery. Without courts of law and profound reverence for their final decisions, which should be considered as sacred, we have nothing, for it is upon these that civilization rests. President McKinley at present stands for war and violence abroad, but Mr. Bryan stands for these scourges at home. Whatever Democrats may urge in explanation, or as to the literal meaning of the words employed, the fact remains that an attack is made in the platform of a political party upon a decision of the Supreme Court, the highest and grandest of all human tribunals the world has ever seen, and which, being undermined, there remains only civil disorder. It is not possible to support a party whose platform contains such an attack; better, far better, continue for a time the wrongful effort to force our government upon the Filipinos, in total disregard of Republican ideas, than fail to repel this covert attack upon the reign of law at home.

The Silver Issue, as a question for discussion, is a "back number." The only argument against the highest standard of value which had plausibility was the quantitative theory, which would be right if gold and silver were used for exchanges. But it is

groundless from the simple fact that for only five per cent. of exchanges are the metals used; to the extent of ninety-five per cent. they are transacted upon credit, and it is this vast fabric of credit, upon which the business of the world rests, that the threatened change of the standard of value would throw into confusion. The trifling five per cent. for which the metals are used need scarcely be taken into account. Since the supply of gold has been and is being so surprisingly augmented at a ratio ever increasing, Mr. Bryan is too late, for the question is no longer the scarcity of gold, but rather its threatened superabundance, as far as the stability of the standard is concerned, according to the quantitative theory, upon which Mr. Bryan has hitherto stood. Not a voice is heard any longer in any other part of the world against the gold standard. When the Democratic platform talks of international bimetallism, it harks back to a bygone delusion which all other nations have discarded. Fiat money is now the only lure that can hereafter be tried with any hope of winning votes; the monetization of silver having been discussed, decided, and laughed out of court throughout the world. Nevertheless, we cannot disguise the fact that the election of Mr. Bryan would undoubtedly cause apprehension to the timid, and a few timid men suffice to make a panic; for there is no chord more sensitive than the credit upon which ninety-five per cent. of all business rests. Mr. Bryan as President, with a Secretary of the Treasury of like views, might resolve to pay in silver as being coin—a course which would bring financial panic in every channel of business in an hour. In saying this, we pay Mr. Bryan the deserved compliment of recognizing that he has convictions, and that the danger of panic and all the suffering it entails to the toiling masses, who are ever the worst sufferers, is in exact proportion to the faith his countrymen have in his honesty and fidelity to principle. We all fear, and have a right to fear, that with a reputation for devotion to principle akin to that earned by Lincoln, Mr. Bryan would support and try to enforce his convictions. This means a President, with all the influence a President has in Senate and House, which is generally potent, determined by every means in his power to throw the exchanges of the country into chaos. We cannot be a party to aid his elevation to power, strongly as we approve his true Americanism as far as Imperialism goes, or deeply as his character and ability have impressed us. An earnest, honest man in the wrong

is more to be dreaded than the average politician, who changes with the wind. Mr. Bryan is much too earnest, too sincere and true to be entrusted with power, filled as he is with ideas subversive of economic laws, and of the laws upon which our complex human society rests.

The Democratic platform favors an income tax, which Mr. Gladstone declared "tended to make a nation of liars." So deeply impressed was he with its injurious effects upon the national character that he resolved to repeal it. That a true American can favor the miserable espionage required to enforce it is surprising. Nothing would be more un-American than to subject every man's business and financial affairs to the scrutiny of government officials, who would be in many cases affiliated with rival concerns or possible competitors in the future. The tax was cheerfully borne for some years during the War for the Union, and would be again under similar circumstances, although it would be a grave mistake to resort to it. The tariff is a far better instrument for assessing the rich, more effective, and free from objectionable espionage. The writer believes in collecting the revenues, as far as possible, from the rich, and favors heavy death taxes upon estates in lieu of income tax. There is no reason why the necessary expenditures of the government should not come chiefly from this class through such taxes, and through the tariff. When we tire of our Philippine policy—as we shall ere long—and reduce our army to its normal number, sufficient revenue will be easily secured. Costly foreign wines, tobacco, laces, silks, linens, broadcloth, and the thousand and one luxuries we import, should be made to pay excessively high duties. Domestic products are used by the masses; and those Americans who indulge in foreign articles, which are really luxuries, should be made to pay for their fastidious tastes as a matter of revenue. To tax foreign luxuries heavily and to collect a high percentage of death duties upon estates should be the policy, instead of exposing every man's business affairs and giving the dishonest the advantage over the honest, as all experience shows an income tax does, and must do in the nature of things.

Besides this, an income tax involves the creation of an enormous staff of permanent officials, who have in their keeping a knowledge of the private affairs of their fellow-citizens, dangerous to all. Even if these officials were appointed, as in Britain, sub-

stantially for life, the tax would soon be found intolerable in a new land like ours, free from a distinct and permanent official class unconnected with business affairs and leading lives as members of a profession apart from the people in general. We have in Mr. Bryan an extraordinary man—a typical American, as President McKinley himself is, a product that only American soil can grow—a man of the people in every fibre, like McKinley and Lincoln; but his career shows that the theoretical and superficial views of affairs still captivate him. He seems not to have studied down to the root of things, and he has yet to learn how often the theoretical and practical effects of legislation differ. In theory there is no tax fairer than that upon income, in practice none so injurious to a nation.

Again, we must believe that had he duly considered the effect of dragging the judicial decisions of our final Court of Appeal into the arena of party politics, he could not have sanctioned so flagrant a violation of the theory upon which our Constitution rests, which is that, over and above the Legislative and Executive, which constitute the Political Department, there sits the final and supreme Arbiter, the Judicial, in the calm atmosphere of Law, removed from the passion and violence of party, unmoved by political change, settling all disputes finally, and thus decreeing and enforcing peace among all persons and all parties, and even among the States themselves. In this Tribunal rests our assurance of continued peaceful development. The party which drags its judgments into a political campaign should be defeated. We should reverence above all other institutions the Supreme Court; it is so distinctively American, and is perhaps the most precious, as it is the most original, of all the features of that perfect work, the American Constitution. The elevation of the Judicial above the Political is almost unknown, and is wholly so among English speaking people, save with us; with all others the Political Parliament is supreme. There is thus nothing more American than the Supreme Court. Mr. Bryan's Americanism is sound only so far as Imperialism goes. Upon the Income Tax, and—infinitely more serious—upon the Supreme Court, the ark of our national covenant, he is no more American than President McKinley is at present upon his own truly American doctrines of "Criminal Aggression" and "plain duty."

We find many dangers ahead in Mr. Bryan's success. First:

that of License instead of Law at home, in our very midst, through political denunciation of judicial decisions. Second: not Gold and Silver, but Silver alone, since an inferior drives out a superior currency. This means defrauding Labor to the extent of one-half of its earnings under the gold standard, and the loss to the people of one-half of their savings in Banks, since these savings, which are now repayable in gold, would then be repaid in silver. Third: a Tax upon the Incomes of citizens, inaugurating an un-American system of espionage demoralizing to the national character.

We find against President McKinley's success a threatened continuance of the costly and unsuccessful attempt to suppress the laudable aspirations of the Filipinos for the independence of their country, in accordance with the American idea of the rights of man, which he has promised the Cubans, and for which Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams, and the fathers of our country rebelled and Washington drew the sword. Mr. Bryan would bring upon his countrymen all the evils of civil strife at home, by undermining our courts of law. President McKinley's policy only requires our soldiers to shoot down men abroad guilty of the crime of fighting and dying for their country's independence. Class once arrayed against class at home, all is lost; restoration of peace and order could only come in a far distant future; whereas the employment of our forces in suppressing Filipinos abroad must be a matter of to-day only, for it is incredible that the people will tolerate this waste of men and money much longer. The writer believes that the end of it is near; but, even if he were mistaken, and it were left for the Opposition at a subsequent election to drive his party from power in Congress and restore the true policy by refusing to maintain the present huge standing army necessary for the purpose, he sees clearly and beyond doubt that his duty as a citizen is to support the nominee of the Republican party in the present contest, as being that party which alone can preserve the country from threatened dangers at home, so serious as to overshadow all other issues, and also as the party which will, in the future as in the past, administer the government for the highest and best interests of the Republic.

The Party of Protection of American Industries, of Internal Improvements, the Party of the Union, of Emancipation, and of the Highest Standard of Value for the money of the people, the

Party of Cuba Free and Independent, is not to be deserted for its failure so far to perform this same sacred duty to the Philippines. On the contrary, the party which has been for a generation the guardian of our country, and whose wise legislation has secured its present commanding position, may wisely be trusted to find the lost path and return to it, thus retrieving its error.

This the writer believes is to be the certain and not remote result, and for that end he shall continue to exert whatever influence he may possess or acquire, within, not without, the party for which he cast his first vote and for which he hopes to cast his last, and in this he is proud to follow Ex-Speaker Reed, Senators Hoar, Hale, Mason, ex-Senator Edmunds and others, statesmen eminent alike for party and personal service and for personal character. ANDREW CARNEGIE.

XI.

WHAT OUGHT A GOLD DEMOCRAT TO DO?

THE unenviable position in which the Democratic party was left, after the adoption of the platform and the nomination of Mr. Bryan as a Presidential candidate four years ago, made inevitable the withdrawal from affiliation with the organization as newly constituted, of a very large number of men who, until then, had been not only believers in the principles of the party, but staunch supporters of its candidates. They refused their support from neither political pique nor thwarted personal ambition, but wholly because they saw in the new order of things, proclaimed under the guise of Democracy, a perversion of all those teachings and practices for which the Democratic party had stood in the past. To them, the candidacy of Mr. Bryan for the executive office was not that of a Democrat, but of one who had nothing in common with the principles of the party. The movement to stand for something Democratic, which found its origin among a few men before the Chicago Convention adjourned, its development at Indianapolis, and its fruition in the defeat of Mr. Bryan at the polls, was a movement for conscience sake, and in the true order of things it ought not to end until Democracy and Bryanism are not thought of as synonymous terms, and the difference between them has become so clear that "he who runs may read."

The Democrats who stood sponsor for the protest against the Bryanized Democracy of 1896 did so both for the good of their country and the betterment of their party. They knew that in serving the best interests of the former they could best serve those of the latter. The great majority of them had been Democrats always, making up in a large measure the membership of the directing force of the organization, and contributing the means of carrying on its campaigns. In refusing to indorse the vagaries of the Chicago platform and the candidate standing upon it, they did not become Republicans, nor accept as political truth Republican doctrines, nor approve of Republican candidates. They had in mind always that the first essential necessity, in saving the Democratic party, was the complete rout of those who had made it not only a reproach and a by-word, but an agency for evil to the best interests of the country.

In accepting Republican candidates now, they assume no other attitude than that which they took in the first instance. They justify their course now as they did then, believing that their highest duty, as citizens as well as party men, makes any other action impossible. They have not gone into, nor do they intend to go into, the Republican party, because they cannot reconcile themselves to the tenets of that party, which stand in direct opposition to principles which they have long held to be essential to a true and safe system of governmental control. Many of them then supported and voted for President McKinley, in spite of an antagonism to a large number of things for which he had stood in the past, because they felt that there were elements of conservatism in the organization and following of his party which could minimize the harmful force of the things to which they objected, on the one hand, and maximize those of which they approved, on the other. Undoubtedly, some of the men who aided in the Gold-Democratic movement of the last Presidential campaign have been disappointed in the President and his party in both directions; but I believe an unbiased consideration of all that has been done by the Administration, taken by and large, will lead to the conclusion that their effort in that behalf was at least worth while, and that much has been accomplished of great benefit to the country in many of its varied and important interests. It has been successful at least in establishing the gold standard through enacted law, and in refunding much of the public debt.

It has maintained the public credit and accomplished something toward the improvement of the country's banking law. If it has not gone as far in this direction as the friends of better banking facilities wish, it at least gives promise of taking no backward step. If the country has not been fully satisfied with its administration of foreign affairs, that fact is not a new one in the history of administrations. The conduct of the State Department, acting in conjunction with that of the Executive, is always a subject of general criticism on the part of the political organization out of power. Things are never just right, so far as the public is concerned, for the reason that the very nature of the conduct of state affairs precludes the taking of the public into full confidence. And yet it can be truthfully said that the foreign affairs of each Administration have shown in their conduct much of wisdom and great patriotism. The Administration has been severely criticised more than once for many things growing out of the Spanish-American war, but the war was one for which all political parties in the country stand responsible, and for the consequences of which none is more to blame than the Democratic Presidential candidate himself. He urged his party into it, entered the ranks of the soldiery himself and when it was over made himself largely responsible for the ratifying of the Treaty of Peace which brought the Philippine Islands into our possession, with all the attendant troubles which have followed them.

The extravagances of which complaint is made in the matter of governmental expenditures have been the extravagances which too frequently accompany the carrying on of war. It is to be doubted, however, whether under the same circumstances Mr. Bryan and those who are associated with him would have made a record meriting greater approval. The spirit of militarism pointed to by the opponents of imperialism grew in large measure out of the war which the two great political parties vied with one another in bringing on, and to which Mr. Bryan went as a commissioned officer. There is nothing, in either past or present events, to create a fear that the people of this country, even though the standing army has been enlarged and new military undertakings have been entered upon, will ever either jeopardize its liberties or encroach upon them by such a departure. Militarism may bring extravagances and cause demoralization among those who become actively identified with army life in foreign

fields; but it is beyond the range of possibilities that such a thirst for military glory and power can be fostered among those intrusted with the control of the army as to cause them to make an assault upon the people's rights for personal aggrandizement.

Unfortunately for the country, and doubly unfortunately for the Democratic party, neither is rid of Mr. Bryan and his advocacy of the pernicious doctrine of which he is the leading champion. We are in the midst of another campaign, with a great number of Democrats again placed under the embarrassment of having to choose between an emasculated and tainted Democracy and a distasteful Republicanism. There is no middle ground, nor can any course be pursued by the independent Democrat or Republican other than to support Republican candidates, until the things which have made Mr. Bryan a possible factor in American public life are completely eradicated. It will not do simply to scotch his doctrines at each recurring election. They must be killed, and the country must be rid of teachings that are a disturbing element in its social and political life. The question which confronted Democrats after the action of the party's representatives at Chicago four years ago comes to them now only with greater emphasis, since the gathering at Kansas City. The ailment which then bade fair to be but a passing spasm now seems to have taken on the virulence and distressing evil of a deep-seated disease. If heroic measures seemed requisite then, they are more so now, if any vestige of Democratic principles worth the saving is to be preserved as an element of good to the people in the administration of the country's affairs. The answer to the question as to what a Democrat ought to do, in the light of the circumstances which surround his party, is not difficult to render. He ought to exert himself to defeat Mr. Bryan, and make impossible thereby a future Populistic Presidential candidate and Populistic platform, masquerading under a Democratic party name. The salvation of the Democratic party lies wholly in such a course. Any other course means a continuance in control of those who have wrought loss, dishonor and disorganization to it. The principles of the party, stricken nigh unto death by Altgeld, Tillman and Weaver in 1896, have not been restored to their former virtuous vigor by these same men in 1900, and they can never be. The thoughtful Democrat, who will have regard to an analysis of his party's condition as it is, under the manipula-

tion of Mr. Bryan and his friends, will see nothing either in it or the condition of the country which warrants him in now sanctioning the things which were repugnant to his sense of public good and party loyalty four years ago. I cannot conceive of any lapse of time sufficiently great to make either economically or morally sound the vicious heresies announced as the embodiment of Democratic principles at the time of Mr. Bryan's first nomination, and reaffirmed in subservience to his dictation when he is now again presented to the country's electorate. The possibility of such a thing ranks with that never accomplished effort of the alchemist to transmute the basest into the finest of metals. Such a change cannot be brought about until a point is reached in the world's history when disapproval of the enforcement of law, repudiation of the sacred right of public and private contract and the non-integrity of courts of justice are recognized as the cardinal principles in a properly adjusted system of governmental economy.

The actions of the Democratic party, without Mr. Bryan and his isms, despite its lapses at times, throughout a long number of years, made for the country's good. It had been a generous contributor to the list of great names which have added lustre to the nation's history. Since the advent of Mr. Bryan as a leader, however, all this has changed, and the Democratic party has become the open advocate of discontent, strife and class prejudice. Its leaders to-day are men ill-acquainted with political history, and strangers to a serious effort to ascertain the origin and basis of economic truth. They are mere declaimers, who, taking their cue from their accepted leader, have produced nothing from their superficial familiarity with the writers of political economy but rhetoric, none of which stands the test of analysis. It is due to the country that, once for all, it be rid of such leaders of political factions and proponents of unwholesome ideas. The hope which Democrats indulge that, somehow and in some way, the party can outgrow Mr. Bryan and still tolerate his leadership is wholly illusive. Mr. Bryan and his views and the Democratic organization and its platform are interchangeable terms, as long as there is not direct and unequivocal repudiation of both by Democrats who have a care for their party's future. The same treatment must be accorded to Mr. Bryan, in a political sense, as was applied in a physical way by one of the early rulers of Persia to an unjust judge. This ruler flayed the despoiler and placed his

skin over the chair of justice which he once occupied, so that every one who should sit therein in future might take warning from the fate of his iniquitous predecessor—a circumstance that led one of the great Bishops of England, centuries later, to declare in that country of certain leaders who wronged the people that "it will never be merry in England until we have the skins of such." So, too, it will never be merry in the Democratic party until we have the political skins of such as Mr. Bryan, to place in the seats of Democratic leadership, as a warning to all who, to advance the ends of personal ambition, willingly despoil the history, principles, traditions and standing of a great political party.

As long as Mr. Bryan leads Democracy, it is hopelessly wedded to a money standard which means repudiation of the nation's obligations and the impairment of the nation's credit, if once it should be powerful enough to accomplish such a result. It will not do to lull ourselves into a supposed security from danger on this score because Mr. Bryan has seen fit to cease talking on the money question. The people must not flatter themselves that Mr. Bryan has changed his views on this subject. He has not, and he will not. His erroneous views are fixed. He has only found it politic for the present to conceal them, and Mr. Bryan is nothing, if not politic in his demagogy. He was the strenuous advocate of silver until he had gotten through with the Populist and Silver Conventions; but, once they were over, the advocacy of something else being necessary to bring votes and support, silver is made to give way to the issues of anti-imperialism and so-called "anti-militarism." When it is once realized that Mr. Bryan is not a statesman but a charlatan and demagogue, who loves public applause and servile flattery, he will stand stripped of many of his supposed Spartan virtues. His craving is always for notoriety, and there is no means that is at hand that he will not avail himself of. He has never read beyond the elementary in his study of political economy; and, as a result, the consistency of his statements, one with the other, does not concern him. He is equally indifferent to the contradiction, by the course of events, of assertions which he has made and predictions which he has put forth.

It is urged that he is intellectually honest. The acceptance of this statement as truth by one who follows Mr. Bryan from day to day, in all his thousands of words, requires unbounded

assurance as to either the simplicity of his nature or the density of his ignorance. Mr. Bryan has been regarded by many as belonging in sympathy to what is termed the common people. That is a false view. He has led too many of the common people into grievous error by the sophistry and eloquence of his speech, and that, too, for his own political advantage and not to their advancement as a class. The establishment of any close bond of union between the workmen of the country and their employers would mean the loss to Mr. Bryan of every vestige of the support of the workmen, and, therefore, we find him continually a sower of strife between capital and labor. Any considerable exhibition of fraternity of feeling between this and other nations, sanctioned by general consent, would deprive him of another means of appealing to prejudice, and always we find him scouting such relations with other peoples. He inveighs against everything that is, and applauds something which might be, always having in view the bringing to himself the benefit which might accrue in a political struggle from a situation based on discontent and a desire for change.

I do not believe such a man can make a safe Chief Executive of a nation whose population is as varied as is that of the United States. We have here elements which, under a careful, thoughtful and intelligent leadership, always can be depended upon to stand for conservatism, but which, once guided by a leader who depends for his following wholly upon the gifts of oratory and flattery, with whom political expediency is political duty, become elements of danger. The country may, at times, doubt the entire sincerity of a leader who is so frank as to confound frankness itself, and it may to-day well doubt Mr. Bryan. The friends of the Democratic Presidential candidate are wont to excuse him on the ground that, once intrusted with power, he would find the conserving influence of the great office to which he aspires sufficient to restrain him from undertaking to enforce the radical theory which he advocates. There is, undoubtedly, a conserving force in the responsibility of office, which would cause a man of ordinary thought and action to hesitate from pressing measures that might cause great disaster. But Mr. Bryan is not of this class. He is not a man who thinks deeply or who acts wisely. He is always radical, and a careful investigation of his utterances, both in public and private, would reveal that element as the

predominant characteristic of his nature. It is as noticeable in his most carefully prepared addresses as it is in his extemporaneous ones. He has no intimates but the radicals of his own party, and even they are not on such terms with him as are the leaders of the Populists and Silver Republicans. It would be impossible for him as President to construct a Cabinet made up of men of temperate views on any public question. Any Cabinet which he would form would be as much of a menace as Mr. Bryan himself, because the only difference in views between them would be in degree of radicalism and not in principle. Heretofore, Democracy has sometimes affiliated with other political organizations, but it has never before lost its identity. It has swallowed them, but Mr. Bryan, reversing this order of things, has aided and abetted the conspiracy which aims to have Democracy absorbed by the Populists and Socialists. Whatever isms have found lodgment in the party have been controlled in the past, but this is not now the case. They control the Democratic party entirely, with the full approval of its candidate. Many rallying cries are put forth to disguise their meaning and purpose; but, back of them all, when they stand revealed in their full nakedness, is a socialism which is at war with property interests, great and small.

It is because of this fact, shown in many ways, that all business elements, of every character, importance or location, are against Mr. Bryan and the party which he leads. They do not wish to evade any legal responsibility, to pay less than their just proportion of taxes, to treat unjustly their employees or to deal unfairly with the public. They want only stability in money, equity in law, and wisdom of word and action in the Executive. They distrust Mr. Bryan, because he has made it impossible for them to trust him through his advocacy of things which their business knowledge and experience have proven to them would be disastrous, if once they were enforced. They distrust him not because he is a Democrat, but because he is not one. They know that Democratic principles, rightly interpreted and enforced, are productive of good. So, too, they know equally well that Socialistic doctrines, presented and incorporated into governmental affairs by a demogogue intrusted with power, could not but work out widespread loss and ruin. If Mr. Bryan, then, is not a Democrat but a Populist, why should any Democrat aid in his election? That he was named by the machinery of the party, so

long as that machinery was used simply to ratify the action of another convention and the principles of another party, means nothing. What possible good can come to the country by having Democracy, as now constituted and controlled, intrusted with power? What reform could it inaugurate and carry to a successful issue? It is impossible, in the very nature of its present organization, that Democracy could accomplish any remedial legislation that would benefit the people. On the other hand, it would, by its attempt to give the force of enacted law to the isms to which it is pledged, breed constant uncertainty and distrust. By the pronouncement of its own platform, it is against the gold standard and in favor of the silver one. It would, if given the power, abrogate the right of private contract, and thereby put a premium on dishonesty and evasion of just obligations. It does not believe in the enforcement of order by the lawfully constituted authorities, as against the will of mob law, if it speaks its true beliefs in its party preachment. It is against the country's courts of justice and the majesty of law, as that majesty finds expression in the Supreme Court, according to a platform once announced and many times reaffirmed. It has no use for a civil service which takes from the party worker the spoils of office, despite the fact that it gives to the tax-paying public a better return for the wage which the public provides. It means nothing on the question of a wisely adjusted tariff system, because it is swallowed up in the heresy of protection through its free silver doctrine. It has no force and effect when it speaks on the subject of class legislation, for Populism and Silver have made it wholly a party of special interest, promising each, through the "be it enacted" of legislation, special relief and privileges. Its denunciation of Trusts is a sham, branded so by placing the Trust-supporting and Trust-supported leaders of Tammany high in Democratic councils. In short, Mr. Bryan has brought the Democratic party to that unhappy condition where it can work injury to all and good to none.

As against all this, it is urged that Gold Democrats ought to support Mr. Bryan, because he does not believe in what is known as imperialism and militarism. There is nothing relative to the conduct of our colonial possessions that Mr. Bryan can possibly do within reason, that President McKinley will not do. The statement that Mr. Bryan makes that he will at once, if elected

President, convene Congress to create a stable government for the Philippines and establish a Monroe doctrine protectorate over them, is wholly idle. He knows that it is impossible to do so, until conditions as to education, guarantee of property rights and as to safety of personal rights, warrant such action. However many the blunders made which wrought the condition that now presents itself, the country is not willing, off-hand and unpreparedly, to set adrift—though retaining a full protecting responsibility for their acts—any peoples who have come to us through the Spanish war. Mr. Bryan misjudges popular sentiment if he thinks that, upon such an issue, he can blind the electors to those things which, affecting our own country, are more paramount than any involved in the issue he is now attempting to create.

The Democrat who really wishes to serve his country best will serve it and his party by voting for President McKinley's re-election. He will not do so as a Republican advocate of Republican principles, but as a Democratic protestor against Bryanistic heresies. There is no half-way house, nor is any good to be accomplished by refraining from voting. It is a case where the surgeon must cut, and cut deeply. When Mr. Bryan is driven from power the patriotic Democrat can go back into a full fellowship with his party; for, when that time comes, the Democratic party will stand for something with the advocacy of which the patriotic Democrat will be glad to be associated. As long, however, as the present status is maintained, he can have neither part nor lot with those who map out the policies of the Democratic party and control its acts.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

BUDDHISM.

BY T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D., PH.D., PROFESSOR OF PALI AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

THE contrast between the rapidity with which Buddhism, in the early centuries of its history, spread over all adjoining lands, and its apparent inertness in these later centuries is very striking. We are only just beginning to gather the facts as to its original progress. And modern Buddhists are not in the habit of making any parade of their intentions, or even of their hopes. Any attempt, therefore, to explain this contrast, or to form a judgment as to whether it is likely, or not, to be permanent is beset with difficulty, and must be subject to revision.

It will not be without interest, however, to state shortly what is at present known on the matter, and to refer to some of those points which will be important, or at least suggestive, in any ultimate decision.

There are, of course, no statistics available as to the number of the adherents of the reforming movement in the early days of Buddhism. But the ground had been well prepared. Gotama, the Buddha, was careful in all his discourses to build on foundations already laid. He not only claimed to be, but in fact was, for the most part, a teacher who took up and emphasized the best teaching of the past. On certain points only were his doctrines new. The most important and far reaching of these points was his ignoring the then universally accepted theory of a soul; that is, of a vague and subtle, but real and material, entity supposed to reside during life within the body, and to fly out, at death, usually through a hole at the top of the head, to continue its existence, as a separate and conscious individual, elsewhere. We know for certain that this position, the refusal to use this hypothesis, was, among Indian thinkers, peculiar to Buddhism.

On other points we must still be content to reserve our judgment. The Buddha, for instance, is sometimes said to have abolished caste. But we are entirely unwarranted in supposing the system we now call the caste system to have existed in its present form when Buddha arose, in the sixth century before Christ, in the valley of the Ganges. On the contrary, the keystone of the arch of the peculiarly Indian caste organization—the absolute supremacy of the Brahmins—had not yet been put in position, had not, in fact, been made ready. And in many other details the caste system did not yet exist. It was only in process of evolution. In face of these conditions, the Buddha's doctrine was necessarily two-fold. Within his own order, over which alone he had complete control, he ignored completely and absolutely all advantages or disadvantages arising from birth, occupation, or social status, and swept away all barriers and disabilities arising from the arbitrary rules of mere ceremonial or social impurity. Now, we know there had existed orders before Gotama founded his. But their records are at present available only in so fragmentary a state that we do not yet know whether any of them had taken a similar step before.

On the other hand, outside his own order, the Buddha adopted, as regards what we may now fairly call "questions of caste," the only course then open to any man of sense—that is to say, he strove to influence public opinion (on which such observances depend) by a constant inculcation of reasonable views. Thus, in the Amagandha Sutta it is laid down, in eloquent words, that defilement does not come from eating this or that, prepared or given by this or that person, but from folly in deed or word or thought. And here the very document itself, in giving the doctrine, gives it as the word of an Awakened One (a Buddha) of old. In other words, the Buddhist records put forward this view as having been enunciated long before, with the intended implication that it was common ground to the wise.

This is only one example out of many. The Buddhist doctrines that salvation from suffering, from mere quantitative existence indefinitely prolonged, depended on the choice of a right ideal; that goodness was a function of intelligence; that the sacrifice of the heart was better than a sacrifice of bullocks; that the ideal of man was to be sought, not in birth or wealth or rank, but in wisdom and goodness; that the habitual practice of the rap-

ture of deep reverie was a useful means of ethical training, of acquiring that intellectual insight on which self culture depends; a great part of the theory of the origin of evil; a great part of the theory of Karma; the fundamental doctrine of the impermanency of all phenomena; the spirit of unquestioning toleration in all matters of religion and speculation—all these, and others besides, were pre-Buddhistic, and were widely held when Buddhism arose. Even the doctrine that salvation can be obtained in this life was pre-Buddhistic. The Buddha merely added that it could only be enjoyed in this life, that there was no salvation at all beyond the grave.

There was no organized church to attack. It was taken as granted, indeed, that the knowledge of the magic, the mystery, of sacrifice was confined to Brahmins, but the majority of the Brahmins, then as now, followed other pursuits. They were land-owners, officials, even traders. Many of them openly adopted, more of them were in favor of, the new school. And the new school itself was no organized body. No one, unless he actually became a member of Gotama's order, as a considerable number of Brahmins actually did, had to make any break in his life, had to lose any social consideration, by following, in whole or in part, the party of reform.

The economic conditions were peculiarly favorable. And there was present a factor almost indispensable to any new movement of religious reform—the existence side by side of widely differing views of life. Just as our Reformation in Europe was largely due to the influence on Christian minds of the newly discovered pagan literature of Greece, so in India, in the sixth century before Christ, the Aryans were in contact with views of life fundamentally different from their own. It is a great mistake to imagine that the invading Aryans found only savages in the land. The Dravidian civilization was not inferior to, though it was, no doubt, in many respects, different from that of the Aryans themselves. There was probably never a time in the history of the world, either before or since, when so large a proportion of all classes of the people over so extensive a country were possessed by so earnest a spirit of inquiry, of speculation, of interest in religious questions, by so impartial and deep a respect for all who posed as teachers of the truth. And there is no doubt about the enthusiasm of the new converts, though it was an enthusiasm of a pe-

culiar kind. Almost all were filled with an overpowering reverence and love for their great teacher. Many had experienced, and would never forget, the bliss, the rapture of the moments of insight, of emancipation, of elevation when they realized, in their systematic practice of the reveries of Jhâna, the impermanence of all phenomena. The related episodes reveal a calm confidence arising from the sense of self-mastery won, a keen intellectual pleasure in what seemed to them to be a final solution of the deepest problems of life, a longing sympathy with those blinded by folly and error. And the last of these feelings they were wont to cultivate especially by one of their systematic meditations.

Such are some of the considerations that help us to understand the original spread of Buddhism. Those who have found it difficult to reconcile the undoubted fact of that spread with their view of Buddhism as the apotheosis of annihilation, meaning thereby the annihilation of the soul, are wrong only in the latter half of their contention. As is now well known Nirvana does not mean the annihilation of the soul—the Buddhists did not accept the hypothesis of a soul—but the dying out, in the heart, of the three fell fires of lust, ill-will and delusion. A doctrine of salvation to be gained, and gained now, by self-mastery, by a gradual inward perfection, may have been very different from modern Western ideas, but was quite compatible with the necessary enthusiasm, and appealed strongly to the aspirations of the day.

What we know is that the success of the new doctrine was, in the first centuries, sufficiently marked. Its extent may be gauged by the account of the formal sending forth of missionaries at the close of Asoka's Council, held at Patna in the third century before Christ. They were sent to Sind, to Afghanistan, to Kashmir, to Tibet and Nepal, to the coasts of Burma, to the Dekkan, to Ceylon. In other words missionaries were no longer needed in the vast extent of territory from the Indus to the Gulf of Bengal, from the Himalayas to the Godavari River. And in the following centuries Buddhism had spread west to the Oxus, north to Mongolia, east to China, Korea and Japan, and south to Siam and to Java and to other islands of the far Southeastern Archipelago.

Then came the decline. Outside India, no further progress was made. In India itself the force of the new movement gradually fell away, until Buddhism, like Christianity, became almost unknown, even in the very land of its birth.

What were the reasons for this? Chiefly, no doubt, of two kinds—internal weakness and a notable increase in the power of opposing conditions. The very event which, in the eyes of the world, seemed to be the most striking proof of the success of the reforming party, the conversion and strenuous support of Asoka, the most powerful ruler India had had—indeed the first real over-lord over practically the whole of India proper—was only the beginning of the end. The adhesion of large numbers of only nominal converts produced weakness rather than strength. The day of compromise had come. Every relaxation of the old thorough-going position was heartily welcomed and widely supported by converts only half converted. The margin of difference between the Buddhists and their most formidable opponents faded gradually, almost entirely, away. The soul-theory, step by step, regained the upper hand. Caste distinctions were, little by little, built up into a completely organized system. The social supremacy of the Brahmins by birth became accepted everywhere as an incontrovertible fact. But the flood of popular superstition which overwhelmed the Buddhist movement overwhelmed also the whole pantheon of the Vedic Gods. Buddhism and Brahminism practically gave place to modern Hinduism.

We ought not, in fact, to be surprised that a theory which placed the ideal in self-conquest; regarded final salvation as obtainable in this world only, and only by self-culture; a view of life that ignored the "soul," and brought the very gods under the domain of law; a religion which aimed its keenest shafts against just those forms of belief in the supernatural that appeal most strongly alike to the hopes and the fears of the people; a philosophy based on experience, confining itself to going back, step by step, from effect to cause, and pouring scorn on speculations as to the ultimate origin, or end of things—we ought not to be surprised that such a system stumbled and fell. It might gain, by the powerful personality of its founders, by the first enthusiasm, the zeal and the intelligence of his followers, a certain measure of temporary success. But it fought against too many vested interests at once, it raised up too many enemies, it tried, in "pouring new wine into old bottles," to retain too much of the ancient phraseology for lasting success. It was before its time. The end was inevitable. And the end was brought about, not by persecution, but by the gradual weakening of the theory itself, the

gradual creeping back under new forms and new names of the more popular beliefs.

In almost the words the present writer ventured to use, nearly twenty years ago, "It would be, perhaps, hard to find, in the whole history of the world, a greater tragedy than that typified by the feast of Juggernauth. The number of deaths at the festival has doubtless been sometimes exaggerated, and I am quite aware that reasons can be given for the character of the carvings on the triumphal car of Vishnu. But it is acknowledged that the temple at Puri had once been Buddhist, that caste is ignored during the festival, and that the very name of the idol is really nothing but a misunderstood ancient epithet—the Pali word 'Jagannatha' (Lord of the World)—of the great thinker and reformer of India. We know that deaths did, in fact, and up to very recent times, take place, and were supposed to secure a happy entrance of the "soul" into realms of delight in heaven. When we call to mind how the frenzied multitudes, drunk with the luscious poison of delusions, from which the reformation they had rejected might have saved them, dragged on that sacred car, heavy and hideous with carvings of obscenity and cruelty—dragged it on in the very name of Jagan-natha, the forgotten teacher of self-control, of enlightenment and of universal love, while it creaked and crushed over the bodies of miserable suicides, the victims of once exploded superstitions—it will help us to realize how heavy is the hand of the immeasurable past; how much more powerful than the voice of the prophets is the influence of congenial fancies, and of inherited beliefs."

And now? Is there any probability of the revival of Buddhism? Has it force enough, has it any force to stand up against the altered conditions of the world? Beaten back by the fire and sword of a fierce Mohammedanism from Khiva and Bokhara, from Afghanistan and Baluchistan, from Sind and from the Panjab, will it regain there the lost territory, and restore the beautiful monuments so ruthlessly destroyed? It was the same gentle hands that gave the *coup de grâce* to Buddhism in the valley of the Ganges. The great university of Nâlandâ still existed, as the chief if not the only centre of unsectarian religious life in India when the Moslems came.

They murdered the teachers and burnt the books, and, without any military necessity that is now perceptible, destroyed the

buildings. Can Buddhism recover there the ground it had previously lost by its own failings, and rebuild the great university now buried in heaps of ruin and covered with jungle? Can it recover its lost influence in China and Japan, where it was for a short time the dominant faith, and is now despised, again through its own weakness, by the official and ruling classes who once professed it? Is there any probability of its once again sending out its missionaries into distant lands, and gaining over new regions to its strong gospel of self-victory by self-abnegation?

The answer, so far as it can be given at all, can only be given in the light of the history of the past. In so far as it shall be able to purify itself by an intelligent approximation, indeed, by a practical return, to the teaching of the Master, there is hope for it. Its most powerful weapon, now as then, must always be the Four Truths, the Noble Path in which they culminate, the doctrine of Arahatship to which that path leads up. It is by no means sure that Buddhists throughout the world have as yet fully and consciously reached this position. But some approach, at least, to it is being brought about by two causes especially. And these are both due, oddly enough, to European and American agency—they are the influence of Christian propagandists and of European and American scholars.

One result of the first has been, and especially in those countries where it has been most vigorously carried on, to compel the Buddhists to examine their grounds of belief, and, with that object, to study more carefully their ancient literature. We see, therefore, throughout the Buddhist world an enthusiasm reawakening for education, both primary and secondary, to be conducted on their own lines. Books in manuscript, on the time-honored palm leaves, had been deemed enough when their position was not attacked. Now they are printing and circulating their books, as the Christians do; they are founding schools for both sexes; they are establishing boards of education, even high schools and colleges; and their sacred books, no longer left only in the hands of student recluses, are printed and circulated at large. *Fas est ab hoste doceri.*

On the other hand, the labors of European and American scholars are making accessible, also on this side, the ancient texts, and are even beginning to translate them into European languages, and to analyze and summarize their contents. Though

the Buddhists do not in the least agree with us, whose aim is not controversial at all, but only historical, they are beginning not only to make such use as suits them of our results, but to imitate our methods.

It may be desirable to specify, with regard to each country—for Buddhism is still an influence over widely separated portions of the globe, and the present position is different in each—how far such movements have gone. In Japan, split up as Buddhism is into many sects, of which Mr. Fujish Ma has given us so interesting an account,* the very difference of opinion has led to one sect vieing with the other in propagandist education. Several of them have even sent students over to Europe for the express purpose of learning Pali and Sanskrit—a most striking phenomenon of the time. And one or two of these students, thus trained in European knowledge, notably the gentleman already referred to, and Mr. Bunyu Nanjio, and last (not least) Mr. Takakusu, have, by their published works, added not only to native, but to European knowledge. A very excellently conducted periodical, now called *The Orient,* gives also able expression, in English, to the general Buddhist view of things, and publishes English versions of the texts held in most repute. In the face of the increased importance which recent events have given to the military caste in Japan, a caste devoted almost exclusively to the ancient paganism, the Shinto faith of their ancestors, this activity and zeal of the Buddhists is noteworthy.

In China, in this as in other respects, all is silent; or, if there be any movement, we know nothing of it. Buddhism there has always, in spite of a few intervals of royal favor, had a hard fight against Confucianism; and it lies at present, mostly from internal causes, under a cloud. But it still has a large following among the masses, and even, though they often prefer to conceal the fact, among the wealthier classes; and any revival of Chinese national feeling will have its effect also on the Buddhist communities.

In Siam, on the other hand, the Buddhist advance has the able and efficient support of the ruling family. In emulation, no doubt, and in some respects in imitation, of the Pali Text Society, the work of European scholars, the Buddhist scholars of

*"Le Bouddhisme japonais; doctrines et histoire des douze grandes sectes du Bouddhisme du Japon." Paris, 1889.

Siam—for scholarship has never died out there—have brought out, at the expense and under the patronage of their present enlightened monarch, and under the superintendence of his brother, the distinguished scholar and member of the Buddhist Order, Prince Vajira-nana, a most admirable and now nearly complete edition of the whole of their ancient sacred books, and are beginning, under the same auspices, an edition of the numerous commentaries—all in Pali, of course, but printed, not in the Pali, but in the ordinary Siamese, characters.

In Ceylon, the Buddhists—not without help, be it noted, from American sympathizers—have started new schools, both for boys and girls. They have also inaugurated colleges for the higher education of the Buddhist clergy. And more than one of these colleges, notably in Colombo under the able superintendence of the distinguished scholar Sumangala Maha Nayaka, who is an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of England, have produced scholars and organizers who are fully awake to all the necessities of the times. There is a paper there, too, *The Buddhist,* which does for Ceylon what *The Orient* does for Japan; and a native paper, written in Singalese, the *Sava Sanda Rasa,* which is even more important, and has a large and influential circulation.

In India, an organization has been set on foot in Calcutta for the propagation of Buddhist opinion. This owed its commencement to the agency of Ceylon Buddhists, and is at present very ably presided over by a Ceylonese well known in Europe and America, Mr. Dharmapala. But it has received the adhesion and support of influential natives of India. Some of them contribute articles to its journal, the *Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society,* and others have gone to Ceylon to study Buddhism there. A principal object of the association, to obtain possession of the ancient Maha Bodhi temple, erected on the site of the spot where the Buddha obtained Nirvana, has not at present been successful. But the organization is full of life and aspiration, and it seems by no means improbable that it will succeed in spreading to a considerable extent once more in India the faith of the greatest teacher and thinker that India has yet produced.

In Burma Buddhism is at present quieter. Perhaps it is that the Buddhists there feel less than elsewhere the pressure of opposing forces. As Mr. Fielding has shown in that enchanting vol-

ume, "The Soul of a People," Buddhism is in Burma a power, and a power on the whole for good, influencing the lives of the people from the cradle to the grave. And though quiet, it is not quiescent. The press issues an increasing number of Buddhist Texts, old and new. And though the Buddhist peasantry have not yet, from financial causes, succeeded in publishing the whole of the authoritative texts of their religion, the texts they do publish have a wide circulation, and are held in high honor by the people.

There is yet another point which it would be blindness to omit in any estimate of the position of Buddhism as a living force—it is not at all improbable that it may turn out, eventually, to be the most important point of all—the quiet but irresistible way in which Buddhism is making its influence felt, quite apart from any religious propaganda, in the thought of the West. What Schopenhauer said has often been quoted, but will bear quoting again: "If I am to take the results of my own philosophy as the standard of truth, I should be obliged to concede to Buddhism the pre-eminence over the rest. In any case, it must be a satisfaction to me to find my teaching in such agreement with a religion professed by the majority of men." This would be neither the place nor the time to undertake any discussion of this utterance. It is enough to point out that Schopenhauer is, in all probability, the most influential philosopher among those now followed in Germany; and that the influence of Germany, at all events in intellectual matters, is at present, if not indeed in the ascendant, at least exceedingly powerful. It is not probable that any considerable number of people, either in Europe or America, will ever range themselves openly on the side of Buddhism, as a profession of faith. But it cannot be denied that there are certain points in the Buddhist view of life that are likely to influence, and to influence widely, with increasing intensity, the views of life, of philosophy, of ethics, as held now in the West. And not only the view of life, the method also, the system of self-training in ethical culture, has certain points which the practical Western mind is not likely, when it comes to know it, to ignore. The present results have been brought about by the knowledge of Buddhism professed by a few isolated students. It is only when the texts have been properly edited, fully translated, so studied and summarized that they have been made accessible to

every one interested in questions of philosophy and ethics, that the full power of such truth as there is in the Buddhist theory will be felt.

It cannot be considered as at all improbable that the twentieth century will see a movement of ideas not unlike in importance to that resulting from the discovery of Greek thought at the time of the Renaissance, and due, like it, to the meeting together in men's minds of two fundamentally different interpretations of the deepest problems man has to face.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

CHINA AND RUSSIA.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY, FORMERLY FIRST ASSISTANT UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE.

In a recent article in an English review the present writer pointed out the novel and significant character of the programme for American political action in China outlined in Secretary Hay's circular note of July 3d, indicated some of the difficulties in the way of carrying out that programme in its entirety, and advocated a frank recognition on our part of the fact that Russia is the dominant factor in the settlement of the Chinese question, and that the influence of Great Britain in the Far East has fallen to a low ebb.

The events of the last two months, of such pregnant importance and world-wide influence, have lent additional support to the views then expressed, and just as this article, written abroad, in the first week of September, is about to be forwarded to the Review, the transcendent significance of Russia's recently announced policy for the restoration of peace in China, and of the practical adhesion which the United States has apparently given to that policy, before the evacuation of Pekin had been agreed to by any other Power, is arresting the attention of all Europe. Whether the diplomatic communications now in progress modify the declared intentions of Russia and the United States or not, the announcement by the former of her desire to evacuate Pekin at once, and the prompt recognition by the latter of the fact that the ambitious programme of political reform in China cannot be carried out without the concurrence of all the Powers, and the support of Russia most of all, are events of the first importance. It would, indeed, be hard to place limits upon the influence which they may exert, not alone upon the future of China, but upon international relations all over the world.

Already serious friction is apparently created between Russia and Germany, and the unexpected turn of affairs may afford Great Britain an opportunity, by throwing her weight on to the side of Germany, to put an end to her position of diplomatic isolation in the Far East, and to secure at least one powerful friend; while Japan would also be not unlikely to join in an Anglo-German *entente,* in spite of her distrust of the latter Power. It must, moreover, be recognized that, while the Triple Alliance has technically nothing to do with the Chinese question, yet as one of its chief objects is defense against Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy could not well remain indifferent to any events in Asia which threatened to deal a serious blow to the prestige of their stronger ally, and so to weaken her influence in Europe, particularly if this blow came from Russia. These two Powers may not count directly in Asia; but they are still among the six great Powers of Europe, and it is now clear enough that the politics of Asia are inextricably bound up with those of Europe—if, indeed, they do not involve the future of all mankind.

The action of our own Government for the last year in connection with Chinese affairs, beginning with the circular note of Secretary Hay relative to the "open door" policy, in September, 1899, has certainly, in the main, been wise and conservative, and it may well be conceded that if the record closes equally well, a creditable chapter will have been added to the annals of American diplomacy. But the critical period of the real difficulties is just upon us, and this may last even for years before any final settlement is effected—if, indeed, the Chinese puzzle is to be solved at all in our day, which is by no means certain. It may not, therefore, be out of place to point out, in a spirit of considerate criticism, two mistakes, perhaps not unnatural ones, and fortunately not of the gravest importance or incapable of correction, which the present Administration seems to have made.

In the first place, the programme outlined in Secretary Hay's note of July 3d, while excellent ideally, was too ambitious and comprehensive in its scope, and too political in its character, differing radically in the latter respect from the policy embodied in his negotiations for the maintenance of the "open door" for commerce. His promise to hold the responsible authors of wrongs to American citizens to "the uttermost accountability"

can easily be seen, in the light of recent developments, to have been somewhat too sweeping, and a more intimate knowledge of existing conditions in China would, doubtless, have prevented it from being made. It is never wise to threaten punishment which cannot be inflicted; and even on July 3d it should have been sufficiently evident that the difficulties in the way of even ascertaining, to say nothing of punishing, the "responsible authors" of outrages would be so great as to make threats worse than idle; and a great nation cannot but suffer some loss of dignity if unable to make good its solemn words. It would have been better to leave entirely to the German Emperor all expressions in favor of punishment or vengeance in the face of such a terrible upheaval as threatens the very foundations of social order in China.

In further declaring it to be the policy of the United States to seek a solution of the existing troubles which should "prevent a recurrence of such disasters, bring about permanent safety and peace in China," Secretary Hay plainly implied the intention of our Government to join in political action for the radical reconstruction of Chinese administration. Fortunately, his language is general and does not hold us to any specific programme, and when it suits our convenience we can dismiss it as a mere expression of pious good will toward the Chinese people; but taking the then existing conditions in connection with the context, it is sufficiently clear that the intention was to commit the United States to political action for the reform of Chinese government—an object quite outside the scope of previous American policy in the Far East, impossible of attainment by our own independent action and, if pursued in common with other Powers, fraught with the gravest possibilities of those international entanglements with European nations, which it is our historical policy to keep out of. The Chinese government is, indeed, in the most crying need of reconstruction, whether from within or from without. But if this reform is to come from within, we have no more right to interfere with the internal politics of China than she has to take sides in our Presidential election; if from without, we had much better leave this huge, if not impossible, task to such nations as Russia or Japan, which could alone attempt it with any hope of success. It is not the mission of the United States to set right everything that is amiss all over the world, even if we have interests involved, or to take part in remodelling

the government of some four hundred millions of people who deeply resent foreign interference with their affairs. The idea of joining a syndicate of nations for the establishment of a political trust to regulate the affairs of the world may be a dazzling one, but when it seriously appeals to the United States, the whole character of our government and of our institutions will have to be changed; for world-empire and democracy are inconsistent with each other and cannot co-exist. Fortunately, the territory and power of the whole eastern hemisphere have already been so far divided up or pre-empted among the older nations that the share which a new political partner would now receive would not be a very tempting one, in comparison with their great empires and dependencies—and perhaps we have our share in the political hegemony of the whole American hemisphere under the Monroe doctrine, to say nothing of our newly acquired islands.

The second mistake of the Administration was its assent to the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the allied Powers. No exception can, of course, be taken to the eminent fitness of Count Von Waldersee to assume a military position of such delicacy and importance; and if, as appears to be the case, the selection of any German officer for this command was somewhat unfortunate—owing to the aggressive attitude of the German Emperor and the probability, to say the least, that his designs in China are too comprehensive—no part of this responsibility seems to attach to our own Government. But a willingness to place American troops under any foreign officer implied a closer alliance with other Powers in China than was consistent with the independent attitude of the United States in Asiatic affairs in the past, and involved unknown risks of entangling us in political complications. For, under such conditions as now exist in China, it is impossible to draw any line between military and political action, and the authority of Count von Waldersee would necessarily have covered both fields; indeed, it is now claimed that, even if all military operations were entirely finished before his arrival, he would still have the practical settlement of the conditions of a truce and of opening negotiations. If he had been on the spot when the troops were preparing to start for Pekin, the case might, indeed, have been different, and supposed military necessity might have justified our assent to his appointment; but at the time when we gave that assent, he was in

Europe, and it was already plain that the legations were altogether likely to be relieved, if their inmates remained alive, long before he could reach China. If our sole military object was to relieve our own legation and citizens, and to take part in a longer or shorter occupation of Pekin—and it should not have been, and probably was not, any more comprehensive, as we took pains to disclaim being at war with China—then we should have replied that if this purpose had not been attained by the time Count von Waldersee arrived on the scene of action, we should be very glad to place our troops under an officer of such high qualifications. As things have turned out, this appointment, no doubt intended to secure greater harmony between the Powers, seems to be a threatening source of discord, and at least one of the obstacles in the way of a speedy re-establishment of peace seems to lie in the difficulty of saving the dignity of the Commander-in-Chief (not, be it noted, in China, but only in the Province of Pechili,) and of the country which he represents, and of finding something for him to do consistent with his high rank and functions. The United States at least might, by a little prudence, and without any discourtesy to Germany, have kept out of this complication and the jealousies which it may engender.

It is pleasant to turn from these minor errors in our diplomacy to the sound statesmanship embodied in the circular note of the State Department, based upon the Russian proposal for the evacuation of Pekin. The full text of the circular instructions from the Russian Foreign Office to its representatives abroad, under date of August 25th, which afforded the basis for the oral communication from the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington, furnishes the public with an authoritative and important definition of Russian policy in China, as formed subsequently to the relief of the legations, and designed to meet the new conditions existing after that event. It may be significant that, while the wording of the Russian circular is definite in regard to the withdrawal of the Russian legation from Pekin, it says nothing directly about the withdrawal of troops from that city; this proposal is only found in the oral communication to our own Government, and this fact seems to prove Russia's wish to secure the support of the United States for this step, before communicating her desire or intention to any other Power—another instance of the masterly skill of her diplomacy. The prevention

of any *entente* between Great Britain and the United States, and the strengthening of her own friendly relations with us, being important objects of her policy, she saw her opportunity, by consulting us first, to have what would seem to be a Russo-American proposal presented to the other Powers, and to signify to the world that Russia and America, at least, could act in harmony in China. If Great Britain should follow, the policy of Russia in China would be forwarded; if she should decline to follow, a divergence in policy between her and the United States would be created. Fully understanding the purely pacific and commercial policy of the United States in China—realizing, perhaps, also that a political campaign in which the party in power was charged with a tendency to Imperialism and Militarism, afforded a peculiarly favorable opportunity for securing acceptance of any proposal which on its face looked like the re-establishment of peace in China—Russia made a bold and winning stroke!

Her opponents might, indeed, say that she laid a trap which we fell into; that, as our Government did not believe in the expediency of at once withdrawing the international troops from Pekin—as it distinctly stated in the circular note communicating the Russian proposal—it should not have informed Russia what it would do in the event of her separate withdrawal of her own troops, but should merely have invited an expression of opinion from the other Powers. By the response actually made, Russia is assured that, unless the United States changes its position, she will have the company of at least one other Power if she withdraws her troops. She has only, therefore, to adhere to her intention in order either to impose her policy of evacuation upon all the other Powers, or at the worst to enjoy the great moral and political advantage of having America act with her in the carrying out of her pacific policy—certainly no inconsiderable achievement for Russian diplomacy in either case.

If our policy is to act in especial co-operation with Great Britain, or merely to adhere to whatever course the other Powers represented in the concert may agree to, the answer of the State Department to Russia was a serious blunder. If, on the other hand, as the writer believes, our true policy should be not to follow blindly even the decisions of a unanimous concert; to retain as far as possible our traditional independence of action in China; to avoid at all hazards becoming involved in the

European diplomatic situation; to endeavor to keep on terms of equal and impartial friendship with all the Powers, but to recognize, if we are forced to choose between them, that Russia is already the dominant factor in Asia, and that friendly relations with her are likely to be of the greatest future importance to our commerce; then the course of our Government in agreeing, in accordance with our own pacific policy and with our friendly attitude toward China, to take a step which, on the surface, at least, seemed likely to hasten the return of peace, its willingness to stand alone with Russia, if necessary, and its recognition of the fact that nothing useful could be accomplished by remaining at Pekin without her—are worthy of all commendation.

We should never lose sight of the cardinal fact in the Chinese situation, so far as we are concerned—namely, that we have no present or prospective territorial or political interests, "spheres of influence," or "leases" of ports, in China, and that we do not want any—in which respects we are in a radically different position from all the other Powers represented in the concert. If we have joined with other nations in forcing our missionaries and our trade on China, we have not, at least, participated in the exaction of those cessions of territory and comprehensive privileges which seem to have been the direct cause of the present outbreak. We may, therefore, well leave the main task of quelling the storm to those Powers which have raised it, merely safeguarding our own special interests, so far as that is possible.

In another respect, also, the position of the United States in China is fundamentally different from that of the other allied Powers. Every one of these has such important interests at stake or such political alliances in Europe, that it must unfortunately consider becoming involved in war over the issues to be settled in Asia as at least a possibility—and each is at present practically on a war footing, though this can only be said of Great Britain owing to the conflict in South Africa. Doubtless, the tremendous disasters which would be involved in any war carried on between two great Powers under modern conditions—disasters which would fall only less heavily upon the victors than upon the vanquished—are fully realized by responsible statesmen and rulers, and this knowledge makes their action most careful and conservative. Yet to the European Powers and Japan the dread possibility of armed conflict is always present in the background.

Fortunately for the United States, in spite of our large army in the Philippines and our troops now in China, no sane American thinks that we will fight with any other member of the concert, whatever may be our policy or our interests, either to prevent the dismemberment of China or to secure any share in the partition for ourselves, or to reform the Chinese government, or even to maintain the "open door" for our trade. This certainly affords another cogent consideration in favor of keeping out of the threatening complications which may lead to war between the Powers; for, if we do not mean to fight, neither do we want to suffer any loss of dignity or prestige.

As to the merits of the Russian proposal for a withdrawal of all the troops from Pekin as a preliminary to the opening of negotiations, opinions may well differ; apparently conclusive objections can be brought both against the policy of evacuating the capital and against that of continuing its occupation—yet one or the other must be adopted. The Powers are face to face with a dilemma, and it is hard to say which horn is the sharpest. If they withdraw and practically invite the conspirators in high places to come back to the capital and negotiate safely at arms' length, they run the risk of fatally lowering Western prestige in China, of leaving the moral victory with the Chinese, of failing to secure any reasonable satisfaction or retribution, and of making possible in a few years another similar outbreak. If they remain, the imperial government will doubtless decline to return to Pekin and will render itself inaccessible in the interior—for it is beyond the power even of the combined nations to chase a will-o'-the-wisp Empress all over China, and maintain their communications with the coast in the midst of a large and hostile population. The consequences are most serious in any case; if the imperial government can from a new capital in the interior command the obedience of the provincial authorities, all China is likely to be involved in the trouble; if it cannot, then a condition of anarchy prevails, and a civil war among the Chinese themselves may add its untold horrors to the situation in either event. Almost any government is better than no government at all, and the fact that some twenty millions of lives were lost in the attempt to overthrow the Manchu dynasty through the Taeping rebellion may well give pause to the Powers in considering the consequences of changing the imperial houses. The hands of

the Empress and her ministers may be red with foreign blood, but as this is probably incapable of legal proof, however morally certain, and as Chinese ingenuity may be trusted to frame some elaborate and plausible excuse for her, such as coercion, the Powers may yet be obliged to accept the theory which Russia finds it convenient to adopt—namely, that every act of violence has been committed by rebels against the lawful imperial authority.

There are some strong reasons and strong sentimental considerations in favor of reasserting the authority of the unfortunate Emperor; but, aside from the preliminary difficulty of rescuing him from the clutches of the Empress, there remains the apparently fatal objection that he is now mentally and physically incapable of governing, and that the imperial power would in reality be exercised by others if nominally revested in him—a condition of things which might make the last state of Chinese government worse than the first. In short, the difficulties of getting away from the Empress are so immense that diplomacy may be obliged to adopt the fiction of her innocence as the only way of putting an end to an intolerable situation. If she is inconsiderate enough to refuse to return to her capital until the foreign troops are withdrawn, it is hard to see what is to be gained by keeping them there, unless, indeed, the Powers are prepared to place a force of several hundred thousand men in garrison at different points in China, and to exercise some real and effective control over the country—which they thus far indicate no willingness to do.

There remains to consider the possibility of changing the capital from Pekin to some other point, which would make the continuance of the occupation of that city a question of minor importance. There seems to be two insuperable obstacles in the way of this alternative; first, the very reasons which would make most of the foreign Powers desire it would make the Chinese Government decline it, unless under absolute compulsion, which the Powers are as yet far from being in a position to apply, and, second, Russia would certainly object to a removal of the capital from Pekin, and her objection would make such a course impossible. This brings us to the real crux of the situation, namely, the fact that the interests of Russia in China and her relations to the Celestial Empire are entirely different from those of any other Power; that her position is already stronger than that of any of her rivals in the Far East, and may soon become impregnable,

and that if she can avoid war she may almost be said to hold the future of China in the hollow of her hand—though the process of asserting her full control is likely to be a long and gradual one. In short, Russia holds the winning cards in her hand, and knows how to play them.

The simple fact that Russia has a frontier coterminous with that of China for some four thousand miles requires that her policy toward that Empire should be based on very different considerations from those which the other nations need take into account. No other Power represented in the concert is a territorial neighbor of China, except through distant dependencies—France through Tong-king, and Great Britain through Burma; and of these two frontiers, that of France, the ally of Russia, is by far the more important. Russia is uniting her empire with China by railroads; the other Powers must always be dependent upon communications by sea. Japan, indeed, is a near neighbor of China; but the fact that she is separated from the Celestial Empire by water makes her necessary relations to the problem differ as much from those of Russia as the situation of England with reference to France is distinguished from that of Germany. The difference between sea and land relations of offense and defense between nations is fundamental. With Russia the security of a frontier of enormous extent must be a primary consideration, and recent events prove that its liability to attack is by no means merely a theoretical one. The last thing that she desires, or can afford, is to have to maintain this frontier in a perpetual state of defense against possible attack. For this reason alone, if for no other, the maintenance of friendly relations with China must be a cardinal point in her policy in Asia.

China cannot strike other nations except through their interests on her coasts, or within her borders; she can strike Russia within the Empire of the Czar, and it is at least conceivable and possible, even if quite unlikely, that she might some day organize out of her teeming population armies which would repeat the Tartar invasion. Russia has not yet forgotten that these fierce Asiatics ruled her people for over two centuries, and the overthrow of their domination is of as recent date as the discovery of America. While all the conditions of warfare have changed since Genghis Khan started the career of Asiatic conquest to the westward, the marvelous history of Japanese development within

a single generation proves that, under some circumstances, Orientals can assimilate the material side of Western civilization, including its methods of fighting, with extraordinary rapidity and success. The striking military progress made by the Chinese themselves in the few years since the close of their war with Japan affords another illustration of this fact. Russians believe that, if Japan were once allowed to organize and arm the Chinese, their own great Asiatic Empire would be in imminent peril, if not their European territory as well; and it must be admitted that their fears seem to be well founded. A cardinal point in Russian policy is, therefore, to keep Japan out of China at all hazards, and out of Corea, if possible; hence her alarm at the cession of the Liao-tung peninsula to Japan after the war, and her coercion of that Power, in combination with France and Germany, to give up this important part of the fruits of her victory.

Russia is forced by her situation to consider more seriously than any other Power the immense possibilities of danger involved in crowding too hard a nation of some four hundred millions of people, constituting the most ancient empire in existence, and united by a spirit of opposition to foreigners. No other great nation would have submitted for a moment to the indignities which have been heaped on China by other Powers, or to the exactions which they have enforced, and she has only submitted because she was helpless to resist. Russia, at least, if not the other Powers, must take into account the possibility that China may cease to be powerless; that she may learn the art of military organization which some have been so anxious to teach her, and that she may develop resources of offense as well as for defense.

Russia, therefore, vulnerable by land, must take a deep interest in the Chinese question as a measure of self defense; to her it is no mere matter of commerce or exploitation in remote regions, but of national security itself. If China is helpless, Russia cannot safely allow any other Power to take advantage of that helplessness to build up a controlling influence upon the ruins of the Celestial Empire; if China is not helpless, and may even become powerful, Russia must maintain such relations with her as may best safeguard the interests of her own great empire. If China is for the Chinese, Russia must be her next friend; if not, then her protector. There would seem to be as strong a foundation for a Russian Monroe doctrine to protect the remaining in-

tegrity of China as for an American Monroe doctrine to protect the integrity of the South American republics. The declared policy as well as the plain interest of the United States is in favor of maintaining all that remains of Chinese "administrative entity" and territory; and if the interest of Russia is enlisted in the same direction, more strongly than that of any other Power, this would seem to afford one sound basis of co-operation between the two countries.

The above considerations have a vital relation to the question of withdrawal from Pekin. The presence of foreign troops on Chinese soil is objectionable from the Russian standpoint above indicated, though she fully recognized its necessity while the legations were in peril. Anything which tends toward a removal of the capital from Pekin is also strongly opposed to her interests; and the continuance of its occupation by foreign troops would certainly have such a tendency, in view of the unwillingness of the imperial government to return there while such occupation lasts. Pekin is the most favorable possible residence for the Chinese court, with a view to the predominance of Russian influence, and it is not to be wondered at that she proposes to give the Empress every facility to return there. Russia will doubtless be able to prevent the removal of the capital, if central government is to continue in China, to any point more convenient to the interests of her rivals and less advantageous to herself. Tientsin, the port of Pekin, is right across the gulf from Russia's great naval stronghold and base at Port Arthur; and the capital itself is connected by railroads already built with Mukden, in Manchuria, whence railroad construction before the present outbreak was being rapidly pushed northward to join with the Trans-Siberian line. Within a comparatively short time there will be all-rail connection between St. Petersburg and Pekin. A part of this line, to be sure, is at present more or less under British control, but this difficulty will be obviated in some way, and Russia had already applied for an independent concession—indeed, one of her plans, by no means unlikely to be carried out later, is a direct line from Irkutsk to Pekin, reducing by almost one-half the distance by the route through Manchuria.

It must be remembered, too, that, so far as "spheres of influence" have been defined, the Russian sphere is better situated for the domination of Pekin than any other. Great Britain has for-

mally recognized that the whole of Mongolia and Manchuria come within the sphere of Russia so far as the building of railroads is concerned, and no other Power is likely to dispute her ear-marking of that territory. When Russia has completed her railroads and can land a large body of troops in the Chinese capital at short notice, China is not likely to be in much doubt as to which Power can best play the role of protector of her Government, alike against domestic trouble and foreign pressure.

Indeed, there were not lacking signs that Chinese statesmen had already recognized that their country could not continue its policy of political isolation, and that it must place either Russia or Japan practically in the position of an ally upon whom it could lean; and Russia is pressing at their gates, while Japan is across the Yellow Sea. Russian influence was dominant at Pekin before the outbreak of the great conspiracy to drive all foreigners out of China by one supreme and general effort. Doubtless the Chinese do not love Russians any more than they do other foreigners, and when the storm broke it spent its force, perhaps, more against Russia than any other Power, for her Manchuria railroad, in Chinese territory, and her unprotected frontier offered easy marks for attack. But when political calm returns, the rulers of the Chinese, if not the people themselves, must again recognize the strength of Russia's position, and must remember not only the service which she rendered to their Empire by rescuing the Liao-tung peninsula from Japan, but the recent manifestation of her friendship in proposing the evacuation of Pekin. It is not a fact devoid of significance or importance that it is through the aged statesman, Li-Hung-chang, who is recognized as being the firm friend of Russia, whether through a patriotic belief that the Government of the Czar can best protect China, or through less creditable motives, that the imperial government proposes to negotiate for peace. Russia is likely to have rather more to say than any other Power as to what the terms of peace are to be, and as to the manner in which China is to make reparation for the unparalleled outrages which some of her officials and citizens have committed. The fact that her own territory was wantonly attacked, and that enormous damage was done to her great railway, in process of construction under proper legal authority, joined with the other considerations above indicated, may even entitle her to that preponderant influence.

In conculsion, three other facts may be referred to which seem to give Russia pre-eminent advantage in connection with the Chinese situation. The first is her alliance with France, and no other Power as yet enjoys the advantages of any alliance in the Far East. However, new political groups may be formed by coming events. The possessions bordering China on the south, upon which France has expended upwards of two hundred million dollars, offer an excellent base for dominating the important southern provinces of that Empire, and the French are building railroads, asserting spheres of influence, and pushing forward their interests with great activity. The consistent mutual support which France and Russia give each other in Asia, and their zealous co-operation in resisting British influence and thwarting British plans, is a political fact of vital importance in the future of Asia. If they can join hands across the Yangtze Valley—England's supposed sphere, to which, however, she cannot yet show any good title—thus cutting the British line of communication between Shanghai and India, they will have accomplished in Asia what France tried to do alone in Africa when she sought to break the Cairo-to-the-Cape line at Fashoda. Moreover, the position of France as the recognized official protector of Catholic missions gives her a vantage ground which she is not slow to utilize for extending her power. The second point of advantage enjoyed by Russia, which she shares only with Japan, is the fact that she has no missionaries in China and does not seek to impose her religion on the Chinese people. When it is considered how much friction with other Powers arises out of the presence of missionaries, the Chinese may give no small weight to this point, when they come to seriously consider upon which Power they had best lean.

Thirdly, Russia, being semi-Asiatic herself, having for centuries been in close contact with Orientals, first ruled by them and later ruling over them, can understand Chinese methods of government and habits of thought better than any other Power, excepting only Japan; and Russian methods of government, autocratic and arbitrary as they may appear from a democratic standpoint, may be better adapted than those of more liberally governed nations to the stage of political development existing in China.

The natural and legitimate character of the expansion of

Russia to the Pacific, the fact that she has a real civilizing mission in Asia, however her own civilization may fall below the European standard in some respects; the service which she is rendering to the future commerce of the world by the great continental railroad which she is building at such an enormous cost; the pacific character of her policy—these are points which cannot be treated within the limits of this article. The maintenance of friendly relations with Russia should be as cardinal a point in our diplomatic policy as the cultivation of similar relations with us is in her own programme. Each nation has expanded across a continent, from one ocean to another; we meet as friends upon the shores of the Pacific—the great arena in which, perhaps, is to be fought out, in war or in peace, the struggle for political or commercial supremacy. JOSIAH QUINCY.

JAMES MARTINEAU.

BY THE REV. A. W. JACKSON.

THE years glide rapidly away, and with them impressions fade and enthusiasms wane. Events that now seem the hinge of destiny may look quite unimportant in the retrospect of a decade, as in climbing Monadnock the hills most formidable from the other side sink into the level of the landscape as we rise. But while, for the most part, the clock ticks uneventful minutes there come the "striking hours," incidents which, though wearing a trifling look to others, mark epochs in the individual life. Such an incident lies fair in the memory of one who, thirty years ago, was a student at Harvard. It was the casual opening of a book which he had never seen before, and of the author of which he had never heard. A sentence arrested his attention, another charmed him, another absorbed him, and presently he was as little at his own disposal as if afloat on the whirlpool of Niagara River. He had fallen under the spell of one to whom were the philosopher's insight and the prophet's fire. The book became the companion of his weariness and leisure, another from the same pen was found, and others were taken as they came; and thus his opening of that book proved his first contact with an influence that more than any other was to mould his life. Years sped on; disciple and master had found each other out, and this ascendency was to be brought to the proof of personal encounter. The teachers whom we know only in letters enjoy a happy immunity from personal frailties, which living contact is so likely to reveal, a truth which at this juncture came home to the disciple with very natural anxieties. This master was of the royal line of scholars, but so were Johnson and Gibbon; he was a thinker, but such was also Schopenhauer; he was endowed with genius, but so were Bacon and Voltaire. From such ex-

amples the disciple conceived it not improbable that through some infirmity of spirit the master might furnish an unhappy commentary upon his record, and dreaded the acquaintance that involved this liability. It was his happy discovery that not only were his anxieties groundless, but that through the great page that so long had instructed him he had held communion with a spirit that was far greater.

I.

That book was the "Endeavors After the Christian Life." The story is autobiography, with which confession enough is told of the personal affection that rules the following pages. Dr. Martineau was of Huguenot descent. His family tradition is drawn from Bergerac in France, where his ancestors may have witnessed, and not unlikely experienced, the horrors of the Dragonade. His line first comes clearly into view with a certain Gaston Martineau, a surgeon, who, driven by the persecution that followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled into England. On the ship that bore him across the Channel was a family of refugees, one member of which was a young woman who became afterward his wife. He settled in Norwich, where he prospered by his skill and reared a numerous family. The date of his reaching England cannot now be definitely told, but soon after 1685, the date of the bodeful Revocation. A son adopted his profession and followed in his walks, and a grandson and great grandson did the same. The latter was Phillip Meadows Martineau, celebrated in his day both as practitioner and author, nor yet forgotten. A younger brother of Phillip Meadows, Thomas Martineau, was destined to become James Martineau's father. Thus, behind Dr. Martineau were four generations of surgeons who had practised their skill in England; while tradition of the ancestral Bergerac carries still further up their line. To such as would study him in the light of heredity, here is material. All students of Dr. Martineau are sensible of his strong grasp upon scientific principles, a grasp that makes easy the belief that he might have triumphed at the problems of Herschel and Faraday had he not chosen to toil rather at those of Plato and Spinoza; and which in these days it is difficult not to connect with the scientific discipline of those generations of surgeons. While thus taking account of his inherited qualities, his Huguenot descent also comes

before us. The Huguenots were despoiled of about everything that makes life outwardly desirable; but through their sufferings they won for their children that surest of legacies, *a virtue proven in the fire of persecution.* Brief time may work great changes in human standards; and ancestor and descendant, viewing each other across the graves of four generations, in their vision of the world and their moral judgments would rarely discern the tokens of their kinship. But a virtue victorious in an ordeal such as the French Protestants were brought to, becomes a moral strain that many generations must witness; and as beneath the grace of Emerson we discern the iron of the Puritan, so in Dr. Martineau with finer insight and larger outlook the Huguenot toiled with us.

His early home was the ancestral Norwich. His father was a man of gentle spirit and stern rectitude; his mother was practical and resourceful. She bore eight children, of whom James, born April 21, 1805, was the seventh. A mother with eight children, though she gives them severally all her love, must divide to them her care, and so bring them early to the useful lessons of mutual helpfulness and self-dependence; and these lessons were emphasized in the Martineau household. Of the spirit of the maternal watch Dr. Martineau is our witness, and he tells of an affection less manifest in endearments than in constancy of service, yet warm and winning and unfailing. It seems the more desirable to say this because Harriet Martineau, writing in later life and throwing back its darkness upon her past, gave an unpleasant impression of her mother, which Mrs. Chapman, and later Mrs. Fenwick Miller, copied from her. Religion gave tone to the family life, rather elastic as to its dogmas and not austere as to its practices, but keeping ever in view the truth that the kingdom of God is not meat and drink. This was easy faith when the board was affluently spread; its practical hold was proven when meat and drink became an exigent consideration. Thomas Martineau was a manufacturer, and the product of his mills went to Spain. In 1823 France threw her armies upon Spain and won an easy victory. New commercial regulations were dictated to the advantage of France, but to the grievous loss of England. Thomas Martineau's Spanish trade was cut off, and, despite his bravest efforts, his business rapidly declined. At length he could honorably conceal his embarrassments no longer, and laid his affairs before his creditors. They found his

liabilities £100,000 and his assets £75,000. Fifteen shillings to the pound might have been paid and release obtained, and the standards of business honor satisfied. Fifteen shillings, however, are less than a pound, and, according to *Martineau* standards, neither war nor any other calamity could excuse the non-payment of a debt which any toil or sacrifice could cancel. Accordingly, he begged permission to undertake to pay all. The struggle outlasted his life, and was carried on in filial piety by his sons. It proved a maelstrom that sucked in all the family fortune; but at last the debt was paid, and the family could face the world with poverty and honor. Two of the daughters must needs take service as governesses and Harriet incur the hardships of her brave early career; but we hear no chafe, rather a note of exultation that through the sacrifice of meat and drink they had stood fast in their allegiance to the kingdom of God.

While such was the spirit of the home, how of its immediate surroundings? For these, like elevation and prospect and exposure, are of great significance to an unfolding life. Norwich was indeed no Athens of poets and philosophers, nor yet a Nazareth from which no good thing was to be expected. Though a manufacturing city, it had an intellectual life not to be despised. Here was William Taylor, an industrious contributor to the periodicals of the day on subjects of foreign literature, and one of the earliest guides of English readers into the wonder-realm of German poetry; also Frank Sayers, an explorer of Northern Mythology, a poet not to be despised and a metaphysician of clear insight; also Drs. Rigsby and Alderson, earnest toilers in the fields of science, and others whose names have come to us, and whose works we meet—not stars, indeed, but candles; and where it otherwise were dark, a candle makes a cheerful difference. Here, too, was Amelia Opie, whose novels, if not great, were wholesome, and gained a popularity that outlived her; and here was Anna Letitia Barbauld, whose sweet verse just missed of fame. All these might have been met in the Martineau household, which, of high standing in itself, and representing a family for more than a hundred years honorably identified with the city, naturally drew to itself men and women who thought and aspired.

II.

Mr. Martineau's education began in a grammar school at Norwich, a foundation of the fourteenth century. To this he was sent as a day-scholar from eight to fourteen years of age. It had educated a goodly number who had become eminent men, and so was a school of reputation. Dr. Samuel Parr had at one time been at its head, and it was now under the charge of Edward Valpy, a classical scholar of reputation in his day, nor yet forgotten. Under such a master the natural emphasis of the school was upon classical studies, and in these the young pupil made rapid progress. He also learned the French language; but in mathematics, then as ever after a favorite study, he received no satisfactory training. In a public school of two hundred pupils rude elements are to be looked for, and the sensitive and shrinking child who has endured well should have a tolerable martyrdom set down to his credit. James Martineau was this kind of boy. His, too, was a moral sensibility to which the hectoring and teasing were moral affronts of serious proportions. Accordingly, he was not happy here.

After six years a change seemed expedient. His sister Harriet, returning from Bristol, where she had been visiting, was eloquent in her praises of Lant Carpenter, who exercised the twofold office of preacher and teacher there. To receive tuition from Lant Carpenter must have been rare privilege to any earnest young man. His learning was ample and peculiarly well rounded; his apprehensions were quick and clear and vivid; he carried to his labors a moral enthusiasm that was contagious. He was, in short, a teacher after Montaigne's ideal, who could teach virtue as well as how to decline *virtus,* and the two lessons ever went along together. In his presence was a grace that few could resist; his character was of that virile sort which young men always admire; he was tireless in service; his enthusiasm was boundless; and he held his pupils to extraordinary achievement, not through the exactions he laid upon them, but the inspirations with which he aroused them. To this teacher young James was now committed, and in him he came in contact with one of the master influences of his life. Under the spell of Lant Carpenter his whole nature was awakened. Dr. Martineau was never stingy in recognition of those who had helped him, but to no other did

he bear testimony so affluent as to his Bristol school-master. Writing of him in 1841, he said: "So forcibly, indeed, did that period act—so visibly did it determine the subsequent direction of my mind and lot, that it always stands before me as the commencement of my present life, making me feel like a man without a childhood; and though a multitude of earlier scenes are still in view, they seem to be spread around a different being, and to belong, like the incidents of a dream, to some foreign self that became extinct when the morning light of reality broke upon the sight."

Only two years, however, of this high privilege were allowed him. His father had decided that he was to be an engineer; another, that is, was to be added to the many attempts, some of them sadly successful, to make Apollo a farmhand for Admetos. Accordingly, he was placed with a firm of engineers at Derby to learn his profession. For a year he was kept at the lathe or at the bench of the model-room. As we view him now, the mistake seems plain enough; but as Gibbon conceived that the captain of the Hampshire Grenadiers had not been useless to the historian of the Roman Empire, so these labors may have been not without profit to the future philosopher of religion. Two or three circumstances, however, conspired against this enterprise. The work was not uncongenial, but he was given an incompetent teacher, who taught him a trade rather than a science, and he was dissatisfied. More significant than this fact, the spell of his Bristol school-master was upon him. More significant still, the calling whereto he was called was declaring itself within him. So at the end of the year he made known to his parents his desire to become a minister. Though this was unwelcome intelligence, they were too wise to oppose him, and at once took into consideration the comprehensive education which it seemed to them a clergyman needed. But where should he be educated? The Oxford that afterward honored him could not then receive him by reason of the creed-subscription she must exact of him, nor, for the same reason, could Cambridge. Besides, though the evil days were not yet, the family exchequer would not indulge a lavish expenditure. There, however, was Manchester New College, which furnished "free learning" at small cost, and which, if with small constituency, was writing an heroic history. At a time when the State Church would punish with ignorance such as could not sign her

creed there began a long struggle for the higher academic culture beyond the range of her immediate control. To establish an institution, however, that should provide this in the face of the hostility of the Church and the prestige of the universities was no easy task; and in the course of a century six institutions, succeeding one to another, had run through their brief career. Then Manchester College was established at Manchester. Here it struggled for seventeen years. Thence it was moved to York, where it upheld its torch for thirty-seven years. Thence it was returned to Manchester, where it toiled on thirteen years. Thence it was moved to London, whence, after a stay of thirty-six years, it was transferred to Oxford, where it now is. Here we trust its wanderings are over, and that it may long diffuse its light. It was in the York period of this peripatetic service that James Martineau, aged seventeen, sought admission. Its resources look meagre enough when compared with those of the Oxford or Harvard of to-day, or even of that day. He found, however, two things alone indispensable to such a student, opportunity equal to his powers and teachers equal to his guidance. Of two of these, John Kenrick and Charles Wellbeloved, he never tired of celebrating the praises. The course, in part secular, in part theological, was of five years' length, and the zeal of the student spared not. John Kenrick twice mentions his "intemperate study." At the end of this period he stepped forth equipped for the great task that was before him.

At least, so he thought and friends and teachers judged; yet there was another and most important period of tuition before him. In these college years he had become familiar with the classical and Hebrew tongues; his scientific training had been severe; the standards of critical judgment, historical and theological, had been borne in upon him; he had learned the attitude of the schools; but a key to the universe he had not found; a key, that is, that he could use. In ethics he had received in its essential features the Hedonism of which Bentham was the apostle; in philosophy he had been trained on the doctrines of Locke and Hartley, which made much of the senses and something of the reason, but allowed to the soul no oracles. Both these types of doctrine, while in the ascendant in England, were all in all in his immediate surroundings; and he received them with a pupil's docility because they were taught him. We now see plainly

enough that from the very structure of his nature these doctrines could not do for him, that ere he could perform his appointed work he must renounce them. Before he could see their inadequacy, however, he must make trial of them. A year after his graduation he was ordained and settled over the Eustace Street Presbyterian Church in Dublin. Three years later he crossed over to Liverpool, where a notable career as a clergyman was before him. Soon the reviews gave evidence of a new man. In 1836 he published his first book, the "Rationale of Religious Inquiry." In 1839 he bore the leader's part in that titanic struggle known as the Liverpool Controversy. He came into wide demand for an occasional address or sermon or lecture. Thus in these earlier years, before the deeper problems of thought especially engaged him, he traced a considerable record; and he who examines it with care may see that within the formularies of Locke there was not scope for his vision, that to a hedonistic ethic his ethical appeal did not and could not ring true. At length, in 1840, he was appointed to the chair of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in the college that had educated him, the duties of which he discharged conjointly with his clerical offices. At the threshold of this new career an incident occurred that should have shown him his tendencies could he have seen. He believed himself safely within the lines of the dominant English philosophy; but the *syllabus* of his first course of lectures, falling into the hands of John Stuart Mill, his keen eye detected an incipient apostasy, of which he gave frank and friendly warning. As he went on his experiences were precisely those of one whose intellectual bearings are not well assured. Recorded judgments he needed too often to qualify; keen questions from his class forced him into embarrassing dilemmas. As an intellectual sailor his received philosophy was the chart of his voyaging, but in his heaven hung stars from which he was ever tempted to take an independent reckoning, and between chart and star there was unsteadiness in his sailing. At length, in 1848, his congregation found it necessary to build a new church, and he embraced the opportunity for a period of rest and study in Germany. Incidentally, the journey yielded much. There was the kindling spectacle of the Bavarian Alps; there was a six weeks' residence in a secularized monastery at St. Zeno; there was a sail in a private boat down the Danube; there was a period of wonder and joy

amid the treasures of art at Vienna; there was the forming of noble friendships, especially those of the Zumpts, Von Ranke and Trendelenburg. The ruling purpose of his journey, however, was study, not diversion. Trendelenburg was then at Berlin at the height of his fame and power, and Mr. Martineau sat down at his feet. Trendelenburg was a great expounder of the Stagirite, and this circumstance brought Mr. Martineau to Greek philosophical studies, the effect of which was, in his own language, "a new intellectual birth." He also plunged deeply into later German philosophy, and his friend, R. H. Hutton, who was with him, pleasantly tells how in the depths of a German winter with "feet incased in *einhut*" they toiled in a fruitless chase after Hegel's "pure being and pure nothing." Together also they toiled over the more luminous page of Plato. He found it of great advantage to pursue Greek and German thought together for the light each cast upon the other. He once told a friend that he never understood Aristotle's "Ethics" till he translated it into German in Trendelenburg's class. The result of these studies, however, was something more than a clearer insight into things dark before; *"the metaphysics of the world came home to him."* The defection from English Sensational doctrine which Mill had detected reached to conscious and complete repudiation. In its place he had attained to a spiritual philosophy with which *his key to the universe was won.*

III.

We come now to a closer view of the man and his work. However wanting in popular interest may be the labors of a scholar and teacher, in his case their summary is impressive. We have noticed a ministry of three years in Dublin; this was succeeded by a ministry of twenty-five years in Liverpool. After the removal of the college to London, keeping appointments with it implied the long journey of four hours thither, and he was at length induced to follow it in the capacity of resident professor. Soon after reaching London, however, he was invited to minister to the congregation at Little Portland Street Chapel, and here for fourteen years he proclaimed his great word. He thus must have entered to his credit forty-two years of clerical service. During the first six years of his London ministry he alternated in the pulpit ministration with John James Tayler, and during the en-

tire period he was released from the more conventional requirements of the pastoral office; yet this service of forty-two years, held to his severely faithful standard, would ordinarily be accounted a very creditable life-work. We must add to this, however, forty-five years as college professor, and that, too, in the most toilsome of departments, dealing with the problems of Aristotle and Kant, and holding himself in readiness to take up the gauntlet that any Mill or Mansel might throw down. Here is a second long and toilsome career, at the end of which, though with nothing else to his credit, he surely might have rested from his labors without apology. To these labors as clergyman and teacher, however, we must add a literary achievement hardly less than the twenty volumes which give ample testimony to the genius and diligence of Carlyle. Some of his volumes are the outcome of pulpit and professorial labors; yet the standard of their execution could hardly have been higher had their production been the sole occupation of his life. This three-fold record places him, of course, among the phenomenal workers of his age. With it in view, question as to his resource were like question as to the strength of Atlas when poising the globe on his shoulders.

Our interest in the Corliss engine, however, is not satisfied when we are merely told its gross achievement; we want also to be told of the interior working of its wonderful machinery. Turning to Dr. Martineau with the like inquiry, we mark, first, an acquisitive power that was very extraordinary. In this endowment nature made provision for a scholar of the first order. His intellectual cleverness was remarkable for its many-sidedness. That law of compensation through which we look to see a man sacrificed on one side to any special aptitude on another, which made Prescott a poor mathematician and Spencer an indifferent linguist, seems to have overlooked him. Whether dealing with the calculus or a Greek chorus, he was congenially occupied; in the fields of inductive inquiry he was at home; he laid hold upon the problems of philosophy as if a Plato come again; literature, art, music, were his solace; on details of archæology, history, political and social institutions, creeds, ecclesiasticisms, his grasp was firm. To these many aptitudes he brought a catholicity to match: a man of most decided convictions, as a scholar he was absolutely without antipathies. Hence the exhaustive knowledge of his problems that made him so formidable an antagonist. The champion of a

spiritual philosophy, he yet could turn upon modern naturalism the edge of its own weapons; a Protestant of Protestants, he could have instructed the College of Cardinals in church legislation; of the school of Baur, he made his own the whole arsenal of orthodox criticism; a follower of Channing, he steeped himself in Athanasius and St. Augustine; the most ultra of nonconformists, he put on the amplest equipment for Archbishop of Canterbury—except the creed of the Church of England. This great endowment was backed by the scholar's tireless diligence; it was backed also by the scholar's care. Like Thoreau, it would have been possible for him to "leave a Greek accent slanting the wrong way and right up a fallen man;" but the man set upon his feet, he would surely have returned to his Greek accent whose mistaken slant could not have left his memory.

The strength of the strong man is seen not merely in the load he carries, but also in the manner in which he carries it. A massive erudition may suggest an "ass of Parnassus," an often useful, but a relatively ignoble animal, which of all things Dr. Martineau was not. For, secondly, while it is given the mere scholar to think as learner, it was given Dr. Martineau to learn as thinker: this power of acquisition was associated with a more characteristic power of reflection. Hence his learning, however rapidly gained, was scarcely less rapidly taken into the mould of his thought. Here we probably meet the supreme proof of a great scholar, in that a rapidly gained knowledge may be at once transformed from pabulum into light. Compare Dr. Martineau, for instance, with Theodore Parker, who as confidently as the youthful Bacon might have taken all knowledge for his province, but who failed in the test here provided. He acquired with a readiness scarcely less wonderful than the miracles he repudiated; but he did not assimilate so readily, and something like intellectual congestion was the consequence. Of this nothing in Dr. Martineau. A new truth gained meant at once new lustre to his torch.

We speak of him as thinker; thinkers, however, are not all of one order. Dr. Martineau was distinctly a logician; that is to say, he was not a diviner. His intellectual affinity was with Mill, not Emerson; he was philosopher, not seer. Of course visions were given him; we note the nature of the receptacle into which they came. He educed conclusions; he did not announce

oracles. Indeed, there is chance to suspect that from the strength of his logical sensibility it was possible for him to fail of due appreciation where there was conspicuous want of it. Thus, of his great contemporaries, Emerson seems least of all to have moved him. He recognized the genius of Emerson, but it is doubtful if he was quite happy in that *per saltum* by which our seer reached stars indeed, but left no clear track by which to follow after him. There is, however, a peculiar charm in his logic. It seems his life rather than his rule; by it his structure grows rather than is builded. The structures of great logicians are apt to suggest the carpenter, whose building may be imposing, but the careful jointings of which are plainly manifest. Dr. Martineau's structure suggests rather an immanent reason, which works so and not otherwise. It is ever in union, too, with an intrepid daring, an intense conviction, from which it becomes not merely logic, but "logic on fire," which Demosthenes defined eloquence to be.

To these gifts add a vivid and creative imagination, a genius for outline and boundary, the clearest ethical perception, a delight in mystic contemplation, and we have before us his more salient intellectual features.

Such were his powers; let us bring more definitely before us the labors to which he applied them. As we have seen, soon after entering upon his work as a clergyman, he appeared in the field of letters as a critic; and from this time on, till he ceased from toil, critical tasks were rarely far from him. His first effort in this field was a copious and brilliant discussion of Joseph Priestley in the *Monthly Repository* for 1833; his last was a searching critique of Balfour's "Foundations of Belief" in the *Nineteenth Century* for 1895, the frosts of ninety winters on his brow. What in this species of labor he accomplished between these periods the five ample volumes of his miscellaneous papers in the main will show. We say in the main, for other papers numerous and excellent are yet buried in the English quarterlies, where, because he left them, we trust they will be permitted to remain.

These papers represent the interludes between the calls of the severely taxed clergyman and the hardly less severely taxed college professor. He usually produced two or three a year, careful studies of the new teacher, or of the old teacher in whom was a fresh interest—the philosophy, ethics, theology, ecclesiasticism,

which was the vogue of discussion. The names of some of those whom he brought before his critical tribunal—Arnold, Channing, Parker, Coleridge, Newman, Schleiermacher, Lessing, Comte, Mill, Bain, Spencer, Hamilton, Mansel, Strauss, Renan—indicate how vast were the problems at which he toiled in the way of popular presentation. Of these papers it is difficult to say too much. There is, indeed, at times a severity in their tone we might be willing to mitigate; and in general he who was approved at Dr. Martineau's judgment-seat needed to have no dread of Rhadamanthus. If, however, his dialectic was without mercy, he ever bore himself with the grace of a royal courtesy; Macaulay himself did not surpass him in the eloquent concentration of learning; wherever we turn to him his grasp is large and firm, his analysis is profound, he abounds in incisive suggestion; however abstract his argument it is illumined from his imagination and glows with the fervor of his conviction, and at the foot of every page we might write the boast of the youthful Cicero, *"Nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria."*

There is another species of criticism at which Dr. Martineau has toiled. It is that re-creative sort, illustrated by the geologist when, finding a fossil bone, he fashions from it an animal or fish, and then transforms the environment—rears a forest or floods with the sea—to give the creature a congenial habitat. In dealing with ancient records there is demand for the like faculty; and one who will note the success with which Dr. Martineau has employed it may ponder a few pages of his last great book, "The Seat of Authority in Religion." It may well be that many of the judgments of this volume are not final. It deals with problems of long standing, on which it would not be difficult to summon a score of critics of large and profound erudition who would differ widely from Dr. Martineau, and hardly less widely one from another. Perhaps, too, a comparison of their works with his would make clearer than any language can the special power of which we tell. Critical discussions of the New Testament, bristling with scriptural quotations and abounding in other learned *data,* may be very useful to the scholar; but, unless they have received the vivifying touch of genius, they can hardly be interesting to the untrained reader. That touch Dr. Martineau succeeds in imparting. Volumes in this line as learned may not be far to find; but the volumes are few indeed so abounding in

critical detail and so exhaustively argued that are so enthralling in their interest. Its scholarship, of course, only the scholar can test, and the significance of much of its reasoning only those trained in such studies can fully measure; yet it has been read by multitudes, of untrained mind, who have been held to its great page by a spell it cast upon them. The explanation of this is the fact that the page is not a dead chronicle nor a pulseless argument, but a living and a kindling word.

One of the wonderful facts respecting this volume is the period of life in which it was written. With the exception of the earlier chapters, which had done service in an American periodical, it was all written after eighty-three years of age. Few indeed are the instances in which the "gulf stream of youth" has flowed so far into life's "arctic regions."

From the critic we turn to the moral philosopher. His guiding principle as such was a moral sense than which Bishop Butler's was not clearer. For a long time we had known through his sermons and occasional writings that his ethical discernments were especially acute, also that in his ethical theories he did not follow with the ascendant schools; but it was not till 1885 that, with the publication of the "Types of Ethical Theory," we saw his system in its fulness. This work placed him at once among the first ethical teachers of our century.

Respecting this work we can indulge ourselves but a word. Ethical systems, though many, are reducible to two cardinal types: one of which finds its primary *data* in the universe, the other in man. One may seize upon and unfold some theory of the universe; this shall imply a theory of man; and to this theoretical man certain principles of conduct may be shown by which he may live in harmony with this theoretical universe. Such was the procedure of Comte, of Plato, of Spinoza. This man of theory, however, is not sure to wear a look of verisimilitude. The man of Comte, for instance, placed in comparison with actual men, is fairly suggestive of an anthropological freak. There are features of the inner life that must be known at first hand or not at all. Freedom is not deducible, conscience is no issue of syllogisms; and an ethical doctrine that does not embrace these in its *data* cannot speak home to them in its conclusion.

This limitation Dr. Martineau clearly sees, and devotes his first volume to its exposure. In its ample page he conclusively

shows that by this method, *"Unpsychological,"* as he calls it, no satisfactory ethic can be won.

With the second volume he takes his departure from man. These inner principles which cannot be deduced from the universe are *data* with which he begins; and from them he elaborates a system of *"Psychological"* doctrine which is his own. Of the wealth of thought and fervid eloquence of this section of his work it were vain to attempt to tell. It is not alone a thinker's conclusion, but also a prophet's burden. From a study of the "springs of conduct" he comes upon a law that rules within them, which to him is the moral law, dimly discerned in man's earlier stages, yet ever coming into clearer light, and only in obedience to which is he moral. Besides these two types he finds a third. His own doctrine is purely psychological; in the field of controversy there is a competitor, which is mixed-psychological, or, as he calls it, *"Hetero-psychological."* It also sets out with the springs of conduct, but, instead of allowing them a law within themselves, it puts them under the direction of an ulterior end, as pleasure or welfare. Dealing with this, he passes critical judgment upon the hedonistic and utilitarian doctrines of Bentham and Mill and Spencer; and these great teachers were never brought to a more searching arraignment. In a later section of the work he reviews the ethical theories of Cudworth and Clarke and Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. In this vast tract of discussion there is hardly an important phase of ethical doctrine that is not exhibited except the Hegelian, but with this no student of this work can doubt his ability to deal.

Next, his contribution to religious philosophy; and here we deal with the immortal "Study of Religion." This work is probably his crowning achievement. With its publication in 1888, he was hailed without distinction of sect or school the foremost defender of fundamental truth. Some, though accustomed to discriminate in their praise, went further than this. An American student, visiting London, found himself one day confronting R. H. Hutton in the office of the *Spectator*. Conversation came round to this work, and Mr. Hutton said, with emphasis: "Dr. Martineau is the greatest philosopher of religion that uses the English language to-day." Not satisfied with this, he continued: "More than that, he is the greatest philosopher of religion that ever has used the English language." The American, willing to

see how far appreciation would go, interjected here, "Except Bishop Butler." Mr. Hutton, emphasizing his utterance with thumps upon the table, answered, "Not—excepting—Bishop—Butler!" We hear much of the perversion of human judgment from religious antagonism, and Mr. Hutton and Dr. Martineau had the Thirty-nine Articles between them. In this case it seems clear that what the unchurched thinker showed the churchman did not fail to see.

This work in its central feature is a wrestle with the theistic problem. The first question is the perennial one, What is the source of the phenomenal universe? Dr. Martineau seizes upon the idea of cause, and, bidding good-by to Kant and the positivists alike, makes this the clue to the great inquiry. Of his study we can state only results. His first conclusion is that cause implies the origination of phenomena by power. But what is power? We are acquainted with it in the multifarious dynamic of the world, in its forces or agents, as we used to call them, but which we have now learned to be modes of one energy. But, in its ultimate nature, what is this one energy? Inquire as we will through the mere observing faculties, we gain no answer. These modes perform their part openly enough, but the essence which they manifest they also veil. But, failing in my search without, I may turn within. Where the idea of cause is given its nature may be declared; and so Dr. Martineau finds. But cause, as I exercise it, and as interpreted from my centre, is *will*. Where the idea of cause is given, the volitional stamp is set upon it. Meaning this at home, it can have no other meaning when I go abroad: the causal power we contemplate is Will. This glowing and throbbing universe is enchanted by an immanent Will. This conclusion, however, is purely speculative; the next question is, Does the universe ratify it? Do we see in the universe clear tokens of a directing Will? To this inquiry Dr. Martineau turns, and the result of his study is a sublime teleology.

Thus he reaches the first requirement of theistic faith, but there is another. Grant a Will in the universe, is there a Righteousness, too? As before he found his clue in the causal intuition, so now in the moral. There is in man a moral law which he knows to have rightful disposal of him. Whence comes it? Dr. Martineau is philosopher, not advocate; and holds no judgment safe until competing judgments have been found in-

valid. His conclusion, therefore, that this law is given by a Person who has rightful sovereignty over us, and whose inmost spirit it declares is as cogent to the reason as satisfying to the heart. But again the question, Does the universe ratify? Is the moral law within me reflected in the constitution of things around me? If conscience declares a Righteousness, there is the dark experience of evil, and can the two be reconciled? In the full meaning of the word, No. Dr. Martineau himself affirms that the "phenomena of life are disappointing to our ideal of a moral administration of affairs." Yet he who will see the most comforting conclusions that sound reasoning has yet justified may turn to his luminous and inspiring page.

Finally, the office in which the critic and moralist and philosopher met in the "bard of the Holy Ghost," that of the preacher. Dr. Martineau was a very effective preacher, but hardly a popular one. He never drew great congregations, though most select. His manner was too undramatic to lay a spell upon the popular mind; and even with the manner and the tones of Whitefield he could hardly have drawn the multitude with such sermons as he habitually gave. Their depths were too deep, their heights too high. To some who read that the "common people heard Him gladly," and remember how the uncommon people have found life in His word, this may imply an adverse criticism. In the experience of His apostles, however, common and uncommon have needed to be treated differently. Certainly the discourses in "Endeavors" and "Hours of Thought" would have been unsuited to the hillside where Whitefield preached, and the exhortations that brought the colliers to repentance would have evoked feeble response from the congregations to which Dr. Martineau ministered. But his style—we hear it said that it was not suited to pulpit service. It was a style of great strength and beauty; but it is doubtless true that even for cultivated intellects it would have been more effective if less imaginative—above all, could he have been more moderate in the use of metaphor. His beauties are exceedingly beautiful, but their profusion is excessive. You linger to admire a pearl and a shower of diamonds falls around you. Even the reader is often bewildered by the swift succession of splendors, and how much more frequently must have been the hearer. To be thus lost may be not without compensations, but, in thought as in life, to lose the way is to fail of the

destiny. Lost in a garden is lost. Lost amid Sierra glories is lost.

In the peculiarity of their structural principle his sermons are again distinguished from the popular discourse. We ask, What end ruled their preparation? We see clearly why Edwards preached his terrible sermons: there were souls to save from a perdition to which they were hastening. So upon the sermon of almost every preacher is impressed the end it is intended to realize. With Dr. Martineau's sermons it is otherwise. They are not doctrinal—what was his Christology, how he viewed inspiration, why he was a Unitarian, he must be a sharp-eyed critic who can discern in his pulpit utterances. Neither, in the ordinary meaning of the word, are they practical. Practical they are, as fresh air and sunshine, as poetry and art and music are practical; but not practical as addressed to specific needs. They lead into a realm of elevated thought; yet, however they may stimulate or comfort or constrain us, they do not seem to be spoken to us. And they are not spoken to us. Their aim is not address, but self-utterance; not to move another's soul, but to tell the raptures of his own. He looks not about his congregation to discover what they had need to hear, but within himself to find what God has given him to say. He has hope that his word through his utterance may carry a blessing, but it is the hope of an artist who traces a beauty on the canvas, trusting that another may thrill to its joy. He uses the ordinary form of address, and so makes into sermon what otherwise were psalm. There results from this method a tendency to soliloquy, to rhapsody, beautiful and ennobling, but quite the opposite of that directness of speech by which attention is most easily won and longest held. There comes of it, however, something more. In the sermons of few preachers is there so little lecturing; few there are whose pulpit utterance is so little else than a vessel in which the spirit is offered us. Sermons, like men, must have the defects of their qualities, and it is doubtful if they can publish the oracles of the soul and at the same time be always easy for the intellect to grasp. Pouring out the heart is something different from addressing the understanding; psalm and homily have unlike qualities. There are preachers who deftly blend them, as Channing usually, as Dewey occasionally, as Beecher now and then; but so far as the homily is obtrusive the psalm will be sacrificed, and so far as the

psalm is overpowering the homily will falter. This suggests a doubt whether, save by Dr. Martineau's method, sermons can ordinarily be produced so charged with religious feeling as his. We give them place in the classic literature of devotion, with the volumes of Taylor and Tauler and à Kempis, and there it is probable they will remain. The manner differs; but through his utterances as through theirs the like heights gleam, the like raptures thrill. The understanding can offer what is understood, the reason can offer reasons; but whoever will speak the oracular word must seek the shrine where oracles are given. This secret of his office Dr. Martineau beyond all contemporary preachers seemed to know; and hence the matchless power with which his sermons speak home to us.

IV.

From his work we turn back to his life, of which there may yet be space for a few illustrative incidents. The first is drawn from his ministry in Dublin. His settlement there was outwardly to his liking. His church had local prominence; it had wealth, in the use of which it was not parsimonious; its congregation was a goodly gathering of earnest souls. Doubtless it had troublesome spirits enough to keep a minister in discipline, yet was he satisfied. His people, too, were satisfied. Though in the pulpit he was no Chrysostom, there was quickening and healing in his word; as he moved among them his presence charmed them; the freshness of youth was on his features, the word of wisdom on his lips, the light of genius in his eye. Yet the relation was shattered on a moral issue in a little more than three years.

He was settled as the associate of a venerable pastor, at whose death, which occurred soon after, he came by natural succession to the full pastoral office. To his surprise, he found that the change implied an addition of £100 to his salary. He was further surprised to learn that it was his share of the *Regium Donum*. *Regium Donum* means Royal Bounty—why should this church be favored with a Royal Bounty? A chapter of English history hitherto unread was opened to him. This Bounty had been first bestowed by Charles II. upon the Presbyterians of Ireland and some of the non-conformist bodies of England, with a view to securing their fealty. It was, therefore, at first of the nature of a bribe, and, seeing it in this aspect, some winced at receiving it.

Baxter, for instance, would have nothing to do with it. It had, however, become perpetuated; for a hundred and fifty years this church had received it; it came as the grace of Heaven, and was perhaps the more appreciated because, unlike the grace of Heaven, it was not for all alike. Of course at that late date Dr. Martineau saw in it no bribe; but in its least offensive aspect it was to him a sinecure, which in the court of ethics he could not justify. In his view, too, it was inherently unjust. The bounties of kings are the tax of subjects; through this bounty, therefore, multitudes, as the Catholics about him, were taxed to support a worship in which they could not participate, which they indeed abhorred. In dwelling on this aspect of the case, the event sixty years behind him, there was more than the usual light in those mild blue eyes. His course was soon determined: he could not receive this bounty. Declining it for himself, however, might ultimately mean declining it for his church, which his ethical sense forbade him to do. The church, then, must surrender it, or he and they must part. The sceptic of disinterested virtue must surely find it difficult to make out self-interest here: if he won in the contest he sacrificed £100 annually; if he lost, the church in whose service he wished to continue was the costlier forfeit. The younger members came to his side, and the contest was earnest. His view of the Bounty, however, was new; interest pleaded persuasively; and we see something of the strength of his hold upon his people in the fact that the decision was against by only one vote.

This issue sent him into the intenser life and larger opportunity of Liverpool, whither its story followed him as a certificate of inflexible manliness. His ministry here was attended by but one striking episode, the Liverpool controversy, of which, its fame is so wide, there is no need to tell. But while in parochial relations his career was too successful to be eventful, he moved into an extra-parochial relation in which peace was not so monotonously constant. A tireless student of theology, he soon became a leading theologian, and that of the class that reach only temporary encampments, never a city of destination. Such energy of movement is uncongenial to many spirits, and, first and last, Dr. Martineau was the object of a good deal of distrust from those who were plodding on behind him.

This distrust took the form of an annoying opposition to his appointment to the professorship in Manchester New College. In

intellect and character all recognized his eminent fitness, but he was suspiciously familiar with thought in that land of theological chimeras, Germany. He was known to have studied the Tübingen school, and to have found somewhat to favor in its doctrines. For a time in the constituency of the college there was a very prevalent *Germano-phobia,* a *rabies* of which we have had experience in America also. The opposition amounted to an inquisition for heresy, to him extremely annoying. Had the decision been against him, it is not improbable that he had sought a field of labor in this country. The decision, however, was in his favor; and the contention proved like a summer tempest, after which all nature smiles again.

His life in London was even less attended by striking incident. It was a life of most strenuous toil; but one day at the college was like another, one Sunday at the chapel simply renewed the high inspirations of other Sundays, the occasional address or paper was but a variety of a customary greatness. As at Liverpool his relations became extra-parochial, so here they became extra-denominational: he moved into that realm where scholar and thinker dwell in the largeness and quietude of their vocation. His pleasant home in Gordon Square became a centre of attraction to the great and wise, and around his board or within his library high talk often sped the hour; but we have heard of no Boswell who was also there.

He had a heart experience, of which the old tale that is always new. In his Derby year he became attached to one Helen Higginson, the daughter of a clergyman with whom he boarded. At the end of the year, forecasting the long period of study, their interest in each other came up for consideration. They behaved too sensibly for ideal lovers: she was anything but a Juliet, and he no Romeo. Too young, as it was held, for engagement, it was settled that they should not see each other, or even exchange letters, save at wide intervals till he was ready for his ministry. The probation only proved their constancy, and six years later she became his wife. A baby, Helen, came to them and died in infancy. Their next born was Russell, destined to the scholar's honorable toil and high success. Six other children came to him, of whom four daughters and a son survive him. His heart was gladdened by no grandchildren.

He had that best solace of a man of toil, a home of peace.

Through wifely tenderness and filial piety his heart was satisfied. The sunniest paths, however, lead under shadows. When he gave up the pulpit charge in Little Portland Street Chapel his health seemed declining, and it was hoped that release from its labors would restore him, but it failed to do so. Weakness grew upon him; a melancholy crept into his countenance; the elasticity departed from his step. He kept at his appointed tasks, but the old vigor was gone. The explanation was that the comforter and counsellor of the many years was sinking beside him, and, through her hold on his affections, was drawing him after her. At length, in 1877, after a lingering malady, she died. After her death there came to him a renewal of life.

Honors were slow in coming, but at last they came. In 1872 Harvard crowned him LL.D. Two years later Leyden gave him an S.T.D. Somewhat later Edinburgh honored him with D.D. Yet later, Oxford smiled upon him with D.C.L. Last of all, Dublin bore testimony with Litt.D. In 1872 he was given a testimonial of a different sort, which must have been very gratifying. At the close of the college session an interview was sought with him and a cheque for 5,000 guineas was placed in his hand with intimation that more was to come. This sum was soon raised to £5,900, a portion of which, with his consent, was used in the purchase of some pieces of silver plate, which were nobly inscribed. The gift was from various friends and admirers, and was accompanied by an address, in which its prompting was referred to "mingled motives of gratitude, respect and affection." On his retirement from the Little Portland Street Chapel, his flock presented to him £3,500, also from motives of gratitude, respect and affection.

In 1888 he received another testimonial than which it were difficult to conceive a prouder. It was planned as a greeting for his eighty-third birthday, and reflected the admiration with which his recently published "Study of Religion" was welcomed. It was an address signed by leading scholars and thinkers of Europe and America, without regard to religious or philosophical bias. After passing through various hands, it received its final touch from Professor Jowett. In it was this passage: "We admire the simple record of a long life passed in the strenuous fulfilment of duty, in preaching, in teaching the youth of both sexes, in writing books of permanent value, a life which has never been

distracted by controversy, and in which personal interests and ambitions have never been allowed a place." The signatures, between six and seven hundred in number, together with the address, were presented in a book of surpassing elegance. The first signature was that of Tennyson, the next was that of Browning; following these were the names of Jowett, Bradley, Zeller, Max Müller, Lubbock, Renan, Kuenen, Pfleiderer; of members of Parliament and Church dignitaries in long array; of illustrious representatives of the universities of England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, America; of men of letters, theologians, philosophers, of all schools. Party distinctions were lost to view in the common recognition of a common benefactor.

In reply, Dr. Martineau happily drew to himself the language of Cicero: *"Est ea profecto jucunda laus, qui ab iis proficiscitur, qui ipsi in laude vixerunt."* Here we will leave him. Of his later toil we have already told; we will not intrude upon his later rest. Ours his strenuous day, not the quiet of his evening. We part with him as with a leader whom we have followed, on the field of his pride and valor.

A. W. JACKSON.

MISUNDERSTOOD JAPAN.

BY Y. OZAKI.

EVEN in civic life, the source of a great proportion of the quarrels that constantly take place between individual citizens must be sought, not so much in original sin or in the perversity of human nature, as in mere misunderstandings. And, in international relations, this proposition holds true to an equal, if not to a greater, extent. Even between the United States and Great Britain, with a common language and a great community in legal and other institutions, mere misunderstandings have, time and again, jeopardized the friendly intercourse of the two great Anglo-Saxon powers; while, between the various countries of Europe, "strained relations" have been frequently occasioned by nothing more serious than the inability of one nation, or one government, to put itself at the point of view of the other. If such be the case, then, with a family of nations having a common culture and a common civilization, it is, perhaps, not so much to be wondered at that Japan, the latest power to enter the comity of nations, and the only non-Christian, and (except Hungary) the only non-Aryan, power within its pale, should be viewed with a certain amount of suspicion.

And so it is not unnatural that, perhaps, in this matter of being misunderstood, Japan has more reason to complain than any other nation in modern times. For it is not by Western powers only that she has been misinterpreted. The mere fact of her breaking away from the thraldom of the old Oriental civilization was in itself sufficient to excite the dislike and the distrust of her immediate neighbors, China and Korea. To this dislike both nations gave expression in a fashion that was anything but soothing to Japan's *amour propre;* the attitude assumed toward her by Chinese and Koreans alike having been exasperatingly arrogant

and overbearing. If they had had any approximately accurate notions about Japan's capabilities as a military power, it is just possible that the war of 1894-5 would have been avoided. But, as they utterly failed to appreciate her efforts generally, they wantonly persisted in the arrogant line of action that brought about the struggle of six years ago. The struggle in question was none of Japan's seeking; however, her own self-respect demanded that these perpetual and persistent misunderstandings of her and her motives by her neighbors should be cleared up once for all.

Nor was it the Chinese Government only that had its misconceptions corrected by the late war. At the inception of the strife, a good many foreigners expressed themselves to the effect that Japan, having found a new toy in her army and navy, merely wished to play with it. Nothing succeeds like success, and even anticipated success commands a certain amount of respect. Now, almost every Westerner fully anticipated a Chinese triumph in the long run; and hence, in the main, foreign sympathy at first was almost entirely with the Middle Kingdom. But with the capture of Port Arthur and, later on, of Wei-hai-wei, and with the destruction or capture of the formidable Chinese fleet, there was a sudden revulsion of feeling abroad, and we Japanese—somewhat to our cost, be it remarked—had a full opportunity of appreciating the truth of the maxim that action and re-action are equal and opposite. In August, 1894, Japan was regarded as a spoiled child, wantonly bent on amusing herself with her newly devised toy army and navy; in April, 1895, she found herself regarded with apprehension as a formidable military power, whose aggressive propensities were a deadly menace to the peace of the Far East. Hence the intervention of the three Powers, and their "advice" in the matter of retrocession of the Liao-tung Peninsula to China. In 1894, our strength had been ludicrously underestimated; six months later, we found ourselves honored by being "advised" by the strongest coalition of European powers that had been formed since Waterloo and the sending of Napoleon to St. Helena. And, in sooth, it would seem that some of the most influential statesmen in Europe deemed that more than the peace of the Far East was in danger of being disturbed by Japan's aggressive proclivities. Shortly after the Treaty of Shimonoseki, appeared the German Kaiser's famous cartoon: "Nations of

Europe! Defend your holiest possessions!" Defend *from whom?* To answer this question is not easy for a Japanese. The simple fact of the matter is, that in the spring of 1895 Japan found herself as much misunderstood as she had been before the war, albeit the misunderstanding was in an opposite direction. Her ambitions and her potentialities were vastly exaggerated by Western politicians and publicists, to whom her latent strength had suddenly appeared as a sort of revelation.

Again, perhaps no country in the world has suffered so much, directly or indirectly, at the hands of the imaginative bookmaker and magazine writer as Japan. Of course, no really great work, whether in literature, science, art or statecraft, can be accomplished without the exercise of constructive imagination. But constructive imagination invariably keeps in touch with realities. However, imagination in the popular use of the word is often synonymous with unreality, and it is in this sense of the term that Japan has only too good reason to complain of the, no doubt, well-meant but fatal efforts of the imaginative writer. Certain authors, notably Sir Edwin Arnold, have painted Japan as a terrestrial Paradise, inhabited by a race of charming and guileless and painfully polite angels, endowed with consummate æsthetic taste; as a land where every prospect pleases, without the drawback of even the slightest tincture of vileness among its humanity. This is a well-intentioned but serious misrepresentation; and, naturally enough, we have had to pay for the untruth in the picture. This fashion of writers aroused the spleen of other writers, who have exerted themselves to correct the error by limning Japan and the Japanese in the blackest of colors. Of course, the truth lies midway; in the matter of virtue and vice, average Japanese human nature lies much closer to average European and American human nature than is generally supposed. In short, *vis à vis* to Europe and America, Japan thinks it utterly unjust that there should be "one law for me and another for thee."

And yet, indications are not altogether lacking that even our very best friends, the Americans, do actually hold some such heterodox doctrine. Forty-seven years ago, the Americans thrust themselves upon Japan at the cannon's mouth. It is quite true that at that time Commodore Perry expended no ammunition in hostilities; but it is equally true that, if the Commodore had not been backed up by the moral suasion of his armament, Japan

would not then have agreed to open her ports to foreign intercourse. And now, after thrusting themselves upon Japan by *force majeure* in 1853, we find Americans trying to exclude Japanese from the United States! I may remark that, in common with most intelligent Japanese, I am totally opposed to Japanese emigration as at present conducted, and that on three grounds. In only too many cases, the peasants are decoyed by the agents of emigration companies, who have no thoughts beyond the amount of the dividends they declare. In the second place, the uneducated peasant is but ill-equipped to fight the battle of life in a foreign land. And, in the third place, emigration on a large scale might very easily involve Japan in unnecessary diplomatic complications with friendly powers—a thing which her statesmen are especially anxious to avoid. But, with all that, it yet remains true that the present attitude of a certain section of the American people toward Japanese emigrants argues a certain lack of acquaintance with, or a certain misunderstanding of, the history of the intercourse between the two countries. It is bootless to urge that, while only low-class Japanese enter the United States, only respectable Americans go to Japan. The very first instance of Japan's being called upon to exercise her recovered jurisdiction was when she had to try, convict and execute an all but illiterate American citizen for the murder of another American citizen and two Japanese women in Yokohama, on the very night when the new treaty between the two powers went into operation. This attitude toward Japanese emigrants, then, mainly arises from a failure to recall the history of our relations with the United States, and from the consequent misapprehension of our point of view. But this misunderstanding, such as it is, is no very serious one; and in this case, doubtless, a *modus vivendi* can readily be found.

But, in other far more vital directions, Japan at present stands in danger of being gravely misunderstood. Now, misunderstanding, as I have said, is invariably the fruitful parent of mistakes that may cause the most serious losses and disasters to all involved. Thus, to do even a little to clear up a misunderstanding, or a possible misunderstanding, is work of no small merit. Now, while Japan is honestly anxious to have misunderstandings with no country, there are two Powers, especially, toward whom it behooves her to be exceedingly frank. It is needless to say that

these two Powers are Great Britain and Russia. In the Chinese and Korean questions, the interests of all three Powers are closely involved; and, on these questions, anything like a misunderstanding between Japan and either of the two European nations would be nothing short of a calamity to all three. With both Great Britain and Russia, Japan must endeavor to keep on as friendly terms as the Great American Republic does. This may seem a hard task for Japan; but, on a review of all the factors in the situation, it will appear much less difficult than may appear at first.

As regards our relations with Great Britain, for several years they have been, and at present they are, excellent. We do not forget the friendly attitude of Sir Henry Parkes toward the Imperial Government immediately before, during and after the Restoration of 1868. The English language has been the chief medium through which Japanese have become acquainted with Western science, although in this matter Japan owes quite as much to America as to Great Britain. Intelligent Japanese have a sincere and honest admiration for the freedom of British institutions, for the orderly and law-abiding instincts of the British people, and for the high tone and purity of British public life. Then, our navy has been largely formed on British lines, and the relations between British and Japanese officers have always been the very best. For the courtesy shown them on their frequent visits to England, our officers and blue-jackets alike have the keenest appreciation. The islanders of the East and the islanders of the West have this much in common, at least—the instincts of both are maritime. All these considerations, of course, are mainly sentimental; and so, perhaps, is our feeling toward England for having agreed to a revised treaty before a single shot was fired in our war with China, and also for the holding aloof from the coalition of April, 1895. But Japan is rapidly becoming a trading and commercial country; and the knowledge that, wherever the British flag flies, no discriminatory tariff will have to be faced by Japanese traders enables England to extort from Japan a regard that is not sentimental merely. Now, British interests in China and Korea are purely commercial and industrial, and British commercial policy being what it is, no clash between British and Japanese interests in these two countries is at all likely. And outside of these two countries (save perhaps in British Columbia),

there is nothing that can possibly disturb the present excellent relations between the two island powers.

With respect to Japan's relations with Russia, the situation may well appear to be not quite so simple. Yet, I venture to assert that, even here, all that is needed to make these relations thoroughly satisfactory is a little honest, straightforward speaking. I am quite well aware that the American press regards the situation as being so tense that war is inevitable, and that certain of the more enterprising journals have dispatched correspondents to the scene of probable hostilities.* But where are the causes of any such hostilities? They can lie only in mutual misunderstandings.

The Russians are quite well aware of the spirit in which the Japanese took their intervention in 1895. Naturally enough, to have been constrained to relinquish the spoils of victory, on that occasion, was not altogether pleasing to Japan. It is needless to deny that the popular resentment then roused was intense. But, in Japan, passionate outbursts are readily excited and as readily allayed. In this respect, we are very different from the Russians, who read their own nature into ours. They regard us as a people at once exceedingly vindictive and exceedingly tenacious of purpose. As a matter of fact, we are neither the one nor the other. In intelligent and influential circles, resentment soon gave way to reflection, and reflection made it clear that Russia's desire for an ice-free port, as an outlet to her vast extent of territory in the Far East, was no unreasonable one. So when she "leased" Port Arthur and Talienwan, Japan entered no protest and made no movement whatsoever—a fact which in itself ought to help to convince the Muscovites of our peaceful intentions and easy-going temper. But the Russians evidently fail to understand our nature and our aspirations, such as they are. If they did, we should not have those evidences of renewed Russian activity in Korea which we have had of late. This activity has, no doubt, been prompted by the wish to find in Korea a cover against the attack on Manchuria, which the Russians very mistakenly fancy Japan is meditating. "Mistakenly," I say advisedly; for all intelligent Japan-

*One of these gentlemen has succeeded in tickling the sense of humor and exciting the risibilities of Japanese who read English by his discovery of a wonderful mare's nest. The Daimios are hoarding gold! Presumably as a war fund to fight Russia with! The gentleman in question is either something of a humorist himself, or has been the victim of some one of the not innumerous humorists—conscious or unconscious—of Tokyo.

ese now frankly acknowledge that the possession of Port Arthur and Talienwan is a vital necessity to Russia.

But, while frankly acknowledging that fact, thinking Japanese are equally convinced that, if Japan is to feel actually secure, Korea must be left severely alone by Russia. The little Peninsular Empire, if it really can govern itself and keep its own household in order, as all Japanese have sincerely hoped it will be able to do, must have its independence guaranteed and maintained. In the case of its failure to emerge from the semi-barbaric chaos that at present prevails at Seoul, then it must have Japan's protection. Put briefly, the case is this: We frankly recognize that her new possessions in Manchuria are a vital necessity to Russia, and, consequently, we have no earthly intention of interfering with her in them. But, on the other hand, it is of equal moment to Japan that the Muscovites should hold aloof from Korea. If so much is clearly understood, all reasons for friction and possible conflict between Japan and Russia disappear.

However, if the Great Northern Power is really bent on establishing herself in the erstwhile Hermit Kingdom, and so threatening our defenses, no friendly intercourse between Japan and Russia is possible. Any such attempt on her part will surely be provocative of hostilities, just as surely as any attempt of ours to oust her from Port Arthur would lead to dire and prolonged conflict. And, whether from a Japanese or a Russian point of view, any such conflict would be at once utterly meaningless and utterly profitless. Suppose Japan victorious by land and sea, and suppose that the Japanese war flag once again floats triumphantly over the defenses and dock-yards of Port Arthur. Is it either right or reasonable to deny Russia all approach to the ice-free seas in this part of the world? Of one thing we may be quite sure, and that is, that the persistent Muscovite Government would not sit down and tamely submit to such a condition of affairs for any great length of time. The result would be a state of perpetual war between the two countries, and this, of course, would be good for neither of them.

Suppose, on the other hand, that Russia either openly annexes Korea, or acquires a political predominance there which virtually converts the peninsula into a dependency of hers. This the Japanese will unfailingly construe as a deadly menace to the safety of Japan, and the result here, too, would be a state of perpetual

warfare. The Japanese are a contented, easy-going people so long as they feel secure in their own beloved land, which they believe to be the finest in the whole world, and which they love with passionate devotion. But, once let them feel insecure in their own adored country, and this easy-going nation becomes even as a lion attacked in his lair. Then they would fight to the death; Krüger's assertion, that "the burghers will never surrender so long as five hundred armed men remain together," would be found to be no mere empty boast in our case. The historical tradition exercises a potent influence upon the spirit of our people. These islands, in their long history of two millenniums and a half, have never submitted to a foreign yoke for even a single day. With good reason we can appropriate the vaunt put by England's greatest poet into the mouth of the valiant Bastard in *King John:*

> "Da Nipon never did, nor never shall
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Come the three corners of the world in arms
> And we shall shock them."

That is, if either our independence or our sense of security be menaced. And Russian predominance in Korea would certainly be regarded as a dire menace to the security of Japan. As I have said, such a situation could have only one outcome, a perpetual state of warfare between the two nations.

Now, in either case, whether we assail the Russians in the occupation of Manchuria, or whether the Russians menace our security by an endeavor to clutch Korea—neither Japan nor Russia can hope to gain much in the long run. If hostilities did break out, the war would be worse than fruitless and barren, even for the immediate victor in the strife. Even for Japan this would be so, and Japan has practically no interests in other parts of the world that would have to suffer during the prosecution of hostilities. And the strife would be even more unprofitable to Russia, whose frontiers, from the Moorman Coast to the Black Sea and thence on to Manchuria, are in touch with those of some half score of other nations. As Captain Mahon very rightly says, "upon one flank of the Russian line lies the army of Japan, upon the other, 5,000 miles away, that of Germany." During the prosecution of these hypothetical hostilities with Japan, Russia must remain

quiescent elsewhere, and her interests will, meanwhile, suffer at numerous points. Nor is this consideration altogether an *a priori* one. At the time of the intervention of the three Powers, Prince Lobanoff interested his diplomatic agents in Europe and the Near East, in Great Britain, Germany, Persia and elsewhere to avoid all possible complications. And, since the outbreak of the South African war, England has been careful to avoid all kinds of diplomatic complications with other Powers. So, on the whole, in the case of any struggle over Korea, Russia would risk much more than Japan would be called upon to jeopardize. Briefly, then, the case stands thus: Japan fancies that Russia has designs on Korea; Russia believes that Japan meditates a stroke at Russia's new possessions in Manchuria. Neither supposition may be correct—certainly the second is absolutely incorrect; the two nations misunderstand each other. If the two nations do cherish any such intentions, let us promptly renounce them, for they are not merely foolish but positively insane. No nation can live in peace without the possession of what is a vital necessity to it.

History shows that the Russian advance has invariably been along the line of least resistance. Now that this line of least resistance does not lie in the Korean peninsula, the statesmen at St. Petersburg must know perfectly well. The Sick Man of the Far East is much nearer dissolution than the Ottoman Empire is, or ever has been. China's malady is mortal. Japan sincerely wishes to see the independence and the integrity of the Middle Kingdom maintained; but the trend of events serves to indicate only too clearly that this is impossible, and that the sand in the hour-glass is running down apace. At the very date that Marquis Tsen penned his extraordinary article on "Sleeping China," some dozen years ago, China was sleepless from mortal disease, and was awaiting her own dissolution with wide open eyes. What was really wanted at the time was the awakening of other nations to the fact, a fact they could not grasp till they were awakened to it by the thunder of the Japanese artillery six years later on. I most sincerely trust that the mistakes and misapprehensions of the past will be a lesson for the future. As long as there is an abundance of meat, even dogs refrain from snarling and fighting, and nations should surely be wiser than dogs.

There is yet one other possible source of misunderstanding to which I must briefly advert. Several foreign statesmen, among

them Sir Charles Dilke, have maintained that it is necessary for Japan to hold Manchuria to provide an outlet for her surplus population, and that this consideration in itself may lead to a conflict with Russia. This view I hold to be mistaken, and that for two reasons. In the first place, Manchuria is utterly unsuited for Japanese settlement, by reason of its climatic conditions. The winter there is too long and too rigorous. Japanese migration either to Manchuria or to Siberia would be next door to an impossibility, to judge from our experience in Yezo. During the last half-century, we have spared neither brain nor money in our efforts to colonize the northern islands. Although the soil is extremely fertile in many places, although Yezo is as large as the State of Indiana, and although we have spent about Yen 100,000,000 in our efforts to people it, yet in 1898 the population was only a little over 600,000. This means that each settler has cost us about Yen 165—no small sum, if we take into account the fact that our national wealth per head cannot be more than Yen 400. In the second place, Japan will not be confronted with the population question by any means so soon as foreign statesmen and publicists suppose. It is quite true that we find ourselves with some half-million additional mouths to feed every year, an increase of something over one per cent. But our national wealth is augmenting at a very much greater rate. And, even in the mere matter of the necessaries of life, our food supplies are increasing quite as fast as our population. It must not be forgotten that the standard of living here is much lower than it is in the West. Although that is certainly rising apace, yet the wants of the great body of our population are few and simple. To the Japanese farmer, "three acres and a cow" are not at all a vital necessity. With his family he can live pretty comfortably on his 3 *tau* 3 *se* of the old popular song.*

Furthermore, many parts of Japan are not at all densely peopled from our point of view. While the 2,600 square miles around Osaka and Kioto support as many as 1,000 inhabitants per square mile, and the 15,900 around Tokyo and Nagoya as many as 625, the 25,000 square miles at the north of the main island have no greater density than 188 per square mile, while the 36,000 square miles of Yezo carry only 17 per mile. This northern island, with the development of its timber and fishing industries,

* 3,927 square yards, or some four-fifths of an acre.

and with the opening up of its rich coal seams, will yet maintain a large population. I am quite aware that an American expert has estimated that it can never carry more than 3,000,000 inhabitants. Doubtless, if agriculture were to be the only form of industry prosecuted there, this might be true. But, lately, places have been discovered in some three or four different localities, and a "rush" has already set in. Last year, as much as Yen 3,000,000 worth of gold was obtained by the most primitive methods of work. We must remember that it was the discovery of gold that peopled the Australian Colonies and California. Therefore, to expect some day to find the Hokkaido with a population of some six or seven millions may be neither a dream nor an extravagance.

Then, to the south, we have another outlet in Formosa, capable of absorbing some 2,000,000 in addition to the 3,000,000 inhabitants it at present contains. Hitherto, the malarial character of the climate has restrained Japanese emigration in that direction, but the researches of Ross, Manson and some Italian bacteriologists have gone a long way to show that the dread scourge of malaria can be grappled with successfully. So Formosa will yet become densely settled.

But even if Hokkaido and Formosa cannot absorb 9,000,000 more inhabitants, and I maintain they can, yet we have still ample space for many a year in old Japan. Japanese can live much more densely than Westerners can, without any inconvenience to themselves, and small towns are much preferable to lonely villages. And, with the spread of modern manufacturing industries in the North, where in spite of the abundance of coal and water power they are at present practically non-existent, we may confidently expect the rise of a larger number of urban communities there. As regards the present Japanese emigration to America and Australia, what causes it is not the pressure of population at home, but the prospect of higher wages abroad. Even sparsely populated Ireland sends out infinitely more emigrants than does densely peopled Japan.

Thus, from mere pressure of population, we need have no apprehension of being driven into strife with Russia. Where, then, are the causes for any such conflict? They can be found nowhere except in misunderstandings. And it is at once a misfortune to be misunderstood and stupidity to misunderstand.

Y. OZAKI.

"THE DECLINE OF BRITISH COMMERCE," A REPLY.

BY BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

When, at the request of the Editor, I undertook to reply to the article under this heading, which Mr. A. Maurice Low contributed to The North American Review in October last, it seemed like renewing acquaintance with an old, familiar friend. For as long as I remember we have been accustomed to hear of British decadence, actual or imminent. For certainly five-and-twenty years we have been constantly told that the country is on the down grade in commerce. That period takes us back nearly to the industrial new birth of Germany, back also to a time when the fiscal policy of the United States was much more severely criticised in Great Britain than it is now. The present writer can well recall having then advised, with much presumption, no doubt, British manufacturers not to be so severe on the American tariff, since the break down of the tariff wall and the adoption of Free Trade by America would probably be followed by the destruction of several leading British industries. Well, the quarter-century passed; the United States have not adopted Free Trade, but have built a higher tariff wall than ever; the export trade of America has doubled, and the foreign trade of Great Britain has certainly not diminished. On the contrary, it has increased; and, that it is increasing, the following comparative table of imports and exports during the last five years will show:

FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	Imports.	Re-exports of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	Exports of British Manufactures and Products.
1899	£485,075,514	£65,019,549	£264,660,647
1898	470,378,583	60,654,748	233,359,240
1897	451,028,960	59,954,410	234,219,708
1896	441,808,904	56,233,663	240,145,551
1895	416,689,658	59,704,161	226,128,246

Comparing 1899 with 1895, it will be seen that, in the five years, the imports have increased by £68,385,856; the re-exports

have increased by £5,315,388; the British exports have increased by £38,532,401; and the whole foreign trade of the United Kingdom has increased by £112,233,645.

There is no evidence of decline in these figures. It is true that, as Mr. Low says, it is misleading to take merely the aggregate of exports and imports in endeavouring to gauge the world's commerce. But I am not at present gauging the world's commerce. I am showing the expansion that has taken place in the commerce of the United Kingdom, at a time when we are told that it is declining. Whatever defects there may be in the barometrical value of these figures, these defects have been the same year by year, and do not affect the comparative value. A foreign trade which has increased by one-sixth in five years does not impress one with a feeling of decay. An increase of upwards of one-sixth in the exports of British manufactures in five years does not look as if the world were getting tired of these manufactures. An increase of £5,315,388 in what may be called the foreign and colonial brokerage trade of Great Britain, does not look as if either German or American enterprise were robbing her of much of that trade—though I am free to confess that this is a branch of trade into which the development of German lines of steamers has made some inroad. But it is a comparatively small branch of our foreign trade—very small compared with the volume of our carrying trade direct between countries beyond the water area of the British Isles.

We have just come through the most industrially active and commercially prosperous year in the annals of British commerce. There have been some years of higher prices; but high prices do not always mean prosperity, and in the inflation and fever-heat of the early seventies no period was so honestly active and so wholesomely prosperous as 1899. In the knowledge of that, and with the evidence of one's senses, one is naturally sceptical about that "decline" of British commerce on which Mr. Low enlarged. If it is decline we are experiencing, we can stand a good deal more of it—and, perhaps, some others viewing it may, like Punch's cabby, wish they had "'alf our complaint."

If, as is the case, British manufacturers and producers have now as much work as they can manage, and are obliged to bargain for time with all fresh work offered to them, how does it matter what is the relative pace of increase of other nations? There

will come a time of slackening, of course; but it will come to others as well.

What I maintain is that the present condition of the industries and commerce of Great Britain proves the contrary of what Mr. Low asserts—that "England is steadily losing her hold of the world's markets." He uses the word "control" (not "hold"); but England never professed to control, only to supply, the foreign markets. We have never objected to any other country trying to do the same. Other nations erect tariff walls—we offer the open door to all. Stranger things than sending coals to Newcastle have happened during the last quarter of the century now expiring. We have seen American coal in England and American pig-iron in Scotland; although I do not think we have yet seen American linens in Belfast and Dunfermline, or American cottons in Manchester. But these are the mere "sports" of commerce, that do not practically affect the economics of the subject.

Let us look at this matter a little more closely. Mr. Low says: "If during the next twenty-five years Great Britain loses her trade as rapidly as she has during the quarter of a century from 1870 to 1895, she will have yielded her primacy as the greatest of the world's commercial powers." There is much virtue in that "if." I do not admit the correctness of Mr. Low's premises, but I wish to show first the falsity of his conclusions. He says that in 1870 Great Britain did rather more than thirty-five per cent. of the total of the commerce of the great industrial nations, and in 1895 under thirty per cent. This, then, was a loss of five per cent. on Mr. Low's figures, in five-and-twenty years, and a loss at the same rate during the next twenty-five years would leave us still with twenty-five per cent. Now, any one who glances over the list of exporting nations, given by Mr. Low, will perceive that any single nation doing one-fourth of the world's commerce must necessarily hold the first place.

Again, Mr. Low says: "It was because of this loss that the United States in twenty-five years were enabled to more than double their exports, and Germany to increase its exports forty-two per cent., both nations profiting at the expense of Great Britain." Once more I join issue. America and Germany have not benefited at the expense of Great Britain, for British trade has also gone on increasing. They have thriven by obtaining a

share in the commercial expansion of the world. They are both industrially young, and, as is natural in youth, they have grown rapidly. They will both continue to grow; but he is a rash man who will predict that their growth will be as rapid in the next as in the past twent-five years. They have yet to suffer the pains of adolescence, and to find, as Britain has done, that the path of industrial progress is not all one of roses and rapture. Mr. Low, too, compares the increase in the exports of the United States, which are chiefly natural, with those of Great Britain, which are almost wholly artificial.

As to Germany, Mr. Low takes too much for granted. In order to show that the exports of German products increased 42.90 per cent., he takes the exports of Germany as of the value of £116,031,000 in 1870, and of the value of £165,895,000 in 1895. But the Germany of 1870 was not the Germany of 1895. It is really only since 1871 that Germany has become a new commercial nation. Her industrial *renaissance* dates from the period of unification, and sufficient allowance is not made by rapid commentators for the effect of political on commercial expansion. Under the Empire, a unity of action and concentration of effort previously unattainable became possible. It was Bismarck who sought to crown his political work by making Germany into a great commercial and industrial Empire. But it is impossible to discern how far his design has been achieved by comparing the trade statistics of 1870 with those of 1895, as Mr. Low does. For the commercial unity of the Empire was not affected until seventeen years after the political unity was accomplished—that is, in 1888, when Hamburg and Bremen ceased to be free cities and became absorbed in the Imperial Zollverein. There are, in fact, no complete "German" statistics available before 1889. Nevertheless, Mr. Low makes up a table with a design to prove the relatively greater progress of other nations than Great Britain's between 1870 and 1895; and in that table he states the "special" export trade of Germany as £116,031,000 in the former and £165,895,000 in the latter year. As already pointed out, the figures Mr. Low quotes for 1870 do not include the exports of Hamburg and Bremen, the two principal ports of Germany!

The earliest period at which an unbroken series of statistics permits of a comparison of the trade of the German and the British Empires is from 1889 to 1896. In 1889, the exports of

the domestic products of Germany, forming the so-called "special" trade, amounted to £158,335,000, and in 1896 they amounted to £176,030,200. The difference is an increase of £17,695,200. or, say, eleven and one-half per cent. This is in striking contrast with the £49,814,000, and 42.90 per cent. of Mr. Low's hypothesis. I do not propose to examine the figures he presents for the United Kingdom between 1870 and 1895, but content myself with remarking that he calculates the British increase as 13.17 per cent., while I have shown that the German increase between 1889 and 1896 was barely 11½ per cent. Mr. Low prefaces his comparison by saying: "The reason why the period from 1870 to 1895 was selected, rather than from 1874 to the present time, is that from 1870 dates Germany's commercial *renaissance.*" The year of Germany's commercial *renaissance,* however, was 1871, not 1870; but, as I have said, there are no statistics available to permit even an approximate comparison.

The fact which has escaped Mr. Low's notice is that the undoubted and remarkable development of Germany is more marked by the decrease in her imports of foreign manufactures than in the increase in her exports of German manufactures. The growth in German industrial consumption has been greater than the growth in industrial production, as the population increased and settled down to the arts of peace. Between 1889 and 1896, the population of Germany increased by about four millions, and that extra population German producers were able to supply, with less assistance from foreign manufacturers than before. No one can miss the significance of this, but it does not prevent the growth of Britain's foreign trade. Statistics published in Germany show that in 1896 the value of the international "special" trade of the two Empires—Great Britain and British possessions on the one side, and Germany and German possessions on the other—was very nearly the same. The imports from the British Empire into the German Empire amounted to £42,842,350, and the exports to the British Empire from the German Empire amounted to £41,-164,850—a difference of only £1,677,500. And in this conection I quote the following from a report published last year, by Mr. Gastrell, Commercial Attachê to the British Embassy at Berlin:

"A comparison of the total 'special' trade of the United Kingdom and Germany in the three years—1895-97—(after due allowance for the changes in statistics on January 1st, 1899,) shows the following re-

sults: For England there are, in 1896 and 1897, rises in the value of imports of £28,827,954 and £6,063,265; and in exports an increase of £14,255,535 in the former year, and a decrease of £5,925,843 in the latter. For the Germans are found in those years increased imports of £9,324,706 and £14,095,194, and for exports a rise of £10,361,500 in 1896, but a slight fall of £226,300 in 1897. The net result of this comparison of the total exports of the two countries is, therefore, in 1897 a balance of £5,699,543 (being £5,925,843 as compared with £226,300) in favor of Germany, on that year's transactions. But this was owing almost entirely to the English loss of £5,248,000 in cotton and cotton goods in that year, a very large part of which was caused by the severe fall in price for the enormous British exports of that commodity."

As regards the development of the German shipbuilding industry, of which one hears so much, it has only been possible so far by placing on the free list all shipbuilding material imported from Great Britain.

A year ago, in reviewing the development of German-American trade, Count Von Posadowsky, Secretary of State for the Interior, recited to the Reichstag a number of interesting figures, chiefly illustrative of the growth of American exports. And then he went on to say:*

"The case of Germany is more unfavorable than that of England. England chiefly imported cereals, cottons and valuable raw material for manufacture, and for the intermediate trade. Germany was already beginning to be seriously affected by American industrial competition. He instanced the textile, iron, steel and shoe-making industries. In the first eight months of the financial year 1897-98 no less than one-third of all the bicycles exported from America were destined for the German market. This was due to the fact that extreme protection in America not only kept up the prices of bicycles in the American market, but also artificially stimulated the bicycle industry there. When a crisis came the superfluous production was thrown on the German market at reduced prices."

In conclusion, Count Von Posadowsky gave the then latest approximate statistics of trade between Germany and the United States.

"American exports to Germany in the calendar year 1898, he reckoned, would be found to have amounted to 852½ million marks, while American imports from Germany had declined to 344 million marks. The balance of German trade with America was thus 518½ million marks against exports, a state of affairs which warranted the German Government in asking that the treaty of 1828 should be enforced in a spirit of fairness."

Now, it does not come within the purpose of this paper to

*I quote from "The Times'" report, February 14th, 1899.

analyze the trade on which Count Von Posadowsky thus commented—though incidentally I may remark that sugar would account for a good deal of the difference which disturbed him. But it does come within my purpose to show that, if any trade is declining anywhere, it is not British trade alone. Clearly Germany is not gaining in America at our expense.

Next, I take the following from the report of the British Consul-General, Schwabach, on the trade of Germany for 1898:

"I wish here to draw attention to the opinion of a celebrated German national economist, Professor Gombart, who in answer to the question—'will Germany develop into an exporting manufacturing country?'—expressed his opinion that as the exports were certainly diminishing, the development of Germany would take other directions. But opinion on this subject, even among those intimately acquanted with it, is divided. The Essen Chamber of Commerce, for example, in their annual report for 1898, prophesies a standstill, and declares that a further economic development is not to be expected."

And then Consul-General Schwabach goes on to express his own opinion to the effect that:

"The possession of additional markets, the commercial results of the journey of the Emperor to Palestine, the far-seeing policy of German industrial statistics, the appointment of an economic committee in the Ministry of the Interior, the strengthening of the mercantile marine, and last, not least, the increase of the navy; all these circumstances make themselves distinctly felt, and lead one to assume that Germany has not yet reached the high-water mark of her economic development."

Of course not, but on the same page of the consular report from which I have quoted I notice with interest a reference to the flourishing trade between Germany and British India, and a statement that the cause of this increased trade is the Merchandise Marks Act. This was undoubtedly one of the greatest blunders in industrial legislation ever achieved by a British Parliament. It gave away a large part of our foreign trade, by compelling us to tell our customers where we bought the goods, not of our own manufacture, that we sold them. It was good, honest, profitable, mercantile business. There was no earthly reason why a British merchant should not ship cheap German goods to India or Antarctica, if they suited his customers there and he could get a profit on them. And there was no earthly reason why he should tell his customers that the goods were "made in Germany." But an act of Parliament compelled him to tell, and thereupon his customers sent their next orders to Germany direct. This did

not increase the demand for German goods, nor did it diminish the trade in British manufactures. It simply diverted a portion of our intermediary trade Yet the alteration in the statistics thus caused is seized upon by superficial observers as evidence of the expansion of German commerce and of the decline of British industries before German competition. It is a curious fact (though I do not wish to lay undue emphasis on it), that the decrease in the imports into Germany from Great Britain, recorded in the following table, is just about balanced by the increase in the imports from British India and Australasia. This further illustrates the diversion of our intermediary trade by the development of German merchant shipping:

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FROM GERMANY.

Country.	Imports.		Exports.	
British Empire:	1889.	1896.	1889.	1896.
Great Britain.....	£33,361,850	£27,565,650	£32,336,850	£35,639,800
East Indies	4,763,700	8,558,150	1,325,100	2,458,950
Australasia	1,722,900	5,160,200	1,062,750	1,462,350
South Africa.....	681,050	1,055,950	375,950	782,250
West Indies.....	299,550	354,700	82,750	56,400
North America.....	51,400	147,700	817,750	765,100
Russia	26,006,550	31,410,050	8,710,500	11,579,800
Austria Hungary.....	26,492,350	27,342,600	15,950,300	19,984,200
United States.....	15,873,430	26,415,200	19,751,800	19,162,500
France and Algiers...	13,569,950	11,476,750	10,167,350	10,066,550
Belgium	16,786,050	8,660,300	6,859,950	8,396,850
Holland	14,218,000	7,946,800	12,451,300	13,082,000
Switzerland	9,019,300	6,927,550	8,521,450	11,927,300
Italy	7,427,850	6,599,950	5,075,600	4,179,200

In the Annual Financial Review of the *New York Times* of January 1st last, I read:

"The most recent report on trade conditions in Germany was sent to Washington by Vice-Consul-General Hanauer, at Frankfort, in which he gave particular information concerning iron and coal, chemicals and paper and textiles. 'Of late,' he wrote, 'a new phase in Germany's economic life has become apparent, which affects her labor market. Some branches of trade can work only with half power because they lack the raw materials. This refers specially to rolling-mills, which suffer from a dearth of pig-iron; and industries using steel, coal and coke, though fully at work, are not making much profit on their output, as the advance in the cost of the raw materials is not compensated by the prices obtainable for the finished products. Most of the iron—and some machinery—works have contracts that will keep them busy until the middle of next year. These are now working overtime, and refuse to take any more contracts at fixed time and price. The great boom in iron and coal is principally due to the large contracts given out by the Government for its railroad stations and rolling stock, and by municipal and private corporations for narrow-gauge railroads and electric tramways; also, to the many machine works that have sprung up during the last two years.' "

And again:

"Loud are the wailings of German manufacturers and exporters of textile fabrics on account of the depressed condition of that branch of trade, which, they claim, is caused by greatly curtailed sales to the United States, and by the growing competition of American textiles in foreign markets. Being crowded out of foreign countries, the German manufacturers overload their home market, which cuts the prices and lessens the profits on domestic sales. * * * Owing to the decline in the exports, the wage scale of textile operatives has of late suffered a reduction, though the cost of living is higher. Therefore, it cannot be said that the standard of life of German laborers, excepting in a few isolated branches of industry, has been raised.

"Through the reports of the Chambers of Commerce and of the trade papers runs, like a red thread, the bitter complaint of the United States tariff, which Germans admit to have boomed American manufactures and fostered America's capacity to compete successfully in the world's markets with the industrial nations of Europe."

The Germans are wrong, however. It is the removal of the tariff that will bother them.

One of the illustrations sought by Mr. Low of the decadence of British industries is the shrinkage of production of iron ore. And he compares the output of the British iron mines in 1870 and in 1895 with those of Germany and the United States. But Germany and the United States had practically no iron smelting to speak of in 1870, and, therefore, had barely tapped their deposits of iron ore. Once they began smelting, it was natural that Germany's output of ore should be quadrupled and America's quintupled in five and twenty years. But the mistake Mr. Low makes is in measuring the decline of the British industry by the decline in the output of British ironstone. That is easily explained. Between 1870 and 1895 we entered upon what may be called the age of steel. The manufacture of steel requires the smelting of hematite ores, the deposits of which in Great Britain are confined to the Cumberland district. To feed the blast furnaces of Scotland and Cleveland, in order to make steel-making iron, we had to import hematite ores from Spain. Germany and the United States are now doing the same thing, neither country having enough native ore presently available for the existing demand of the furnaces. It is perfectly true that the smelting of iron has increased enormously both in Germany and in America, and in America has reached dimensions never yet attained, nor ever likely to be attained, in Great Britain. But it is also true that, up till now, Great Britain is *the only one of the three great iron-producing countries that is able to make both for herself and*

others. Last year she sent something like 700,000 tons to Germany (direct and by Holland), and even some 36,000 tons to the United States. The fact is that the iron ore problem (of which Mr. Low seems to know nothing), is a matter of as much anxiety in Germany and the United States as in Great Britain. Experienced men in both hemispheres are at a loss to know where all the ore is to be procured to meet the world's demands for iron, if these demands keep on increasing, or even remain as large as they have been for the last two years. Pig iron is raw material. That country which has the best and cheapest supply of ore will naturally produce the most of it, coal being available, but the measure of a nation's industrial activity is in its consumption rather than in its production of crude iron.

Another of the "great staples" in which Mr. Low says Great Britain has lost her position is coal, and he institutes the usual comparison between 1870 and 1895 to show that Britain's proportion of the production of the coal-producing nations had declined from fifty-one to thirty-four per cent. But the fact that other nations have developed their coal resources does not necessarily imply any decline in the commerce of Great Britain. America and Germany could not have made the industrial advance they have made if they had not coal of their own. Yet, even now, Germany does not produce enough coal for her own consumption, and was last year the third largest buyer of British coal, coming closely after France and Italy; and until this year America has not produced more than she consumed. I am free to confess that I expect to see the United States soon as large an exporter of coal as Great Britain, but I do not know that that is a matter for Great Britain to regret. Outside of the coal trade itself, there is a pretty pronounced feeling in Britain that a total stoppage of the export of coal would be an advantage rather than otherwise to her. It is not possible in the space at command to discuss the whole question of coal supplies, but certainly a great deal may be said in favor of the contention that Britain would do better to keep her coal reserve for the future of her own industries than supply it to others to enable them to compete with her industries now. But, however this may be, I have shown elsewhere* that, notwithstanding the development of coal-mining all

*"The Nineteenth Century," July, 1898.

over the world, the British Empire in 1898 still produced thirty-eight per cent. of the world's coal.

There is another serious omission in Mr. Low's method of comparison, and that is the export of new ships built in Great Britain for foreign countries and British colonies. Until last year no record was kept at the Custom House of these transactions, but last year the value of the export of new ships was officially recorded as £9,195,192. Necessarily, this is a variable element; but it must have ranged between £5,000,000 and £10,000,000 per annum for many years past, and is an item for which other countries have had no corresponding entry in their export lists worth taking into account. There is, further, to be reckoned among British exports the large number of old ships sold every year to foreigners, and removed from the British register. No record is kept of the value of such sales, but for an example of the importance of the item, take 1899. In that year, 640,000 tons of old shipping were sold to foreigners, of which 519,000 tons were steamers and 121,000 tons were sailers. At an average of only £7 per ton, that would represent an export of about four and a half millions sterling. And, yet further, there is an item of export of which no record is kept, of which Mr. Low seems unaware, which is yearly increasing in magnitude, and in competition with which any corresponding item of any other country is insignificant. And that is the repair and renewal work done to foreign vessels at British shipyards, engine shops and boiler shops. This is an export of material, as well as of the produce of labor and applied science, which the official statisticians do not recognize. And it amounts to many millions per annum. It is, as I have said, a constantly increasing item, as is also the carrying work done by British vessels for foreign countries. This also is an industrial export. Mr. Low admits that "England still holds her own in shipping," but, surely, an increase from thirty-three per cent. in 1872 to forty-eight per cent. in 1895 of the world's shipping is something more than "holding her own." These are Mr. Low's figures; but the present writer, in an article on "Sea-Power and Sea-Carriage," which he contributed to *The Nineteenth Century* in June, 1899, showed that, taking into consideration the relatively higher carrying power of steamers than of sailers, Great Britain owns fully sixty per cent. of the effective tonnage of the world. That total world's tonnage was increased in 1899

by about 1,400,000 tons, and fifty-four per cent. of all the new tonnage launched in the world during the year was for British owners. Five years ago it was computed that British-owned vessels earned about £70,000,000 sterling a year in the carriage of the goods of other countries. So great has been the expansion of shipping and sea commerce during the last five years, that one is not disposed to take a lower estimate now than £80,000,000 yearly. This is an item of industrial expansion which has escaped Mr. Low's attention.

There is another reason why a comparison between the foreign trade of Britain in 1870 and that in 1895 does not afford a fair test of progress, relative or positive. The year 1870 was the beginning of a period of high prosperity, which became exuberant and inflated beyond precedent after the conclusion of peace between France and Germany in the following year. The year 1895, on the other hand, was a year of depression, which corresponded more with the commercial conditions of 1869 or 1879 than with those of any one of the early seventies. The general decline in prices between 1870 and 1895 was probably not less than twenty-five per cent., by which proportion, therefore, the 1895 figures ought to be augmented to enable one to judge of the comparative volume of trade. This makes a wonderful difference in the relation of the British total to that of the rest of the world. So also does the bounty on the exports of beet sugar by the beet sugar growing countries. This bounty swells the export lists of the exporting countries at the expense of the taxpayers.

No such comparison as Mr. Low seeks between the trade value of one year with that of another is, or can be, just, without taking into account the changes in the prices of commodities. In the following table I select a number of the leading British exports, to show the great decline in the price of them between the two periods selected by Mr. Low.

	Average prices.	
	1870.	1895.
Alkali, cwt	7.70s.	4.99s.
Coal, ton	9.60s.	9.30s.
Cotton yarn, lb	18.92d.	8.50d.
Cotton piece, yd	4.75d.	2.86d.
Cotton thread, lb	39.80d.	31.87d.
Linen yarn, lb	14.42d.	13.60d.
Jute yarn, lb	3.72d.	2.46d.
Jute goods, yd	3.65d.	2.00d.
Pig iron, ton	59.15s.	47.90s.
Bar iron, ton	£8.14	£5.90
Cast steel, ton	£14.25	£13.65
Wool, lb	15.30d.	9.50d.
Woolen yarn, lb	33.70d.	21.10d.
Flannels, yd	17.28d.	7.70d.

A consideration of these figures—and only exigencies of space restrict the length of the list—will materially qualify the figures quoted by Mr. Low of the value of the exports of British products—£199,586,000 in 1870, and £225,890,000 in 1895.

For many years past *The Economist* has rendered valuable service in recasting the value of the imports and exports of each year at the prices of the previous year. As we are concerned just now only with the export trade, I take from *The Economist* of January 27th last the following figures:

BRITISH EXPORTS, AS DECLARED AND AS RE-VALUED.

	1899.	1898.	1897.
Declared value	£255,465,455	£233,390,792	£234,350,003
Calculated at prices of the previous year	239,613,000	233,899,000	237,054,000
Variation from price	+15,851,000	—508,000	—2,704,000
Variation from quantity	+ 6,255,000	—321,000	—3,091,000
Actual differences	+22,106,215	—828,916	—5,795,548

The value of new ships is deducted from the figures relating to 1899, so as to afford a proper comparison with the previous year. It will be seen that, of the great increase in the value of British exports last year, which was a year of good, of rising, and in some cases of high, prices, nearly one-third is due to the larger quantity exported; that is to say, to expansion of trade. The increase in the total external trade of the United Kingdom, imports, re-exports and British exports, was £41,167,947, of which £13,793,000 was due to increased quantities; and nearly one-half of the increase by quantity was in the exports of British products, such as Mr. Low distinguishes as "special" exports. It is to be remembered that this increase has been gained at a time of unprecedented activity in every one of the great industrial countries—America, Germany, France, Belgium—and of new industrial developments in Russia, India, Japan, and (to some extent) China. Now, if we take the figure on which Mr. Low dwells with so much foreboding, £225,890,000, the declared value of the exports of 1895, we do not need to take the trouble of re-valuation, because prices were, if anything, more in Mr. Low's favor in 1894; that is to say, re-valuation on the rates of 1894 would tend to reduce the 1895 total. And comparing 1895 with 1899, we find an increase in British exports of £29,575,455, of which at least £12,000,000 is due to increased quantities. May Britons be forgiven

if they fail to find any evidence of decline there, however much other countries have increased?

They must also be excused from being depressed by Mr. Low's parade of percentages. It is a method of comparative statistics that may be made very sensational, but is very misleading. Thus, it is disturbing only to superficial observers to read that the exports of Russia increased 17.35 per cent. in the twenty-five years, whilst those of Great Britain increased only 13.17 per cent. But the volume of increase was only £9,890,000 in the one case, and it was £26,304,000 in the other. Again, it is startling to learn that, between 1870 and 1895, the exports of the United States increased 110.66 per cent; but the total in 1895 was £34,000,000 less than Britain's total in 1870, and £60,600,000 less than Britain's total in 1895. If a small manufacturer making, say, £2,000 of profit yearly, raises his profits one year by £1,000, he has increased his trade fifty per cent. But if his neighbor, making £20,000 yearly, at the same time raises his profits to £22,000, by an increase of ten per cent. in his much larger trade, I don't think the bigger man would consider himself on the down grade, nor justified in feeling nervous or jealous at the growing trade of the smaller man.

It is perfectly true that "the majority of Englishmen have not yet realized that England is fast being outstripped in the commercial race," though many of them are quite familiar with the Swedish statistics that seem so convincing to Mr. Low. They are well accustomed to being told so, even by their own callow, yet zealous Consular Agents, who think it their duty, in reporting to their official superiors on the state of commerce in their respective districts, to lecture the astutest traders and the most experienced manufacturers in the world on how to manage their own businesses. We all know the pig-headed, stupidly conservative British trader evolved out of the inner consciousness of the Consular clerk, but I do not think our American or German competitors abroad know him. And I have seen very creditable copies of him in German and American dress in German and American consular reports. The fact is that the British trader has been too much accustomed for centuries to rely on his own individual enterprise, foresight and sagacity to have much faith in the Consular Agent as a national commercial traveler. Consuls are, of course, very necessary and useful officials in their own line; but

"they don't know everything down in Judee," and the wheels within wheels of trade cannot be followed by one not in trade. The Consul can only report what he is told, and he is told only what it suits somebody to tell him. I have extracted one or two examples from American and German official papers that may not be without instruction in this connection.

In 1896 a German Export Commission was sent out to study the markets of China, Korea and Japan. It brought home a vast collection of samples and a good deal of useful information, of which German manufacturers have been since endeavoring to make the utmost. With regard to this mission, the United States Consul-General at Frankfort thus wrote:

"There is in all the specialized work of these commissions a broad recognition of the fact that, in foreign trade, it is the buyer, not the seller, who determines the kind of article he wants and the form in which he wants it turned out, labelled and packed for shipment to him. It is the business of the seller not to force upon the consumer something that he never heard of and does not want, but to ascertain exactly what he has used and sold hitherto, and then to furnish him with something of the same general kind—but better for his money—that he has had before. The exporter who succeeds best is, other things being equal, he who learns most accurately the wants of his customers and supplies them most nearly in the currency and on the terms and conditions to which the buyer is accustomed. At present, the Germans are perhaps the ablest masters of this theory of export trade; the English are thought to have lost much for want of it, and Americans will undoubtedly excel in it when once they realize its importance."

As against this I will place the testimony of the correspondent of a British trade journal, *The Machinery Market*—in the Mediterranean:

"It is curious to note that the United States manufacturers (of hardware and machinery) are fast gaining ground in the Levant, at the expense of the German industry. It may be assumed that, in the course of time, in the hardware and machinery trade, Great Britain and the U. S. A.—in other words the Anglo-Saxon race—will 'eat up' the Teuton race, in this and many more lines; this, notwithstanding the fact that the German Consular Service is the very best in the world—a praise to which it is eminently entitled—while on the other hand our British Consular Service leaves much to desire, and to deplore."

The following was written by the United States Consul-General at Frankfort for the benefit of American traders:

"Salesmen who frequently come to Germany with no knowledge of any language but English are seriously handicapped, and this

disadvantage is still further increased when the traveller puts himself into the attitude of a peddler, by attempting to sell goods of wholly different classes and character, as, for instance, shoes, machinery, belting, lumber and bicycles. No man willing to accept the hard life of a commercial traveller is likely to understand fully all these diverse branches of trade, and his efforts to sell something concerning which he is ignorant are generally and deservedly abortive. Export syndicates have their distinct, and often very important, uses; but their best results are accomplished when they represent most fully different products in one special line or department of trade."

The point in this testimony is that it is not only British consuls who are dissatisfied with the tradecraft of their fellow-countrymen.

I do not know of the "antagonism to a new thing," which, Mr. Low says, throws us five and twenty years behind America. He instances the Underground Railway. But the Underground Railway was made many years before the Overhead Railway, and before electricity was applied to locomotion. We do not love the Underground Railway, but we prefer it to the Overhead Railway, just as we prefer to take our luggage with us when traveling to have it delivered to us hours after we want it. Electric lighting has been adopted less rapidly in Great Britain than elsewhere simply because coal and gas have been cheaper there than anywhere else. So, likewise, the streets of our old towns and cities are not so well adapted to tramway services as are the streets of most new American towns. We have not pulled down and rebuilt our towns in order to make room for street cars, but we can provide a cheaper service than America, where, I believe, a half penny fare is unknown. The labor-saving devices in office and factory that Mr. Low thinks peculiar to America are perfectly familiar in Britain. The head of a great establishment in England or Scotland does just as Mr. Low represents the American boss as doing, with his electric buttons and desk telephones and all the rest.

I don't know the Englishman, whom Mr. Low describes, who, "if he wants his cashier, rings a hand bell, which is answered by a boy, to whom the message is given, and in course of time the cashier appears," though I fancy I have heard of the American who, "before the Englishman can tell the cashier to make out the check, has cashed his check at the bank, invested the proceeds and made a profit." Is he not the boss of the famous establishment

where they saved half a million dollars per annum in ink alone by not crossing their t's and dotting their i's—before, of course, the evolution of the typewriter? The Englishman, I know, would have had his investment made long before he drew his check, which he would only draw to close, not to open, the transaction.

What British trade suffers most from is neither national conservatism, nor John Bullish obstinacy, nor the natural development of America and Germany, nor the stupidity of the British "boss," nor afternoon tea, but Trade Unionism. This it is that cripples us, by enhancing the costs of production and constantly restricting the output. Mr. Low doubts whether the tyranny of the British Trade Union is any more oppressive than that known in America. But he does not know British Trade Unionism, of which I could tell him moving tales enough to "make his flesh creep." "Why does not the United States suffer from the same cause?" asks Mr. Low. Have patience. The turn of both the United States and Germany will come—will not now be long in coming.

But while Britons neither believe themselves to be the congenital idiots they are depicted by some of their own officials, nor can find in their own conditions, in the industrial activity and social prosperity of the country, any evidence of that dry rot and decline which Mr. Ernest Williams and Mr. Maurice Low think they have discovered, it is quite a mistake to suppose they are filled with a consuming desire to monopolize the trade of the world. They are not in the least alarmed at American competition, for instance. They know that in time it will take the gilt off a good deal of their gingerbread, but they know by experience that, as the world develops, new industries grow. Some may pass from Britain to America, but others will succeed. Change is not necessarily decay. And I wish Americans could understand that the industrial development of the United States is not regarded with jealousy and envy by Great Britain, but rather with the quiet pride with which a man watches the progress in life of his own son. It is an old saying that "there is no friendship in business." Whether this be true or not, there is certainly no need for enmity. The more prosperous America becomes, the better will it be for us and the rest of the world, though the conditions may undergo change.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

CATHOLIC CITIZENS AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

BY THE REV. THOMAS H. MALONE, MEMBER OF THE COLORADO STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS.

THE article by the Right Reverend James McFaul, Bishop of Trenton, entitled "Catholics and American Citizenship," in the September number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, is, in my judgment, unfortunate in the time of its publication. Even if the grievances of which the Bishop of Trenton complains had existence in fact, they would be less likely to receive due attention during the excitement of a Presidential canvass than at a period when men's minds would be more prone to fair and conservative judgment on the question under discussion. At such a time as the present the publication of the contention that Catholics are denied their rights under the Constitution, and that they should, therefore, band together for action, is likely to react upon Catholics everywhere.

But have the grievances of which the Bishop of Trenton complains any real existence? Are the Catholic inmates of State institutions denied their guaranteed rights? This is, indeed, a serious question, not to be lightly or carelessly answered.

It is to be regretted that Bishop McFaul thought it necessary to make such an elaborate exposition of Catholic loyalty; and yet it must be remembered that, if Catholics over-emphasize their loyalty, if they continually call attention to it, and cannot let it be taken for granted, as other Americans do, the blame belongs to the fanatics who, with their fantasies and their miserable distrust of human nature, have put Catholics in this anomalous position. So ruthless and malign has been the misrepresentation in certain quarters of the spirit of Catholic citizens that it is natural for Catholics, when opportunity offers, to declare their love of coun-

try, and to show that their faith does not make them, and has never made them, traitors. When a man is called coward, he may be excused if he points immediately, in disproof of the charge, to his acts of bravery; if he is called a thief, he tries to prove his honesty; if he is accused of being a traitor, he attempts to prove his loyalty. All this is natural, and perhaps fault should not be found with it. But the time has come when Catholics can well afford to cease declarations of loyalty; and that is equivalent to saying that it is time for those who charge disloyalty against them to cease their groundless attacks.

Much to be deplored, however, is Bishop McFaul's sweeping indictment of all the American people—for such in effect his article is—for having, as he alleges, uniformly and generally denied to Catholic citizens their Constitutional privileges. And, indeed, even if there were adequate foundation for all of the charges made by the Bishop of Trenton, the remedy which he suggests, or which may be fairly inferred from his utterances, namely, political unity among Catholics, is pernicious in itself, and must, according to the law of human acts, prove injurious to the Catholic people.

Catholics owe it to themselves to avoid giving, by their attitude or their acts, even the semblance of probability to the statements of those who, when talking about them, argue from the view point of the Middle Ages, and picture Catholics doing now what Catholics did then. Enlightened non-Catholics realize full well that non-Catholics in the Middle Ages did many things which their co-religionists would not do now, and appreciate clearly that Catholics have not been left out in the grand march of progress, which has brought with it new ideas, new interests and new ways of looking at things.

In the Middle Ages and the period of the Reformation politics and religion were almost one. To-day men, whether Catholic or Protestant, separate their politics and religion. That is, they separate the tenets of dogma from the practices of politics, and bring to their politics only the morality taught by religion.

Bishop McFaul's article certainly breathes a spirit hostile to this modern practice, and his recommendations could scarcely claim justification even on the ground that the disabilities which he alleges Catholics suffer, have undeniable existence. Even on such an extreme supposition, it is questionable if political unity,

having religion as its basic principle, would not accentuate, rather than ameliorate, the disagreeable conditions.

The following, in brief, is the statement of Bishop McFaul's position:

(1.) Are Catholics in the United States permitted to enjoy their Constitutional rights in their integrity? Are they allowed the free exercise of their religion? Does the flag guarantee and protect them in the rights which are enjoyed by all other citizens? Are there any grievances of which, as American citizens, we, as Catholics, have reason to complain?

(2.) We ask that the priest be allowed to preach Catholic doctrine to Catholic adults, and to teach Catholic children the catechism; to offer mass, so that Catholics may be present at it; to administer the sacraments; and we demand that Catholics shall not be compelled to listen to non-Catholic teaching, nor to participate in any worship except their own. In a word, we claim for Catholic clergymen the right to enter our State institutions, at seasonable times, to give the benefits of the Catholic religion to Catholics, and we require that the system of worship and of religious teaching at present existing in many institutions—a system which leads to proselytism—shall be abolished. The Constitutions of the United States and of the several States guarantee the rights of conscience to the inmates of public institutions. Why, then, are Catholics obliged to be present at non-Catholic prayers and instructions? Why should clergymen be subjected to annoyance and often harshness, when bringing to the Catholic inmates the consolations of religion? It is true, we have succeeded in gaining a portion of our rights in some institutions. But this has been the result of a long and arduous struggle against injustice.

From the manner of this statement, one would infer that the privileges asked by the Bishop of Trenton are, in most instances, refused to Roman Catholics.

For some years I have been an active member of the Board of Charities and Corrections of Colorado; I have represented that State at charitable conventions, prison congresses, etc., in Europe and America, and, consequently, feel that I can speak with some degree of authority on the questions raised by the Bishop of Trenton.

To his first question there can be but one answer. In America,

more than in any country in the world, Catholics are permitted to enjoy, without interference or molestation, their full Constitutional rights, while they are guaranteed the freest exercise of their religion in every State in the Union.

This is true, likewise, in our new possessions, and particularly so in the Philippines, where, were it not for the protection of the American flag, our co-religionists would be hunted to the death by those whose Shibboleth is: "Death to the Friars."

Now, as to the allegation that Catholics are denied their spiritual privileges in penal institutions, an intimate knowledge of the facts forces me to a directly opposite conclusion to that expressed by the Bishop of Trenton.

That, in some isolated case, a priest may have been hampered as to his spiritual ministrations by an excess of official machinery, or even by a bigoted official, I do not deny. But a particular instance of this character can not, in logic or in common sense, be adduced in support of the universal conclusion that Catholics are prevented from receiving spiritual ministrations in charitable, penal, and reformatory institutions. To do so would be as unjust as to assume that Catholic ecclesiastical authority is unwilling to supply the religious needs of these institutions, because, in a certain case, a State Board of Charities and Corrections has been unable to secure the ministrations of a Catholic clergyman in the institutions under its control, notwithstanding repeated and urgent requests to Episcopal authority to make provision therefor.

It has been my privilege, as well as pleasure, to visit State institutions, such as homes for dependent children, prisons, asylums, hospitals, etc., in all parts of the United States. I have been received everywhere with the most gracious good will, courtesy, and kindness. And, if I so desired, at all seasonable times, I could have celebrated mass, and given religious instruction to the Catholic inmates. I am speaking of the present, and not of the past; for it is better to let the dead past bury its dead.

I am fully aware that conditions, due to antagonistic causes, have been different in past generations. At the present time, however, the best of our citizens—those who have helped to make this country what it is, and will continue to assist in her progress on broad humanitarian lines—have no fear of the Catholic element of our citizenship, which has been with us since the beginning, and has thrown itself nobly into the common struggle.

These people know that we are all "brothers under the skin," and that, whatever has happened in past ages, both sides were to blame, and both have learned the lesson of tolerance, liberality and nationality; and it is not for us to throw into each others' faces the blood they then spilled, and which has long since cried to Heaven for vengeance.

The condition against which the Bishop of Trenton declaims does not, except in rare instances, exist in the United States.

For many years priests have been welcome to visit institutions in the State of New York; so, in well-nigh universal degree, has it been elsewhere.

The general statement that Catholic priests are free to minister, without let or hindrance, to the Catholic inmates of city, county, State and federal institutions is so nearly capable of universal verification, that it stands as a truism. The rare cases to the contrary—including, I believe, some instances of friction in New Jersey—are quite outside general conditions.

Regarding the treatment of Catholic Indian schools, the Bishop of Trenton quotes the following from a letter signed by Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishops Ryan and Kain:

> "Despite the fact that Religious Orders and other Catholic bodies have equipped schools for the education of the Indian children, in full confidence that the Government would not reverse its recognized and successful policy of subsidizing these schools—yet in the height of their success and in spite of their doing the work cheaper and better than the Government itself could do it, we find that the subsidy has beeen for the greater part and will eventually be entirely withdrawn, and that these well founded works of Catholic benevolence, begun in good faith, and with great expenditure of time and money, are to be abandoned to their fate."

All good Catholics, of course, deplore the fact that our Catholic Indian schools have been hampered, if the failure of the Government to make further appropriations for their support has so resulted.

But it is difficult to understand how any one could find reason to conclude that the Government "would not reverse its recognized and successful policy of subsidizing these schools."

Five years ago, under Mr. Cleveland's administration, this Government declared it to be its definite and irrevocable policy in the future to refuse support to private Indian schools; and of this intention five years' notice was given—the support being

withdrawn at the rate of twenty per cent. annually. We, of course, regret that the Government so concluded; but, in view of persistent misrepresentations that the Catholic Church is a politico-religious institution, it will not prove an unmixed evil. As long as Catholics are not discriminated against in this matter, we certainly have little cause of complaint.

I quite agree with a most distinguished Catholic author that it would be much better if both Catholics and Protestants would cease accepting money from the State for any purpose. It is a habit not calculated to strengthen the religion that makes a practice of leaning on the State for support.

Bishop McFaul touches upon other matters of importance to Catholics, but these are not due to bigotry on the part of any one in particular, but rather to a misunderstanding of Catholic needs. I am satisfied that, if Bishop McFaul had followed his own advice and gone to Washington, with an explanation of the mistakes which may have occurred in Cuba, Porto Rico, or elsewhere, in dealing with Catholic affairs, the grievances which he narrates would have been adjusted to his satisfaction. But if an Administration, Democratic or Republican, be led to believe, by high authority, that Catholics are satisfied with the treatment accorded them, it is obvious that the blame, if it should be attached anywhere, should at least be divided.

All will accept, in the very spirit in which it was given, Bishop McFaul's assurance that he had no intention of "promoting or even suggesting, a Catholic Political Party." But it is the result of his efforts that must, in the last analysis, be the norm of criticism. And that his articles have been so framed as fairly to subject them to the charge of suggesting political unity along religious lines, is obvious from the criticisms they have evoked in different parts of the country.

THOMAS H. MALONE.

THE PICTURE GALLERY OF THE HERMITAGE.—IV.*

BY CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

To attempt any account of the Dutch "Small Masters," that is, of the famous *genre* painters of the seventeenth century, within such limits as those which here impose themselves, is to be reduced to despair. The Hermitage collection, crowded together on screens and walls in a single large gallery, is limitless in extent, and ends by exhausting even the most passionate lover of Dutch seventeenth-century art. Unrivalled in its groups of certain special masters, it is by no means always up to the same high level, and cannot in a good many instances be said to include "the pick of the basket." The same fastidious taste has not in all cases presided at the selection of the pictures in this section, which, for instance, makes the Berlin Gallery so enjoyable in this important branch, and gives charm to such exceptional groups of Dutch masters as those in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace and in the Wallace collection. Leaving out of consideration the Ryks-Museum of Amsterdam, Van der Helst is nowhere as magnificently represented as he is here in the Hermitage. Works wholly exceptional in his *œuvre* are the great piece known as "La Présentation de la Fiancée," and the two less vast but still very important "Family Portraits," while a much less usual picture, "The New Market of Amsterdam," is authenticated by his signature and the date 1666. Absolutely unique and beyond rivalry by any other museum or collection is the group of paintings by Paul Potter. From the Malmaison comes the "Farm Scene"—often named as the masterpiece of the too short-lived animal-painter, and certainly one of his very finest things, although it cannot be said to surpass in quality the "Farm Scene at Sunset" in the Duke of Westminster's collection

*The publication of the concluding instalment of Mr. Claude Phillips's singularly interesting contribution has been unavoidably postponed, in consequence of the large amount of space required from month to month for the discussion of subjects of great and immediate concern.—Ed.

at Grosvenor House. Then we have, also from the Malmaison, the curious panel in fourteen separate compartments, "The Life of the Sportsman." In some of these there is deliberate and humorous imitation of the style and motives of certain contemporaries among the Netherlanders. The compartment with "Diana and Actæon" is actually by Cornelis Poelenburg, from which circumstance some critics have too rashly concluded that the curious composite painting remained unfinished at Potter's death. A rarity again is "The Wolf Hound," of quite life-size, and bearing the signature of the master. The group of three De Hoochs is interesting, though it cannot compare for a moment with those in the Ryks-Museum of Amsterdam, the National Gallery, the Wallace collection, and Buckingham Palace. Three distinct stages in the practice of the great *luministe* are here represented. Van der Meer of Delft, his only rival in the treatment of indoor light—his superior, perhaps, in the estimation of the modern connoisseur—is not represented at the Hermitage. His fame is of modern creation; when the Imperial collection was in the process of formation, his name had been well-nigh forgotten, and his works were distributed among other masters. One of the most interesting things in this section is a *genre* scene with a woman seated in the raised embrasure of a window, and seen in the act of spinning. A luminous background to her figure is provided by the large and unusually ornate window of stained glass. The picture, without any such close imitation as suggests the intention to deceive, recalls Pieter de Hooch, whose name must, all the same, be put aside. Those of Esaias Boursse and of Isaac Koedyck have been most frequently put forward in connection with this charming, if rather disconcerting, work. The former painter, who is often confounded with Vermeer of Delft, is best known by the signed picture in the Wallace collection, which is much colder in tone than the St. Petersburg example. The latter has, however, distinct points of contact with the "Woman Spinning" ascribed to Boursse in the Ryks-Museum at Amsterdam. All the same, the canvas which comes nearest in style to the Hermitage piece is Koedyck's "Interior" in the Antwerp Gallery. Hobbemas are scarce in all public and private collections except those of the United Kingdom, and the Director of the Hermitage, though he has long been striving to secure a fine specimen of the much-prized landscapist, can as yet catalogue

none among his treasures. Jacob van Ruysdael is, on the other hand, represented by no less than twelve canvases, three or four of which may take rank with his most exquisite things. Then we have thirteen works by Gerard Dou, six by Frans van Mieris, a good number also by the tiresome and mechanical Willem van Mieris, five Metsus, ten Jan Steens, six Terboechs, only one Adrian Van de Velde, one Jan van de Capelle, two seapieces by Willem Van de Velde, no less than nine examples of that hard colorist but subtle observer, Karel du Jardin. Of his contemporary, and, perhaps, master, the prolific Claes Picterz Berchem, the Imperial Gallery possesses no less than sixteen, or taking into account one doubtful piece, seventeen specimens. The art of Jan Van Heyden, so exquisitely minute, yet so broad and luminous in effect, is in hardly any other gallery as finely illustrated as in that of the Russian Crown, which includes nine of his works, the greater number of which come from the Crozat and Malmaison collections.

The paintings of the Spanish school, to the exhibition of which one of the three vastest and most splendid galleries of the palatial museum is entirely devoted, is remarkably complete, rather than remarkably splendid. As regards the works of Velazquez, it stands far behind Vienna and the National Gallery. As regards the other seventeenth-century painters of the schools, its display compares on at least equal terms with that made by the Royal Gallery of Buda-Pesth, formerly the Esterhazy Gallery; no other European collection out of Spain being on equal terms with the two last-mentioned in this respect. By Morales there is, among other things, a "Mater Dolorosa," to an unusual degree moving and even great in the expression of passionate grief. For once this most unequal and most fantastic in exaggeration of Spanish sixteenth-century painters almost deserves his epithet of *El Divino*. A masterpiece in the class to which it belongs is the three-quarter length "Margaret, Duchess of Parma," by Alonso Sanchez Coello. A rare intensity of life, a dignity sovereign in its quietude, mark this singularly remarkable portrait, which one hesitates a little to leave to the very interesting, yet rather dry, Spaniard, who became the successful rival of portraiture of his master, Antonio Moro. It is noticeable that we have here already the inclined plane of which later on Velazquez will make so excessive a use. The Hispaniolized Vincencio Carducho—

really the Florentine Vincente Carducci—shows himself nevertheless in the "Ecstacy of St. Anthony of Padua," one of the most markedly Spanish in character of those Italianizing masters who were so many during the early seventeenth century. His sweetness pushed to excess and the quasi-feminine charm of his style make of him a precursor of Murillo. These peculiar qualities are, however, even better seen in the great altarpiece, "The Virgin in Glory," of the Buda-Pesth Gallery than here. Out of the tolerably numerous canvases ascribed at the Hermitage to Velasquez only two can be accepted as genuine. One is the tremendously forceful and life-like "Innocent X.," a bust-portrait from the Walpole collection, identical, so far as it goes, with the surprising likeness of the Panfili pope which in itself gives fame to the Doria Palace at Rome. The writer persists, notwithstanding the arguments of Herr Carl Justi and M. de Somof, in holding this to be not a repetition but a preliminary study from life for the Doria picture. The technique comes nearer to that of the original than does the handling of the exquisitely subtle "Innocent X." at Apsley House, though the latter must count also as an original Velasquez. It resembles more closely still the working of the brush in the nearly identical bust-portraits of the master's enfranchised slave Pareja, which are to be found at Castle Howard and Longford Castle, respectively. The only other original Velasquez is one which hangs in the gallery, but has not as yet found its way into the catalogue. This one of those early *bodegones* or kitchen-pieces, of which the typical examples are the *Aguador* in the Duke of Wellington's collection at Apsley House and an "Old Woman Cooking Eggs" in that of Sir Francis Cook at Richmond. In the St. Petersburg piece two old men and a boy are seen at table.

The facile and charming art of Murillo is represented—disregarding doubtful pictures—by twenty examples of varying merit, but some of them of first-rate quality. It is too much the fashion, now that the sovereign mastery of Velasquez is everywhere recognized, to "run down" the facile and brilliant Sevillian, who once was borne on the very crest of the wave as regards popularity, but has now momentarily descended into the trough of the waters. Those who think it "modern" to assume an altogether contemptuous attitude with regard to an artist, superficial no doubt, yet in his way of extraordinary accomplishment, a little

forget his wonderful variety, his unerring if excessive elegance in composition, the true naïveté, the sympathetic quality, of his realism when he allows himself to face Nature at close quarters. His passion in sacred art is by no means merely false or self-conscious; it is the outcome of a quasi-feminine devotion, perfectly true as far as it goes, yet strongly contrasting with the virility of a Ribera and the austere passion of a Zurbaran.

The "Assumption of the Virgin"—one of the finest pictures of its class—is a composition superb in rhythm, and a painting which in handling shows that *vaporoso* quality so much admired by the artist's worshippers of a past time. Broader and more masculine in execution is the "Immaculate Conception." The "Vision of St. Anthony of Padua," which contains the first idea for the great picture at Seville, is beautified by a naïve and quite feminine tenderness not easily to be resisted, save by those who have deliberately steeled themselves against the ingenious charm of the painter. Two vast and masterly canvases from the celebrated sequence entitled "The History of Jacob," are "Jacob's Dream" and "Isaac Blessing Jacob." In the former the figures of the angels mounting and descending the ladder are drawn and composed with extraordinary skill. Another canvas belonging to the same series is the "Meeting of Jacob and Laban," in the collection of the Duke of Westminster at Grosvenor House. But the most moving, the most typically Spanish work in the whole gallery is the "St. Lawrence" of Zurbaran—a masterpiece of the painter, not less as a painting than as an expression of all-conquering faith. With a certain self-consciousness, with a certain sombre distrust of self belonging to the art which follows upon the Catholic Revival, the Spaniards of the seventeenth century, unlike the contemporary Italians, preserved in their conception of sacred subjects a freshness, a naïveté, an ardor, which were at that advanced period not to be paralleled by a corresponding mood in any other people. The more strange that their greatest glory, Velasquez, should have been so entirely without this inestimable power of embodying the true sacred passion! St. Lawrence, as he is imagined by Zurbaran, stands before the beholder in splendid vestments, holding the emblem of his cruel martyrdom. He is all human in his steadfastness and strength, but with a humanity touched already with the divine. His upturned gaze knows nothing of the spectator, his whole soul is

poured out in love and prayer. No taint of delight in self-torture, no merely hysterical passion, mars this wonderful effort.

Even more complete and remarkable than the collection of Spanish masters is that of the French painters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of this the nucleus only is to be found in the Hermitage itself, the Imperial palaces in and near St. Petersburg furnishing a large proportion of fine pictures and filling up many gaps in the extended series contained in the museum itself. It would be a great advantage if some of the mediocre originals, and the flagrant copies which represent the Bolognese school were separated from the really fine things of the same class, and then promptly relegated to the half-lighted galleries which now nominally show but do not truly display the finest canvases of the French schools. The Louvre itself hardly contains more Poussons than the Hermitage, yet on the present occasion it is, alas, not possible to go beyond the mere notation of this fact. Charles Le Brun, the incarnation of the Louis-Quatorze style, not less in monumental decoration than in painting, is here, as is also Eustache Le Lueur. Pierre Mignard, Le Brun's acrimonious rival, may be studied in three of his most important canvases, "La Mort de Cleopâtre," "Le Retour de Jephté" (Private Apartments), and "La Magnanimité d'Alexandre le Grand." Again, Jean-François de Troy is to be seen in some of his most ambitious and elaborate efforts, including two separate versions of "Susanne au Bain," and a large "Loth et ses filles." But we are advancing too far in point of time, and forgetting one of the great glories of the Hermitage, the celebrated series of landscapes by Claude le Lorrain, which from Cassel and La Malmaison found their way into the Hermitage. These are "Le Matin," "Le Midi," "Le Soir," and "La Nuit." It is unfortunately very difficult, in the badly lighted gallery in which they are placed, to appreciate at their true worth either these or the other Claudes included in the collection.

Watteau, the most enchanting poet-painter of an age which—in France at least—was mainly one of bright, elastic and elegant prose, is well represented, though not with anything like the completeness with which his art is illustrated in the royal and public collections of Berlin and Potsdam, and in the Wallace collection. Here are two of the most famous among the quite early works, the "Fatigues de la Guerre" and "Délassements de la

Guerre," both of them from the collection of Crozat, Baron de Thiers. Much finer and better preserved than either of these, in the same early style, is the military scene engraved in the great *Recueil de Julienne* as "Le Camp Volant," and described in the Goncourts' Catalogue Raisonné, as "d'après le tableau que Watteau avait fait pour le sieur Sirois peu après sa seconde arrivée de Flandres." This picture the writer had the good fortune to see and recognize in one of the private corridors of the Hermitage under the name of Pater. The name of Watteau's same pupil and fellow-townsman is attached to a little piece in the Serge Stroganoff collection, which from a too cursory examination appeared to the writer to be also an early Watteau, and perhaps the picture engraved by C. Cochin as the "Détachement faisant Halte." Strangely enough there *are* two exquisite little Paters in the Imperial collection, and these are not catalogued as such, but bear a false name, so obscure that the writer has omitted to note it. The quaint "Savoyard avec sa Marmotte" has been rendered popular by the engraving of B. Audran. The exquisite painter of *Fêtes Galantes* is at his finest in the fantastic and delightful "Mezzetin," in which is presented a nocturnal serenade by this amorous personage of the Comédie Italienne. The sovereign charm by which the Valenciennes master is able to gild with the rays of true poetry the conventional scenes and figures of the busy Italian comedy—thus endowing them with a new and ideal existence—is here very strongly felt. By Lancret, too, there are some charming things, including "Le Concert," "Les Jeunes Oiseleurs," and "Femme au Bain." But the most charming (now or lately to be found in the Private Apartments) is assuredly the "Portrait de Mademoiselle Camargo," an original repetition of the celebrated picture in the Wallace collection. There the captivating dancer poses in a ballet costume of white and blue; in the Hermitage example she is in a similarly fashioned dress, carried out, however, in brownish yellow and rose-pink. One Boucher only, the very curious "Repos en Egypte," dated 1757, shows the hand of the Pompadour's court painter, whom we are accustomed to associate with scenes of a very different order. Chardin is present with repetitions of "Le Bénédicité" and "La Blanchisseuse," Fragonard with a broadly brushed "Intérieur d'une Maison de Paysan," his sister-in-law, Marguerite Gérard, with two paintings in that style of finish—borrowed from the

least attractive and least characteristic phase of Fragonard's art —which the French style *léché*. Greuze appears with a "Tête de jeune Fille," two portraits, and one of those falsely and repellantly sentimental subjects, so characteristic of the man and the moment, entitled "La Mort du Paralytique."* No less than seventeen "Ports de Mer," "Paysages," and "Tempêtes" represent the art—at its best, delicate in tone and accomplished in execution—of Claude-Joseph Vernet.

The English school is illustrated at the Hermitage by seven pictures only; yet, even thus it is more highly honored than in most of the public galleries of the Continent. The "Portrait of Oliver Cromwell," by Robert Walker, is a sketch for a larger picture. The "Portrait of Abraham van der Doort," by Van Dyck's pupil, Dobson, is especially interesting as presenting the industrious artist who was the custodian of Charles the First's artistic treasures, and left behind him a catalogue of them which, notwithstanding its imperfections, is of inestimable value. By Sir Godfrey Kneller are the portraits of two Englishmen of renown, the philosopher, John Locke, and the sculptor and wood-carver, Grinling Gibbons. Sir Joshua Reynolds cannot be said to show at his best in this gallery, where his canvases hang dangerously near to the unrivalled series of Rembrandts. The three pictures for which he is responsible are all of them of some celebrity, yet of the richness, the variety, the fascination of his art they give little or no idea. That vast canvas, "The Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpent," was a commission from Catherine II., "Empress and Autocratrix of all the Russias," and she paid for her "high art" in true imperial fashion with the sum of fifteen hundred guineas, the biggest price ever obtained by Reynolds for a picture. Most graciously, too, she added to the agreed sum a gold box with her cipher in diamonds. It must be owned that in such empty and inflated attempts at great art as these canvases in the Hermitage, Reynolds and his followers were absolutely unsatisfactory, infinitely inferior, indeed, to the contemporary French painters, who even in their most frigidly academic performances proved that they had built upon a solid basis of precept and example. The Englishmen, so superior to their French brothers in art in many of the qualities which go to make up the

* The Imperial Academy of Arts at St. Petersburg preserves a vast collection of drawings and studies by Greuze.

great painter, here never found their feet. Less worthy still of the artist than the elaborate picture which was produced in response to Catherine's liberality is "The Continence of Scipio." The "Snake in the Grass" or "Cupid Detaching the Girdle of Venus," is one of three versions of the subject, and not the best of them. Another is in the National Gallery, and a third, the most brilliant in color of the three, in the collection of Lord Burton at Chesterfield House.

A survey of the paintings by old masters in the Russian capital would not be complete without some account of the private collections, which cannot, nevertheless, be so much as attempted on the present occasion. The gallery of Count Serge Stroganoff in the Newski Prospect containing authentic examples of Gentile da Fabriano, Botticelli, and Filippino Lippi, a magnificent "Head of a Youth" by Boltraffio, under the name of Leonardo da Vinci, two superb Rembrandts, and two exceedingly fine pendant portraits dating from the early time of Van Dyck, which have already been mentioned in the course of these remarks. The sumptuous Youssoupoff Palace holds, with many late Italian and many French paintings of great value, a most interesting "Portrait of a Lady," belonging to the earlier time of Lorenzo Lotto, in which the sitter, though she is much more decently attired, bears a very striking resemblance to the "Fornarina" of the Barberini Palace at Rome. Its two magnificent and altogether exceptional Rembrandts of the very late time were among the greatest examples of the master to be seen in the Amsterdam Exhibition of 1898. The collection of Count Davidoff gains celebrity from a majestic name and false signature of Giovanni Bellini displays also an admirable "St. Jerome" by Cima da Conegliano, which may compare on equal terms with the representations of the same subject contained in the National Gallery and the Brera of Milan. Lastly, and touching "Christ" by the same master-hand, and under the the house of M. Semenoff—a recognized authority on Netherlandish art—is filled from floor to roof with examples of the lesser Dutch masters, among which are to be found many things of interest to the connoisseur and the specialist.

CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

Eighty-sixth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 171: No. 5.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

November, 1900.

Asiatic Conditions and International Policies,
Captain A. T. MAHAN, U. S. N.

The Third Life of Italy . . . . . GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO

Present Status and Prospects of the Peace Movement,
Baroness BERTHA VON SÜTTNER

"In Terra Pax," . . . . . G. LEVESON GOWER

A Century of International Commerce . . . . O. P. AUSTIN,
Chief of the Bureau of Statistics.

The Industrial Revolution in Japan . . . . Count OKUMA,
Formerly Prime Minister of Japan.

China and the Western Nations . . . . . F. CRISPI,
Formerly Prime Minister of Italy.

A Glance at the Wallace Collection, J. J. BENJAMIN CONSTANT

Chaucer . . . . . JOHN W. HALES,
Professor of English Literature in King's College, London.

New York and its Historians.—I.
Mrs. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER

"From India to the Planet Mars" . . . . . J. H. HYSLOP,
Professor of Logic and Ethics in Columbia University.

Retrogression of the American Woman,
FLORA McDONALD THOMPSON

The Great Religions of the World.—III. Mohammedanism,
OSKAR MANN

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

LONDON:
WM. HEINEMANN, 21 Bedford St., W. C.

PARIS:
BRENTANO'S, 37 Avenue de l'Opéra.

Single Number, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, $5.

United States Mortgage & Trust Co.,

59 CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK

Capital $2,000,000 **Surplus $2,250,000**

Transacts a General Banking Business

Allows interest on Deposits subject to check
Is Legal Depositary for Court and Trust Funds
Acts as Fiscal Agent for Cities and Corporations

Buys and Sells Foreign Exchange
Issues Commercial and Travelers' Credits available
in all parts of the world

Loans Money on Bond and Mortgage
Issues First Mortgage Trust Gold Bonds
Acts as Trustee, Registrar and Transfer Agent

Transacts a General Trust Business

OFFICERS

GEORGE W. YOUNG.....President
LUTHER KOUNTZE.....Vice-President
JAMES TIMPSON.....2d Vice-President
ARTHUR TURNBULL.....3d Vice-President
CLARK WILLIAMS.....Treasurer
WILLIAM P. ELLIOTT.....Secretary
RICHARD M. HURD.....Asst. Secretary
CALVERT BREWER.....Asst. Treasurer
ALEXANDER PHILLIPS.....Man'g For'n Dept.

DIRECTORS

Samuel D. Babcock

Wm. H. Baldwin, Jr.	Gustav E. Kissel
Frederick O. Barton	Luther Kountze
C. Ledyard Blair	Charlton T. Lewis
Dumont Clarke	Richard A. McCurdy
Charles D. Dickey	Theodore Morford
William P. Dixon	Robert Olyphant
Robert A. Granniss	Charles M. Pratt
G. G. Haven, Jr.	James Timpson
Charles R. Henderson	Eben B. Thomas

George W. Young

Copyright, 1906, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO. All rights reserved.
Entered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails, as second-class ma

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXVIII.

NOVEMBER, 1900.

EFFECTS OF ASIATIC CONDITIONS UPON INTERNATIONAL POLICIES.

BY CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, U. S. N.

DURING the summer just past, a common insult and the common danger of a great calamity, have forced upon the nations of European civilization the recognition of their solidarity of interest as towards Asia, in so far, that is, as she adheres to her immemorial conservatism, antagonistic to the standards of conduct which we have reached, through an age-long process which is still in continuance.

While, however, the urgency of the present conditions in China,* in which all the great European nations, with ourselves and Japan, have an equal concern, is evident, and constrains the action of the Powers to a common end, if not to concerted action, it is clear enough that only on the surface can there seem to be any departure, other than temporary, from the policy heretofore pursued by each State. In substantial, determinative conditions there has been no change. The outrage of Pekin and the tragedy of the Christian missionaries in China are merely a startling illus-

*These words were first written in early August; but they are allowed to stand as pertinent to the general scope of the paper.

Copyright, 1900, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

tration of the possibilities which have all along been known to lurk under the surface; the more certainly because, as a rule, the Oriental, whether nation or individual, does not change. What has happened this year is just as likely, unless fear exercise its constraining force, to recur in the East now as it was a thousand years ago, because the East does not progress.

Despite recent events in China, therefore, and the consequent momentary effect upon national action, there is no necessary change in the considerations which control national policies; because these rest, primarily even, upon permanent conditions, chiefly external to China, and commensurate in extent with the compass of the globe from East to West. For a moment, a common wrong and a common danger have imposed upon the honor of nations the obligation of loyal, concerted action to avenge—not to revenge—the crime, and to exact surety for the future against its recurrence; and for such surety nothing equals condign punishment for the past,—a lively sense, through experience, of disfavors to come in case of repeated offence. While such action is being taken, it becomes the nations—as it would honorable gentlemen or good citizens—to sink political differences in mutual consideration, to cease from the competition of interests, until the common object demanded by the exigency of the moment has been accomplished by the enforcement of just retribution. But when this shall have been done, it will no longer be incumbent upon them to shut their eyes to facts and conditions which have not ceased to exist, and have only been temporarily superseded by circumstances of more immediate concern. It may be profitable, however, not to dismiss the recent past from consideration before first observing that it has taught forcibly that mutual rivalry,—conflict of interest,—though a part of the truth, is but a part; as towards Asia in its present conditions Europe has learned that it has a community of interest, as well as a divergence. That community of interest may be defined as the need of bringing the Asian peoples within the compass of the family of Christian states; not by fetters and bands imposed from without, but by regeneration promoted from within. This principle, in intellectual appreciation and in practical observance, is perfectly compatible with the diligent safeguarding of individual national interest by precautions of whatsoever kind. It looks and works towards a far distant future, in which it sees a goal, directive of a

general course which, meanwhile, has to be continually accommodated to the exigencies of the passing day.

It is not too much to claim that the Government of the United States, representing the national sovereignty which by our system rests in the great community of individual citizens, has not only recognized, but has in its recent definition of its attitude formulated, in express terms, both of these complementary and superficially contradictory ideas; the obligation of asserting our own rights and protecting our own interests against all comers, and, coincidently therewith, of respecting, not only the Government of China, but the national individuality. It is perfectly consistent with this view of duty to assist both government and people to renew and confirm the national life; not by fussy interference on our part, but by generous sympathy, supplemented only as far as necessary by active support. And this declaration of our government is the more significant, because, while unquestionably elicited by recent occurrences, it expresses as its main motive a purpose of non-interference, guaranteed by the general assent of our people through a long period of past years; to which it adds, by way of qualification, definitions of new duties and policies consequent upon novel conditions which have recently arisen. Herein is found combined, in close approach at least to a due proportion, both the idealism of rational statesmanship, which looks over and beyond the passing hour, joined to the practical capacity that adapts itself readily to the exigencies of the moment; modifying its action by them, as a seaman puts the helm down and goes about when an uncharted shoal appears ahead, resuming his course when he again sees the water clear in the direction he means to follow.

But while all this is true, and of most encouraging omen for the future in that it witnesses to the sagacity of our leadership in the past, it behooves us of the mass, who ultimately confirm or reject, and who therefore control, the action of those in authority, to look particularly to the coincidence and sequence of events during the few momentous years just gone by, in order that, by studying the signs of the times, we may understand at once the opportunities they extend and the consequent obligations they impose. This we owe, not to ourselves only, but to posterity, to which we hold the relation of a trustee to a ward. Our leaders, when a call for action comes, cannot outstrip by very much the recognized wishes of the people; and, if these are to keep abreast

of conditions, they must be at pains, not merely to comprehend them as they are, but to view them together, and to estimate tendency by indications. There is a double process: the observation of facts and the rational deductions from them,—the data, and the practical conclusions drawn, which fix the broad general lines of national determination. These established, and the support of the nation thus settled, details and daily management may be left to the government, strong before the world in the ascertained backing of its followers. The populace, which all we in the mass are, is often accused of fickleness; it is so, however, not from inherent instability, but because, where ignorance exists, conditions easily assume different appearances, and moods waver with the fleeting impressions thus produced. The remedy for this is solid understanding, obtained by mental toil.

What are the facts, summarily outlined? In the general progress of events it has come to pass, in this closing year of a century, that the commerce of the world,—which implies as a main incident the utilization of the Sea, the chief medium of commerce, —has become the prize for which all the great states of the world are in competition. Some possibly do not expect ever to be leaders, but all either wish a greater share than they now have, or at the least to preserve their present proportion. This includes not only the power to produce,—chiefly an internal question,—but the power to exchange freely throughout as large a section of the world's population as can be reached. In this competition the most of states are, as a matter of policy, unwilling to trust entirely to the operation of what we may call, not quite accurately, "natural forces." The race as hitherto run, or the particular conditions of the more favored nations,—the United States for example, so richly dowered with the raw material of wealth, and with energy to use it,—have resulted in giving some a start which puts the remainder at a disadvantage, if the issue is left to purely commercial causes; to superiority in quantity or quality of production, for instance, or to greater ability of management, either in intelligence or economy. Issues determined in this manner are more solid, but they require longer time than impatience wishes to concede; hence the desire to hasten prosperity by extending territorial control, and reserving to one's self commercial preferences in the regions mastered. This result may be reached either by direct annexation or by preponderant political influence.

Both these mean, ultimately, physical force, exerted or potential; and this generates opposing force, averse from allowing its own people to be deprived by such means. Thus competition becomes conflict, the instrument of which is not commercial emulation but military power—on land or on sea.

In Europe and America, territorial occupancy is now politically fixed and guaranteed, so far as broad lines are concerned. Any changes of boundaries now possible, if effected, would produce no material result in universal commercial conditions. Australasia also is occupied, and the political dependence of the islands of the sea has been determined by arrangements between civilized states, more or less artificial, but internationally final. The huge continent of Africa, with exceptions small and inconsequential relatively to its area, is in the same condition. Its commercial relations, therefore, will be prescribed by states whose established right to do so will not be contested. Moreover, in the regard of Commerce, the fewness and backwardness of its inhabitants as yet make Africa a field of minor importance.

There remains, therefore, Asia. In the north and south of that great continent, also, we find political control fairly settled in the hands of European powers; the principal holders being Great Britain and Russia. Between the two, however, there is a broad belt, loosely defined by parallels 30 deg. and 40 deg. north latitude, in which commercial possibilities are very great, owing to natural resources and numbers of population; while political tenure, despite long prescription, is uncertain through political incapacity or racial disorder. Upon these districts, as is notorious, the ambitions or apprehensions of foreign states are fixed; for in their possibilities of development and the uncertainty of their future is necessarily involved the welfare of other peoples, bordering upon them or dealing with them.

Russia and Great Britain, the principal holders, represent also the chief elements in opposition. They are not, however, the only states concerned; although it is worth noting by Americans that the Russian Minister to Pekin in May last, just before recent troubles reached their climax, said to the British representative there, "that there were *only two countries with serious interests in China*—England and Russia." *

*My italics. The quotation is from "The Times" of July 30th, but is taken there from a Parliamentary paper, "China, No. 3, 1900."

These two states do, however, in their policy, and in the nature of their power, represent the chief natural opposing forces, which essentially are that of the land and that of the sea. The other great nations of Europe, together with the United States and Japan, being exterior to the continent, are thrown necessarily upon sea-power, so far as military strength in the further East is concerned. This ranges them, therefore, alongside of Great Britain in general purpose; though by no means consequently in joint action, much less in formal alliance. Being locally deficient in land power, the desire of all such states must be to effect their commercial aims, not by forcing China, but by developing in her the sense of mutual advantage, of which commerce and its gains, though not the worthiest or most benignant result, are the most convincing expression. In its train we may hope will follow those moral and spiritual ideas, which outweigh material well-being in the thought of those who believe that man does not live by bread only, and in which alone can surely be found the happy renewal of Asia.

So far, then, as there may be contest for pre-eminence in Asia, and specifically in China, the states concerned—except Russia, and possibly France, because of her alliance with Russia—are driven perforce to throw themselves chiefly upon sea-power, in the broadest sense of the word. The great field for the successful exercise of this force is the course and valley of the Yangtse Kiang, for reasons easily evident. The stream penetrates far inland, and through a controlling part of its course is accessible directly from the sea by very large vessels. The valley, in its broadest comprehension, depends upon the river for its readiest intercourse with the outside world, and it intervenes geographically between northern and southern China, whether for distribution of merchandise or for operations of war. Influence established there possesses consequently the advantages of the "interior position," and, through the river, of open and constant communication with its base, the sea. Preponderant commercial importance, and a climate comparatively moderate, reinforce the advantages resultant upon the other conditions, and the whole constitutes this central, east and west, section of the Empire by far the most considerable of all in political possibilities. For these reasons, the outer world can most readily and beneficially act upon China in this quarter, and China herself can hence distrib-

ute the benefits she receives more widely and evenly throughout her area. Seed sown here will yield an hundred fold, in contrast to thirty fold elsewhere.

The expansion of commerce, and the benefit resulting therefrom, are, however, only part of the objects that necessitate European pressure upon the China of our day. The close approach and contact of Eastern and Western civilization, and the resultant mutual effects, are matters which can no longer be disregarded or postponed by any arguments derived from the propriety of non-interference, or from the conventional rights of a so-called independent state to regulate its own internal affairs. They have ceased to be its own in the sense of Chinese isolation. Contact and interaction have begun; the process can neither be turned back nor arrested. All that can profitably be attempted is to direct it, by so shaping conditions that the higher elements of either civilization can act as freely as do the stronger and lower, though perfectly proper, motives of pecuniary profit. As the nations have insisted that we shall be allowed to sell and to buy, without pretending that the Chinese subject should be compelled to trade with us, leaving his personal action free to the motives of gain that operate with mankind; so they will have to insist that currency be permitted to our ideas, liberty to exchange thought in Chinese territory with the individual Chinaman, though equally without any compulsion resting upon him to listen even, much less to embrace. There is no tenable argument against the latter demand that does not equally hold against the former. On the contrary, if the advantage to us is great of a China open to commerce, the danger to us and to her is infinitely greater of a China enriched and strengthened by the material advantages we have to offer, but uncontrolled in the use of them by any clear understanding, much less any full acceptance, of the mental and moral forces which have generated, and which in large measure govern, our political and social action. Our failure perfectly to realize in practice our own principles in such matters neither invalidates the merit of the principles, nor negatives the fact that we do derive benefit even from imperfect conformity to them. We get less good, doubtless, than we should, and could, but for our dereliction from our standards; but the appeal can confidently be made to history that those faithful to the ideas have been the leaven that has worked effectually so far.

It would appear, then, that the principal objects to be kept in view by us in dealing with the Chinese question are, (1.) Prevention of preponderant political control by any one external state, or group of states; and, (2.) Insistence upon the open door, in a broader sense than that in which the phrase is commonly used; that is, the door should be open not only for commerce, but also for the entrance of European thought and its teachers in its various branches, when they seek admission voluntarily, and not as agents of a foreign government. Not only is the influence of the thinker superior in true value to the mere gain of commerce, but also there is actual danger to the European family of nations from the development of China in an organized strength from which has been excluded the corrective and elevating element of the higher ideals, which in Europe have made good their controlling influence over mere physical might. Rationally, from this point of view, there is much that is absurd in the outcry raised against missionary effort, as a thing incompatible with peaceful development and progress. Christianity and Christian teaching are just as really factors, in the mental and moral equipment of European civilization, as any of the philosophical or scientific processes that have gone to build up the general result. Opinions differ as to the character and degree of the influence of Christianity, in estimates qualitative and quantitative, but the fact of influence cannot be denied. From the purely political standpoint, Christian thought and teaching have just the same right—no less, if no more—to admission in China as any other form of European activity, commercial or intellectual. Nor is the fact that offence is taken by classes of Chinamen a valid argument for its exclusion. The building of a railroad is not a distinctively Christian act, but it offends large numbers of Chinese, who are compelled to acquiesce if their government consent; whereas the consent of the Chinese government to missionary effort will compel no Chinaman to listen to a Christian teacher. Every step forward in the march that has opened China to trade has been gained by pressure; the most important have been the result of actual war. Commerce has won its way by violence, actual or feared; thought, both secular and Christian, asks only freedom of speech.

Conceding the critical importance of the present moment in the history of the world, admitting that movements intellectual and political, long in progress, are now reaching a turning point

determinative of great future issues, it is essential to the United States that her individual citizens should seriously consider, and within themselves settle, the part the country ought to play, and the preparation necessary to that part. There is the preparation of purpose, and there is the preparation of power. Preparation of purpose is a mental and moral process, resulting in conviction as to right and wrong, followed by the conscious adoption of a course of action,—the formation of a policy,—general in outline but definite in object. Preparation of power is a material act, and consists of two correlative elements, viz: (1.) Provision of force, to the extent needed; and (2.) Curtailment of obligation, of responsibility, actual or contingent, present or promissory, in direction and in amount, beyond that which is demanded by the clear necessities of the political conditions. In short, economy of exertion, because it husbands strength, is the correlative of the process of development, which creates or augments strength.

Our policy and our power, therefore, are the two leading lines upon which consideration and reflection must concentrate their energy. As towards China herself, the recent astounding events have drawn from our government a declaration of purpose and of principles, which may fairly be said to represent a policy realized in our past action, and to affirm it for the present and future. Our people have not now to evolve a policy, but to decide whether that of the past justifies itself to their conscience, and embodies their purposes of the present. This still existent policy may, I apprehend, fairly be stated to be the determination to have equal commercial privileges, and withal to respect to the utmost the integrity of Chinese territory and the individuality of the Chinese character, in shaping its own government and polity. We do not meddle with their national affairs until they become internationally unendurable.

But, in the very enunciation of this policy, we are confronted by the fact that it is diverse from that of some other states, as shown by their acts in special instances and plausibly to be inferred from their general course and obvious tendency. Such divergence is not always necessarily a cause for alarm, but it is for watchfulness; and it must be taken into account in deciding upon the preparation we need, and the free-handedness to be maintained in external relations of lesser importance. Needless external preoccupations might greatly embarrass us, in case diver-

gence from our policy should develop into opposition to our interests, or to those of civilization in general.

Briefly, we cannot be sure of the commercial advantages known as the "open door," unless we are prepared to do our share in holding it open. We cannot count upon respect for the territory of China unless we are ready to throw not only our moral influence but, if necessity arise, our physical weight into the conflict, to resist an expropriation, the result of which might be to exclude our commerce and neutralize our influence. Our influence, we believe —and we have a right to believe—is for good; it is the influence of a nation which respects the right of peoples to shape their own destinies, pushing even to exaggeration its belief in their ability to do so. But it is vain to hope for national influence in China, unless representative Chinese recognize, not only our integrity of purpose toward themselves, but our evident ability and intention to support them, against demands which overpass reasonable limits, having regard not to our own immediate interests only, but to the general interest of the world, from which we cannot dissociate ourselves in this matter without ultimate national injury. Such limits may not be capable of precise definition, before an occasion arises; but that a general principle, satisfactory as a guide in our own general action, and for general understanding by others, can be affirmed, is evidenced by the clear tenor of the recent declaration of our government communicated to foreign capitals.

The part offered to us is great, the urgency is immediate, and the preparation made for us, rather than by us, in the unwilling acquisition of the Philippines, is so obvious as to embolden even the least presumptuous to see in it the hand of Providence. Our highest authority, while rebuking rash judgment, rebukes also with at least equal severity the failure to read the signs of the times. This, therefore, we must seek to do. Our decision is momentous, in view of the possibilities involved in acceptance or in refusal, and of the wide range of interests and duties to be considered and co-ordinated in counting the cost of either course. Decision is the preparation of purpose; the cost embraces both the preparation of power and all that is involved in its future exertion, as far as we can foresee. And in order to our due running of the race before us, to the full exhibition of strength at decisive points, it is necessary to lay aside every unnecessary weight, to

put away from ourselves, even at some sacrifice, cherished prepossessions, long standing prejudices, which, if retained, would futilely disseminate our force. What One has called the "single eye," and Napoleon phrased as "exclusiveness of purpose," is a necessary condition of effective action.

Assuming our resolution to maintain our commercial rights and to exert influence in China, by encouraging and supporting native action, though not by any assumption of authority or acquisition of territory, the valley of the Yangtse is clearly indicated as the central scene of our general interest, however we may be momentarily diverted, as by the recent occurrences in Pekin, to action different in character and direction from our fixed, usual policy. The open door, both for commerce and for intellectual interaction, should be our aim everywhere in China; but it can most easily be compassed in this middle region, and there find the surest foundation for impression upon other parts, because there sea power can most solidly establish itself. The very fact that sea-going steamers can go as far as Hankow, 600 miles from the sea, and thence take cargoes, without shifting bulk, to any great port of the world, shows without further insistence that this valley is the decisive field where commerce, the energizer of material civilization, can work to greatest advantage, and also can most certainly receive the support of the military arm of sea-power, which, where force enters into world politics, is the main reliance of the Teutonic peoples. It must also, for some time to come, be the main reliance of the Chinese people in resistance to foreign domination, as distinguished from legitimate foreign influence.

Our attention in the farther East thus localized, concentrated, for the very reason that effort seeking to cover a given area works more advantageously from a centre than by dispersion at points of a circumference, we shall find ourselves one of several Powers, rivals in interest, competitors, with the danger, incident to competition, of degenerating into antagonism. The fact does not call upon us to circumscribe our independence of action by formal alliance with one, or declared opposition to another Power; but it does demand that we rid our minds of the caricature of independence, which receives frequent expression in words, probably because it reflects a condition of our popular consciousness. Each man and each state is independent just so far as there is strength to go alone, and no farther. When this limit is reached,

if further steps must be made, co-operation must be accepted. In that case, the only certain foundation for harmony of action and continuance of relations is to be found in common interests and common habits of thought. Where the latter are traditional, striking their roots deep in the past, community of ideas and identity of action in matters of right and wrong become most probable. Of all the nations we shall meet in the East, Great Britain is the one with which we have by far the most in common in the nature, not in the identity, of our interests there, and in our standards of law and justice. Co-operation, therefore, is indicated; but it is a mistake to assume that co-operation, which act by act is voluntary, necessitates or implies abnegation of that moral responsibility, involved in freedom of choice at each moment, in the retention and observance of which alone is real independence of action preserved, and which a treaty—of alliance, or of arbitration, if unconditioned—may impair culpably, because it pledges the unknown future. Hereabouts lies the fallacy of much popular oratory on more than one subject.

To assure the open door in its fullest sense, requires power in evidence, not merely localized in China itself, but asserted over the maritime lines of communication; especially over the shortest. This inevitable extension of effort shows at once the necessity of co-operation among states, or division of labor, mutually, if tacitly, recognized. In the antagonism of policy between land-power and sea-power which now exists, no one nation of those dependent upon the latter is competent to develop and sustain the whole gigantic scheme. Narrowed down even to the decisive points, as all control must be in politics as in war, the task overpasses the strength of any one state.

In final analysis, the great lines of communication to the farther East are two, from Europe and from America. The former is by way of Suez, the latter by the Pacific; but the present distribution of our national wealth, and its communications with our seaboard, require, and doubtless will insure, the opening of access for our Atlantic slope by way of the Central American Isthmus. In that case, the American line of communications to China may be correctly said to be by Nicaragua, or Panama, as that of Europe is by way of Suez; and as the Mediterranean, Egypt, Asia Minor, the Red Sea and Aden, designate the points decisive of control by the one route, so do the Caribbean Sea and the continental sur-

roundings of the future canal, with Hawaii and the Philippines, fix those of the other, the importance of which to ourselves makes it our especial interest.

That it should be our special interest, however, is not all. It is also our *charge,* from the standpoint of international relations, as well as from that of our duty to the present and future of our own country. I do not mean here to affirm an obligation of benevolence to other nations, strong enough to take care of themselves. I mean, on the contrary, that because of great common interests—with Great Britain especially, though not solely—in the Pacific commerce of the future, and in the nature of the development of China, we need to receive and to give support, and we should be ashamed to receive more than we give, in proportion to our means and opportunities.

From the conditions, we must be in effective naval force in the Pacific. We must, similarly, be in effective force on the Atlantic; not for the defence of our coasts primarily, or immediately, as is commonly thought—for in warfare, however in defence of right, the navy is not immediately an instrument of defence but of offence—but because the virtual predominance of our naval power in the Caribbean is essential to preserve the use of the Isthmian Canal to our commerce, and to give our navy quick access to the Pacific.

We are confronted, in short, with the necessity of providing a weight that shall be decisive—or at least shall contribute largely to decisiveness—in both the Pacific and the Caribbean. It is obvious that, to be decisive, weight is not always necessarily a great weight, but depends upon the already existing relative conditions of the opposing scales. The conditions now, however, are not such that an inconsiderable naval force on our part can secure for us the consideration we naturally think due us in the councils of the world, nor discharge the obligations incumbent upon us as a member of the family of states, whose interests, often conflicting, must be adjusted on a basis of righteousness, and so maintained by demonstration of power. Our calculations must also take into account the fact that, when the canal is in operation, our Pacific and Atlantic fleets can communicate for mutual support only by an artificial route, too easily interrupted. This loses us, in great measure, the military advantage of an "interior line," which a natural strait would give; the advantage by which a force cen-

trally situated operates effectually in two directions, reinforcing the situation in the one or the other direction, as needed. Thus, a navy of consideration at Malta can act toward Gibraltar or Suez; the way is open as far as the water is concerned, and the question, therefore, is one of force only; whereas at Suez the power to act toward both India and the Mediterranean depends not upon military force alone, but upon the canal being open. Suez, however, being on the natural level throughout, is much less easily susceptible of prolonged interruption than a canal dependent upon locks, as any Central American canal must be.

As, therefore, for the exertion of our commercial and moral influence in the East, it is of pressing importance to bring our Atlantic slope into close communication by a canal at the Isthmus,—which will serve our material interests, moreover, in other ways,—so it is of equal importance that we assure the use of the canal, once there, by the solidity of our naval position in the Caribbean. But, as this is a military question, let there here be interposed the caution, than which none is more clearly written on the pages of military history, that substantial security does not mean absolute security. There is no such thing in war as absolute certainty; risk cannot be eliminated wholly from any military situation, whether of passive defence or of offensive action. I suppose it is much the same in all callings; but, for war, certainly a reasonable preponderance of chances in one's favor is all that can be assured. Napoleon has asserted this in almost these very words in one of his pithy phrases.

May we then dismiss the effort for probable security because we cannot have absolute? Do men do so in any circumstances? Certainly, not the successful men. Let us then consider what conditions, if realized, would give the best prospect of preserving to our use the Isthmian Canal. The first, without which all others are of no avail, is our own strength, demonstrated by a fleet available for immediate action there, of power great enough, not to overcome any naval force that might conceivably be brought against us, for that would be beyond our means, but to make it evidently inexpedient, politically, for the greatest navy to contest our predominance in the Caribbean. This insures us, by a single military provision, a primacy of consideration, which will result in the prevalence of our policy and, in direct consequence of our policy so maintained, in the security of the canal; which it should

be repeated is an essential element of our influence in the Pacific and in China. The provision of the fleet, however, is the first step, without which the others cannot follow.

To pronounce definitely upon the amount of such force is either to utter a dogmatic personal opinion, or to enter upon a prolonged technical discussion unsuitable to this paper and occasion. To indicate its general character and its points of application is another matter; for quality, as distinct from quantity, rests upon general considerations, which, being at once few and obvious, may be readily summarized and, whether accepted or rejected, readily understood.

The Atlantic, north of the equator, is the ocean of that old community of European civilization upon which, from our point of view, the welfare of humanity rests. Interior to that community, the boundaries of the great states are, in leading outline, so fixed and recognized that, whatever clashes may arise over external interests, there is no probability of large changes of territorial possession and consequeut local political control. The Pacific is different; it is a new comer into broad world interests. As the Atlantic some four centuries ago, with the widening outlook that followed the discovery of America and of the Cape of Good Hope, succeeded to the central position once held by the Mediterranean, so now the last half century—it is scarcely more—has received in the course of events its discovery, its revelation, of conditions which already existed, indeed, as did America before Columbus, but which had been as yet unknown, because unappreciated. And upon the discovery has followed the apprehension of what is to happen when the barriers are breaking down between two civilizations which stand upon such different levels—politically, economically, socially, and in standards moral and intellectual—as do the West and the East.

In estimating the issue, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance, as a factor, of that particular type of personal freedom, of aptitude for self-government, and of tenacious adherence to recognized law—by which alone freedom and self-government consist with orderly progress—that has been embodied in the race loosely called Anglo-Saxon. This type has proved its vitality and its worth by continuous existence and consistent development from the home of its origin, on the continental shores of the North Sea, throughout its abode in Great Britain, and in its subsequent trans-

plantation to the over-sea countries, which have now become the United States and the self-governing colonies of the British Empire.

To the full expression of this political force, great alike in its nobility and in its vitality, the United States owes to mankind her due contribution; for in it is one of the greatest hopes—in our own national opinion the very greatest hope—of humanity. And if to such contribution is essential the dismissal of old prepossessions, the recognition of facts hitherto not understood, resulting in a co-operation which shall not sacrifice independence of conscience by pledges, whether of alliance or of arbitration, this price should be cheerfully paid; as should be also that of any other exertion within our reasonable power to make.

The sphere for our external exertion in this cause is clearly indicated as the Pacific and the East, incident to which is predominance in the Caribbean by a navy of such size that, with Great Britain eliminated as a probable opponent—because of the radical changes in world conditions, and of the coincidence of our interests with hers in the great questions of the near future—and with her support indicated to the extent of the interests common to her and to us, we need have no substantial reason to apprehend interference. The consideration here advanced bears so heavily upon the national advantage, in the matter not of security only, but of expense in needed preparation—if Great Britain should be considered as a probable enemy instead of a probable ally—that it becomes a matter of patriotic duty to every citizen to consider whether he does well to cherish old animosities; to reflect whether the period in which, historically, these prejudices have their rise is not now as wholly past as the voyage of Columbus; or whether, perchance, they are simply transplanted to our soil from Europe by a process—in that case most misnamed—of naturalization. That is no true naturalization which grafts upon our politics sentiments drawn from abroad and foreign to our interests or duties.

In our calculations as to our necessary preparations under such conditions, it would not be presuming an unfair burden to Great Britain to reckon in part upon her supreme navy as a factor in a possible co-operation. It would be so only if we grudged our due proportion of a naval effort tending to the common advantage. Community of interest in objects to be effected implies

mutual interest in each other's strength. To Great Britain the navy she maintains is indispensable to national safety—to the British Islands as such, and to the integrity of the widely dispersed British Empire. Whatsoever relations to other states she may temporarily entertain, this she must always have; while, on the other hand, she is at no such need of internal development as still weighs heavily upon our national resources. We, on the contrary, though imperatively needing interior improvements, have no cause to fear mortal injury by a blow to our external communications with the rest of the world. In this respect self-contained, we can, for mere internal safety and maintenance, depend upon ourselves, and we have no distant possessions vital to our simple existence, however useful they may be to our external development and influence. But in the great future of the world toward which our political conditions seem to call upon us to cooperate, for the good of both states and of the world at large, each is interested to see the other grow in strength. There need, therefore, be no captiousness on the part of Great Britain, nor any mortification on our part, if the proportions of military navy which we could contribute to the common end be modest, compared to hers, and that we devote resources to a development of national internal vigor which will inure to the common strength. The two efforts would not be contradictory, but complementary.

Our fleet must, however, be adequate, keeping in view the amount of support to which Great Britain would be limited by her own extensive responsibilities. It must be adequate, considering those who might oppose us, whether in the East or in the Caribbean. It must be adequate, considering that, on account of our merely national interests, as represented by our two ocean coasts, we must be able to exert naval power in both the Pacific and the Atlantic; remembering always, also, that the future canal, while facilitating support between our fleets on either side, is nevertheless open to interruption by force or treachery.

Insistence, however, should be laid upon one element of naval strength, which in mention is so usually omitted that it is reasonable to infer that it is most inadequately appreciated. We hear much of ships built, and of the mechanical results attained in them, as evidenced by speed, gun-power, armor, etc., but we hear rarely of our great deficiency in trained men to run these machines in their various forms—for a gun is a machine quite as really as

is the propelling power of a vessel. To meet this defect, which is not only actual but great, there is no resource but the maintenance of a standing force—a standing navy—of enlisted men as well as of commissioned officers. A hundred years ago, when the engines were sails, and the guns simple tubes, the merchant seaman was already an engineer, and the gun handling was easily acquired; indeed, merchant ships also not infrequently carried cannon. There was, therefore, a large recruiting ground of efficient men always at hand, though bitter experience showed how the commerce of the country could suffer from such heavy drafts upon its seamen.

This resource no longer exists. A certain proportion of the engine-room force may possibly be drawn from the merchant service, but for the gun handling, upon which the fate of war depends, the deckhand of the merchant steamer is useless for intelligent action; he can do no more, at the most critical moment of opening hostilities, than pull and haul. It is a sound generalization to say that not more than one-third of a ship's company in war can safely be composed of such material. Therefore, to calculate the standing force of a navy, in peace and for war, the rule would be to estimate the fixed force, on a war footing, for each ship on the list, built or building. Two-thirds of the total obtained by adding these several results, would represent the size of the permanent body of men, the established *personnel,* of the fleet in peace. When war arises the other third may be sought outside.

A. T. MAHAN.

THE THIRD LIFE OF ITALY.

BY GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO.

One evening last March, seated in my place on the Extreme Right in the temporary hall already doomed to be pulled down, in the Parliament House on Montecitorio, I was present at one of the most violent scenes that have ever taken place in any legislative assembly. For many days before, the group of the Extreme Left had been engaged in defending, with admirable strength and persistency, the liberties granted by the Constitution against the attempt of the Government to restrict them. A member for Florence, one of those still left of the decrepit Florentine exclusive party, the *consorteria,* and a descendant of a family devoted to the House of Lorraine, had made a motion, in the name of the majority (a piece of ineffectual and ungrammatical prose), to the intent that the liberal traditions of our parliamentary discussions should be checked at one stroke. On the benches on my side of the house, I saw this red-haired, bony *homunculus,* livid with party rage, surrounded by a group of partisans, who were doing their best to imitate the different sounds that issue from pig-styes or a farmyard. On the opposite benches was a group of men resolutely determined to support their idea with all their power and every means at their command; inspired by an ardent faith, moved by sincere wrath, some of them endowed with real eloquence and powerful lungs, others with strong muscles and warm blood, all of them teeming with life and capable of showing their vitality by genuine courage and capacity for resistance. "So far off from me," I thought; "so different! And yet, they alone stand up here to support the cause of life in the midst of such weakness, such uncertainty, and such decay!"

The atmosphere had become charged with electricity. From time to time the uproar was interrupted by bursts of applause,

which broke in with a dry, hard sound like blows on flint. A powerful voice, like thunder, was heard repeating, over and over again, the same short phrase, full of threats, with the rhythm of a hammer beating on the anvil. Every face was inflamed with passion, behind a hedge of threatening fists. A breath of tragedy passed over those rebellious heads, awakening confused memories of turbulent assemblies on the eve of some great catastrophe.

I instinctively stood up, impelled by a feeling of disgust against those who were not able to raise an effective and meaning voice in opposition to that victorious energy, but merely an ignominious croaking. I crossed the hall and mounted to the highest bench of the opposite side, so as to observe the combatants better; and although I do not approve of their principles, I could not but admire their powerful efforts.

In the meantime, the members of the Government remained seated on the bench of Power, absolutely lifeless, with folded arms and eyes turned up to the ceiling, which was not falling. Even the old chairs had more life than they. It seemed as if even the furious ringing of the President's bell was unable to communicate the slightest vibration to their skulls as they sat stolidly just below. They remained stationary and inane, like wax figures in a museum.

At last, the bell broke. The President of the Chamber put on his hat, left his place, and the sitting was closed. Once more, the Extreme Left had won the day; had imposed its will upon the impotent majority.

The Deputies rushed from the hall, where the air had become unfit to breathe, charged with hatred as a cloud with lightning. A feverish agitation spread through the corridors. The echoes of the old Pontifical Palace were certainly alarmed at it all. One cry was heard above all the wrathful din: "To the Red Hall! To the Red Hall!" The leaders of the Extreme Left were summoning their disciplined forces to a secret meeting.

I had already decided what to do, and, passing through that feverish uproar, I felt in me that kind of icy clearness of mind which inspires men with calm courage. I knew very well what I was about on my way to the Red Hall. I saw quite clearly what was going to happen. The party from which I was separating myself so abruptly would become my bitter enemy; whilst the party to which I was betaking myself, without entering into its

ideas, but only into its spirit of revolt, would not be friendly to me. Without doubt, I should bring down bursts of abuse upon myself from the innumerable Bœotians who people this dear Kingdom. I should bring down a fresh outburst of wrath upon my unfortunate head, already tried by so many storms; I should be left standing alone, with my faith and my strength only.

Suddenly, I found myself in the hall where the opposition party had met. All rose when I entered, and applauded, showing in this way that they honored intellect, firm will, and mental energy. Some one even recalled the words spoken by one of my tragic personages: "It is not hunger, it is not hunger alone, that cries out everywhere and holds out its hands; but it is revolt against the intolerable falseness which pervades all the organs of our existence, which deforms, poisons, and threatens them with death. This falseness must be done away with before we can live, or even exist."

I spoke briefly and clearly—so clearly that it would have been impossible to misunderstand me. Those who wished to make believe that I had surrendered myself entirely to the extreme parties, and that I had become a renegade to the doctrine of individualism, and to the worship of heroes, which is the life of art and all my works, have but shown their utter dishonesty.

Not only have I retained all the ideas firmly rooted in me by nature, and strengthened by education, but I most decidedly reaffirmed them on that occasion.

I.

The feeling which moved me to join the meeting of my adversaries is in no way opposed to the doctrine which inspires my art, my writings. On the contrary, it arose rather from the profound sincerity of that natural instinct which always inclines me towards every powerful and efficacious expression of nature. Among all the attitudes of man, the one I love best is that of a man bending a bow. Among all the manly undertakings, that which strikes me the most is that of one intent on destroying the law created by others to put his own in its place. All my heroes profess the most pure, intellectual anarchy; and their one thought is but a continuous aspiring to obtain absolute control of themselves, and afterwards to show it in definite acts. Andrea Sperelli, Tullio Hermil, Giorgio Aurispa recognize their wretchedness in

their weakness of will, by which they are prevented from showing their real being; and they invoke in vain "an intercessor for life," as happiness is a thing that man must mould for himself, with his own hands, on his own anvil.

Claudio Cantelmo, that good Italian, who, during those days of struggle, was put up in opposition to me, especially by those who did not know him, has described in a few suitable words the efforts he made to reach the highest inner dignity. He regrets that the incapability of his caste does not allow him to head any civil undertaking; and, as he is not able to show himself as he would, he concentrates in his own spirit his own force of will, and creates an inner world of poetry. Now, poetry is action.

My last hero, Stelio Effrena, in "The Fire of Life," has a deep sense of this truth, when his conscience learns that, in the communion between his soul and the soul of the mass, an almost divine mystery has intervened, and that something grander and stronger has been added to his usual self. He repeats, with a still prouder faith, that which I said one day in a meeting of townsmen and agriculturists: "The word of the poet, communicated to the mass, is an act, like the exploit of a hero." And the doctrine which he follows and teaches is the doctrine of effort for effort's sake, the doctrine of continual struggle and conquest over the world. "I see everything changing in front of fire, like possessions in front of gold. One thing is constant: *my courage*. I do not sit down, except to stand up again." He knows that the ideal form of being does not develop otherwise than in profusion of life. At the extreme limit of his experience, through sorrow and sin, he will finally find the harmony of his soul, at peace with the Universe, completely revealed and understood, as the crowning of his indefatigable efforts. He will be, in the highest meaning of Leonardo da Vinci's words, a *"modello dello mondo."*

He, like his predecessor, in the face of the ridiculous figure which the Italian Parliament makes of itself, would not, by the logic of his ideas and the impulse of his instincts, take a resolution different to that which I took, and he would also certainly rejoice in hearing so many hoarse vociferations and so much harmless jabbering.

The great parliamentary lie is infecting the whole Italian life, like a cancerous sore on a sound body. The Parliament, in the representative system, ought to be a central organ of circula-

tion, like a living heart, so that it may receive all the vital elements and distribute them, converted into restorative power, flowing through all the members of the country, as far as the most remote extremity, with a constant rhythm. The Parliament ought to be the supreme seat of the conscience and strength of the nation; a fiery furnace, where great ideas are moulded for the making of the laws.

As it is, what are the great ideas, which circulate along those narrow benches, on which so many dose, or pass jokes to while away the weary time, or distil the poison of their miserable greed? By what men are these ideas represented? Who has the thought of Italy in his mind still pure? Who knows or divines the latent forces in the hereditary substance of the nation, the instincts of our race, the aspirations of our ancient blood? Where is the Leader that we could follow, capable of reconciling grand acts with grand conceptions, and able, by his impulse, to favor the economical development, the higher condition of life?

The most arduous problems relating to commerce, agriculture, instruction, the patrimony of our language and art, on which our fate hangs, on which our very existence depends, are not considered otherwise than as quite secondary matters, to be made use of in the ministerial and anti-ministerial jugglery of second rate ambitious lawyers. Who really studies these problems? Who throws any light upon them? Who raises them up, by his intellect and feeling, before the eyes of the people and transfigures them into beautiful ideals, so that they may be loved and followed?

Because of this, because of the necessity for revolt and the need of action, so as to vigorously and resolutely oppose the wrecking of Italy, in which a herd of brutes is engaged, I separated myself from a political party, which has neither ideas nor courage.

Mine is an attempt of intellectual revolt against the tyranny of barbarians. It is the beginning of an undertaking which, with little power, perhaps, but most certainly with great faith, I should like to lead on to its close, if the example of a bold effort be of use for the purpose of saving anything beautiful or idealistic from the turbid wave of vulgarity, which, alas! is swamping the whole privileged land where Leonardo created his superb Madonnas and Michelangelo his indomitable heroes.

The time has gone by for dreaming solitary dreams in the shade of the laurel and the myrtle. Men of intellect ought to col-

lect all their energy and support the cause of Intelligence against Barbarity, if the truest instinct of life is not benumbed in them. If they wish to live, they must constantly keep themselves in the front and fight against destruction, violation and contagion. If they wish to live, they must put an end to the present discord between thought and action; they must conquer the place, which is theirs of right, at the summit of the social edifice. After the warrior, the priest and the commercial man, the thinker must now come! The superiority of the caste, in which the conditions of the highest mental existence are embodied, must be recognized after the power of arms, of religion, of wealth.

It is now time that we should acknowledge the civil dignity of literature in its highest sense, and the true place which is due to the great worker in words, who is no longer to be considered as the delicate ornament of a laborious civilization, but as the first of the citizens, as the highest example of conscience ever produced by a nation, as the witness, interpreter and messenger of his time.

Why, then, should we perpetuate this dissension between thought and action? Why should we continue to ignore the high civil office of literature, exclude from public life the men of intellect and study, and deny one of the most noble of Italian traditions?

I was lately reading again, in that most excellent book by Vespasiano da Bisticci, the lives of the Florentine statesmen of old, from Cosimo dei Medici to Palla di Noferi Strozzi, from Pandolfo Pandolfini to Donato Acciaiuoli, from Bernardo Giugni to Piero dei Pazzi. Each life begins with this constant praise: "He had an extensive knowledge of Latin. * * * He was very fond of literature and greatly honored it. * * * His love of letters was his greatest accomplishment." What could the ancient beadle of the Republic say if he were charged to write the biographies of our men?

During the late elections, in a borough of Southern Italy, a friend of mine was reproved by his opponent for having made speeches in good Italian, rather than in the low lawyer's jargon so general among the Majority, and which is still more maimed and halting than the ordinary monastic Italian of the Middle Ages!

But the time has come for the foolish prejudice to be done

away with, and for the unity of the human soul to be reconstituted. The spiritual powers cannot be separated; they are like the branches of one trunk, nourished by the same sap. Poetry, science, politics are not divergent, but convergent; the human soul and the human ideal are expressed through the same rhythm in a poem, in a law, in an action. Does not the highest Italian example that ever yet appeared on earth, typical of our race, Dante Alighieri, include everything in his sovereign unity? And shall we not always find in him the necessary guide, whom our gentle Latin race must follow to regain its old power? Will he not assist us in preparing the advent of the men for whom we are waiting, capable of uniting in one single ideal great actions and great thoughts.

And yet, in Italy, men destitute of all culture and mental capacity, who preside over Government and public affairs, are called *practical men.*

"In Italy there are no practical men," was said by Gino Capponi, a Florentine, whom none could suspect of trading with the lowest class of artisans, the *Ciompi* of old, although he was a descendant of that other Gino, who wrote the *Commentario sul Tumulto;* "there are no practical men, because practical men do not know how to be anything but mechanics or accountants."

And our politics are the work of insignificant mechanics and humble accountants, without ideas and without faith, and are but a perpetual conflict of vulgar interests and fierce greed. All zeal diverges and turns only upon itself, and for itself, without any accord with the other forces and functions of the State. The Italians, now that they have finally succeeded in crowning with unity the aspirations that had inflamed the purest spirits through the course of centuries, and in realizing the sublime dream of Dante and of Machiavelli, now offer us a singular instance of political dissension, of general discontent, of disaffection for their native land, of aversion for the State, of weariness such as it would be difficult to find in the history of any other nation.

Why should we not have the courage to investigate and demonstrate the evil?

That which is taking place in Italy at the present day, has no counterpart. There have been, in certain historical periods, instances of weariness and political hatred, but always limited to a few special classes; now, however, here in Italy the moral dis-

content is spread everywhere, over every class, in every place. A constant acrimony, a weary vexation, an unspeakable sadness darken and sterilize the entire life of the nation. The delightful light-heartedness of the Italian people, which withstood the test of political divisions and the stranger's rule, is all gone. The grand, heroic flame, which stirred the people together with the same ardor, is extinguished; and the Italians of to-day—after forty years of political unity—are intent on nothing else than exercising secret or open hostilities one against the other, or in moving their forces in contrary directions, even when they are allied. The national conscience, which had sprung up in the fire of the great revolution, in which all differences seemed as if they were fused like different metals in one furnace, has little by little, through bad systems of government, gone on growing weaker and weaker; and to-day it seems almost entirely to have gone astray. And this falling away, the culminating point of misery and danger, is contemporary with the violent exaltation which strengthens the will and the instincts of the most powerful races in the world.

II.

Let us look at Germany, our ally, that succeeded in reaching the height of its unity about one year after the constitution of the Royal power in Rome. Germany furnishes us with an admirable example of a national consciousness, newly aroused in the very depth of a land which had for a long time remained divided and inert. In less than thirty years, its collective life has grown and developed in a marvelous manner. A constant breath of new life blows over its plains furrowed by wide navigable rivers; and this new life stimulates it constantly and effectually to commercial efforts that are unsurpassed by those of any other country in Europe. Germany is bent on providing itself from day to day with more rapid and efficacious weapons for conquest, on opening out new paths for commerce, and on preparing, by means of repeated small victories, the supreme victory of the future. Every town has become a burning furnace, a centre of vast industries; the men from the fields have been attracted by the precise and shining machines; the chimneys of the factories, by thousands, are belching forth smoke over the pointed roofs of the houses, and the stones of the cathedrals are blackened with

soot. The movement in Germany's ports has increased so rapidly, that in a short time it will equal that of the great ports of England. "Germany's future is on the sea," are the prophetic words of the German Emperor. And the Empire fosters this, its destiny, by an output of incessant work. In less than thirty years, her merchant service has approximated in number and capacity to that of Great Britain. At the close of the war, it numbered only five hundred ships; to-day it can count about four thousand. All the arsenals are filled with workmen preparing to launch new keels into the sea; the art of shipbuilding has become a noble art. The German dockyards are filled with work from all parts of the world; millions of tons are launched every year, and to-day the Imperial flag is flying from the masts of well-built ships floating in every sea upon the globe. The men at the head of the government are ever on the lookout for new and wider openings for the immense industrial production—in Africa, in North and South America, in the Asiatic continent, in the young Australian States. The new industrial activity has been marvelously grafted on to the old Prussian military traditions; and the Germans have felt their instinct of dominion strengthened in the harmony and success of labor, adapting themselves to the weapons employed in another kind of war. France is again vanquished; and England, threatened, is anxiously searching for means wherewith to defend herself.

Here, also, we are looking on at an almost frenzied exaltation of the national spirit, at an extraordinary impetus of the strength of a race.

England, hampered by the United States and by Germany on the very spots where her commercial supremacy seemed confirmed through the course of centuries, now seems about to take her revenge by increasing in an extraordinary way her colonial possessions, by indefinitely spreading her Empire, by putting into effect the ambitious and warlike conception, which Sir Charles Dilke was the first to lay before the British pride. All the living forces of the Nation, elated by a poet and led by a statesman, tend towards the image of a "Greater Britain." The race of the five meals, as Rudyard Kipling calls the English, is opening its jaws to devour the universe.

The dream of this rapacious, insular soul is, in its vastness, to be compared only to the record of the undertaking accomplished

by the Romans *in Orbe*. Out of the blood spilt in the Transvaal tragedy a violent fermentation arises, which maddens with glory. *"Tu regere imperio populos."* Each subject of the Queen has the image of the Oceanic Empire floating before his eyes, that *Oceana*, which in Froude's vaticinating book emerges from the depth of the seas and throws its immeasurable shadow over the depressed nations. No oracle was received by the pugnacious Hellenes with equal faith. Never was a sacred oath taken by neophytes with greater fervor. The man from Birmingham, Joseph Chamberlain, was able to say in one of his speeches to the Londoners, after his return from a tour of apostolic preaching through the United Kingdom, when relating his enthusiastic reception:

> "I was perhaps worthy of such a reception, for two merits which I feel I may here state: my faith in the Empire and my faith in the Race. Yes, I believe in our Race, which is the greatest among all the ruling races of the world; I believe in the Anglo-Saxon blood, proud, tenacious, trusting, resolute, unchangeable in every climate and every condition, predestined to be, without fail, the overpowering force in the future history of human civilization. * * * I believe in the future of this Empire, vast as the world; of which no Englishman can speak without a thrill of enthusiasm."

And the results are: West Africa invaded, Uganda occupied, the Soudan subjugated, the Niger and Lake Tanganyika daringly navigated; in Asia, to the wide territory which stretches between Afghanistan and Siam, the Chinese shore has been added, where British energy is restlessly at work The divided and far-off dominions will be united; the gaps will be filled; all the lands where the mother tongue is spoken will be bound by a new link; from India to Canada, from Australia to Egypt, from the United States to the Cape, a sole will and a sole aspiration shall animate the federated peoples. The "Greater Britain" will be permanently constituted; the face of the earth will be changed, and a new Era will commence in the history of mankind. As in former times the Roman peace shone over the Mediterranean, so in the same way the *Pax Britannica* will shine over all the Oceans.

If, notwithstanding everything, this grand idea—in which all the instincts of the race, even the lowest, are transfigured into a yearning towards a higher life—is not to realized, it has nevertheless so much active energy that its decisive influence in the balance of the world cannot be denied. What they dwindle to, in comparison to this mass of will and interests, what do they be-

come, all those little timorous combinations, which hide themselves in the desiccated folds of the brain of a marquis, to whom the making of the foreign history of the Kingdom of Italy is entrusted! The great drama enacted on the stage of the world was never so grand, or so thrilling. At the present moment we have the demonstration that, as regards nations, we must not expect either great misfortunes or great happiness to result from different forms of government, but from the power of dominating the forces of nature.

This laborious travailing of the human species is nothing else than the fever of youth; it is nothing but the expression of a longing for a higher life. In the innumerable factories that rise from the soil, in the mines which sink down into the earth, in the wagons which run along the iron rails, in the ships that sail over the seas and rivers, and in all the instruments of labor and of wealth, marvellous beauties are being prepared. A new force will spring from force: *Vis ex vi.* In art, in commerce, and in politics, matter and chance are nevertheless tyrants. The reign of the human soul has not yet begun. "When material operating on material can take the place of men's arms, then the soul will begin to see a glimpse of the dawn of its liberty." This was said, long since, by an Italian, who had the power of divination. The all powerful machines, which also answer to the exact rhythm, announce an unknown poetry, an unspeakable joy, an unhoped for liberation.

The pure idea, towards which we inevitably tend, cannot manifest itself except in exuberance of life. And life was never more fervid or more fruitful than now. What historical fact can be compared in grandeur to the revival in Asia, to this sudden rejuvenation, which gives new life to sacred Asia, the land of sublime and entire unity? A sealed Empire, the Celestial Empire, awakened by contact of Western civilization, agitated by rebellion, shaken by war, is about to throw on the labor market the alarming mass of its yellow race. Another stationary Empire, that of the Rising Sun, is giving the unheard of example of a transformation which seems rather a marvellous creation. And here the strength and pride of race triumph and devour without ever being satiated. Those who conquered the Celestials, and are now fighting by the side of the Europeans, aim at conquest. They are not thinking only of the dominion of Asia, but of the whole Pacific! Their

greed includes the Philippines, Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies and Hawaii. The boastful words of Okuma are well known: "Europe is decrepit; we will gather up her inheritance!"

And North America, with its industrial progress already so vast and imposing, but still far from having reached its highest grade, with its grand rivers, immense valleys and countless mineral wealth, presents a picture of productive energy which cannot be compared to anything yet heard of in history. And in Australia, the virgin strength of peoples hardly adolescent is now in effervescence.

Here and there in Europe, also, the race struggle continues unsolved and furnishes ever varying elements of association and of separation. In Austria-Hungary, the perpetual discord between the German, Magyar and Slavonian forces will shortly be followed by dissolution. On the banks of the Danube, at Vienna, Prague, Buda-Pesth, Agram, in our beloved Trieste, the principle of nationality acts like implacable leaven. And the commercial struggle, the fight for wealth, carries with it danger of most terrible conflagrations everywhere. The smoke of the factories suggests the vapors of lyddite; the glistening of the well polished machinery recalls the flash of steel weapons. Never were the rights of the weaker races more cruelly violated by tyranny and avidity. The hoarse cry of War is heard over and above the assiduous din of the factories. The whole world is bent like a bow; and the words of Heraclitus the Dark never had more meaning than to-day: "The bow is called *Bios,* and its work is death."

What part, what destiny will Italy have in this formidable struggle? Will she again find her spirit? Will she shake and arouse to their very depths the dormant forces which might save her? Does she realize, in this moment of painful awakening, the necessity for sweeping away the mass of vile imbecility which is keeping her down?

III.

Let us consider awhile our statesmen, beginning with the seniors, those called "liberators," those who *made* Italy.

He was a courageous speaker of truth, the man who dared to say that we ought to immolate these men called liberators, and then throw them into the foundations of the third Rome; and, according to the ancient custom of burial, lay at their feet, by

their sides, and in their hands, the things they loved and were familiar with; and then detach and drag down from the summits of the mountains the largest blocks of granite, so as to eternally close the venerable sepulchres. In this way, we should have gazed upon them, with our souls' eyes, resplendent forever in the flaming vortex of revolution; and we should have inferred, from the far off beauty of their heroic exploits, an heroic reason for their apotheosis.

But they in fact came out of the flames blinded. They were not equal to the contemplation of the face of their country recomposed, and they could not recognize the thought which illuminated the divine turreted brow, cleansed from the gun powder, from the blood and sweat. Every generous pulsation stilled in their veins, they appeared before us in all the abjectness of their senile decay; but their hands, although feeble and vacillating, still had sufficient strength to manacle and soil those sacred things which ought to have been placed upon the altars and honoured by solemn worship.

Let us now consider the new men, who have come from the law-courts, or some remunerative office, real mechanics and accountants, as Gino Capponi would call them—arid manipulators of taxes and weavers of intrigues.

Who among these, up till now, has shown that he understands the idea towards which our race has been led by its destiny, through the vicissitudes of centuries? Not one of them was ever a man who could represent the national genius; not one of them had ever considered with a clear eye the *tout ensemble* of the life lived by the race up to the present moment so as to gather from it an old truth to place before us as a guide to new laws?

What have they done with beauty, art, learning, flourishing industries, all the rich treasures, all the most noble adornments of the Italian spirit, those men who have taken part in the government during the last thirty years? By what means have they defended, by what means have they endeavored to increase, the patrimony of the grand Latin culture, which innumerable generations of artists and learned men have handed down to us, as a faithful witness of the privilege by which nature has distinguished our blood? With what undertakings have they favoured those superior apparitions of moral energy which have lit up the tumultuous firmament of our history, like flashes of lightning? Alas!

everything has been debased or deformed beyond remedy in their incapable hands!

Who amongst them has shown that he recognized the ancient, active virtues of the Italians, the variety of their work, the wisdom of their institutions, the prevalence of great men, the fervor of civil passions, the impression of *man* in everything—the utensil made a living being, the stones collected together by a decree of glory, the public power expressed by grand buildings, the city sculptured like an idol, all that splendid, dissonant accord which constituted the free State?

Every one prepares the blacking for his own shoes in his own way, and does not notice, or pretends not to notice, that the blacking does not hide the numberless cracks in the leather.

No men in government have ever in fact given more proofs of gross incapability, or of great ignorance of the most elementary laws which rule the development of the natural life. No modern constitution is so terribly mistaken with regard to the people on whom it has been imposed as ours; and its errors have never been more blindly and obstinately exaggerated by means of its administration, which seems to be expressly fitted to increase these same errors. There are other new States in Europe; but not one has, like ours, done away with all traditions of the past, and not one consequently has accumulated so many pernicious incongruities in its method of government. Political greatness does not exist except for that people which shows that it understands its new destiny, and is united in employing all its strength to carry it out, remaining tenacious, however, in preserving the greater number of its traditions, and decided in confirming and building up; not in contraposition, but in addition, to that which existed.

The work of our men in power has been nearly always destructive. They not only did not understand how art and culture ought to crown the new edifice in a country called Italy; but they took no account, in the new constitution, of the tendencies shown in our history for centuries.

The Italian political constitution, in fact, framed on the French model, has assumed for its principal task that of destroying all the local powers, which once upon a time were the health and glory of Italy. The municipal government having been abolished, which in Lombardy had succeeded in protecting that region from German oppression, which had succeeded in Florence in

stirring up the Roman blood against the remains of German tradition and race, the State has thought well, by means of implacable assimilations, to deprive the Italian regions of their traditional individuality, and to smother their original energy under restrictions of the meanest uniformity.

The local governments discouraged or destroyed in this way, the local life—in which the richest elements of social prosperity are collected together—weakened and corrupted, our country has arrived at the point of considering executive power as a common enemy, the elective power as a blind, ignorant, anonymous and irresponsible power, and, finally, the Senate—which has neither the historical origin of the English House of Lords, nor the democratic origin of the Belgian Senate—as an useless organ, an asylum for invalids, a kind of comfortable home for old age.

The immediate consequence of this discredit of the State is more bitterness in the struggles of parties and classes. Each faction becomes more exacting, and in each party—even in that which is called conservative, and, perhaps, more markedly in that party—a spirit of revolt is in fermentation. All the political energies in Italy spread from the centre; that is to say, they violently diverge from the central power.

All this moral trouble—discontent, weariness of the government and laws—produces a kind of half hidden anarchy, which pervades the country and upsets all discipline; so that the Italian of to-day regards every recourse to public action as a risk and an evil. The system of taxation was born and has grown up in confusion, not unlike the weeds and rank grass which invade and choke up a deserted field. There is no rational principle to regulate it, no order to render it logical and just, no elasticity to adapt it to the infinite gradations of wealth and labor. Its only office is to oppress and suffocate; and it seems to have been drawn up purposely to oppose, with a series of hostile impediments, all industrial movement; whilst the waste in public works is so foolish, that we have seen colossal fortunes made by jobbers in every city in Italy. And this waste is not only a cause of financial trouble, but it is also a cause of moral acrimony. "The bank has become a political organ, and politics are now the bank," some one justly said.

Not even the magistracy is free from this confusion. And there is no more serious symptom of decay in a State than this;

because, according to the profound consideration of our historian Guicciardini, "the mass appreciate justice more than liberty, and resent far more an offence to the former than to the latter."

Let us also consider that other most important office in a country like Italy, which is called the Ministry for Public Instruction, established for the purpose of preserving our patrimony of art, and promoting culture.

To gain an idea of the disregard in which this high office is held by the men at the head of the government, it will suffice to pass in review the worthless men who have been exalted to that place, with the exception of some rare and honest men of talent, who did not succeed, however, in destroying the bureaucratic conspiracy. We need only recall the fact that, not long since, an old professional politician, who up to that day had never shown any other qualities than those of a police officer, and who had but just left his office as a Commissary in Sicily, was installed as head of this Ministry, which directs the order of studies and watches over the national treasure of fine arts. It is but natural that this kind of man should be more interested in the intrigues of the small parliamentary groups, than in reorganizing a museum or a library, and that a "combination" for propping up a Ministry in danger should be far more urgent for him than the repairing of some wonderful basilica in ruins. Does not the traveller in Italy meet signs of neglect and destruction at every step? Who has not looked with sorrow and wrath upon the remains of master-works, destroyed by the ravages of time and modern barbarians? Who has not seen noble monuments of beauty, around which a civilized people ought to institute perpetual worship, perish through neglect? It is easier to obtain from the government a knightly order for a thief, than a small sum of money to strengthen an apsis which threatens to fall.

Nor, indeed, is there much cause for rejoicing, when the State undertakes to put in order, arrange or repair anything. It is well known that for several years an execrable restorer—whose name ought to be condemned to eternal infamy—went from one to the other of the principal museums and churches of Italy, repainting pictures and frescoes with a kind of insatiable fury. There is not a single figure by Carpaccio in the "History of Saint Ursula" in the *Academia* in Venice that has not been dishonored by that infamous brush. Nearly all the paintings by Giotto in Assisi have

suffered the same outrage. And one of Titian's grandest masterpieces, the "Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence," in the Jesuits' Church at Venice, has been irreparably destroyed by the pitch of this vile smudger.

Well, then, this same smudger, instead of being burnt alive on the gridiron like Saint Lawrence, is quietly spending his old age, blessed with a sinecure, troubled with one regret only, and that is that he is not able to repaint the whole world.

Legion is the name of similar restorers, and to the deformity of these restorations we must add the mania for transforming every living work of art into an object for a museum, into a dead thing, carrying it away from the place where it was born, removing it from the very conditions of its ideal existence, causing it, I should almost say, to fade and lose its color, like a tree transplanted, like a flower cut from the stalk. Alas! Art is but an inert memory. When, then, will the rhythm of Art and the pulse of Life beat together in the same pulsation?

Let us consider, moreover, the uncertainty and the stupidity which have reigned supreme so long in the organization of the schools. This organization is quite illogical and out of keeping with the necessity of the situation. Tradition is ignored; but there is no vitality to take its place. There are men born in poverty, sons of peasants, of workmen, of clerks, laborious and retiring men, who have acquired education through hard work and self-sacrifice. They ask for admission into so-called "Society" on the strength of their University degrees; they are not rebellious, seditious; on the contrary, they are humble, well behaved and quite disposed to become good middle-class citizens; and yet they end in the clutches of want, in the horrors of starvation. They believed that education would have provided them with bread; but education only allows them to die of hunger.

Here we have a new form of misery, and consequently of rebellion, far more painful and far more terrible than any other form. The rancor of those who are led through education to naught else than to learn, with the mortal uncertainty of the morrow, the humiliation which dishonors and the servitude which abases, originates first of all in the schools, and then is confirmed in the liberal professions. They can but swell the number of those workmen who are moved by a spirit of asserting by violence their right to live.

But, if we pass from domestic to foreign politics, a still more miserable picture presents itself. Always hesitating, sometimes greedy, then timid, fluctuating between petulance and humility, scorned in every small or important event, they pass through a succession of sterile desires and sad renunciations, and appear to be forced to keep up a perpetual jig like those matrons of old whom Nero obliged to jump about in the circus. What part has Italy ever played in the Mediterranean, of which she is historically, geographically and ethnographically the Queen? In a few words, she has allowed every hope to be taken from her of extending her dominion over that little strip of shore on which she might still have cast her eyes from afar. Tunis, Cyprus, Egypt, Crete are fading away on the horizon. An attempt is being made in Malta to tear up the last of Italian sentiment by suppressing the glorious language which once was spread all over the East. I myself have heard a statesman speak of the possibility of a secessionist movement in Sicily, and of an English occupation. Just think of this! And is there not, now and then, talk of design which France is said to entertain with regard to Sardinia?

This shows to what a low level political conscience has fallen in those who direct the destinies of a country in which the science of the Statesman flourished; in which the art of government was brought to such marvellous perfection—an art not founded, however, on false scholastic methods and puerile illusions, but on living realities, on facts, on experience, on that acute study of men and institutions, with their analogies and resemblances, in which the Florentine ambassadors and diplomats appeared unrivalled, both during the Republic, as well as when on the fall of communal liberty the new principality was constituted, and, in contradistinction to the foreign yoke, the grand vision of Machiavelli shone out over the world.

On the other hand the fair fame of Italy in the face of the world is not entrusted to a powerful and efficient instrument or weapon of offence such as her Navy ought necessarily to be. I said "weapon of offence," when I ought to have said *sine qua non* of existence; as the country's whole being draws life from the sea, and cannot live except by breathing the sea's salt air.

I trust I may be allowed to take some credit for the courageous campaign I conducted some years since as to the state of our Navy, when a disagreement arose between Signor Brin, then Minister

of Marine, and Admiral Saint Bon in reference to the question of increasing the number of the ships's crews.

This question of the manning of the ships, and many others similar, such as that of the arsenals, of the torpedo-boats, discipline, enlistment and promotion—about which I told some unpleasant truths—are all very serious and pressing at the present moment; and even now naval men are placed in command who have not the courage to cut away the ulcerous sore without fear or pity.

The present Minister of Marine is known as the "seller of ships." It was he who allowed the *Garibaldi* to be sold to to the Argentine Republic. It was he who sold to Spain that other ship, which under the name of *Cristobal Colon* ended miserably with her sides smashed in on the rocks of Santiago.

But who does not remember with what anxious attention Italy followed the new life given to her Navy, at the time of the great Admiral, after the miserable inefficiency into which her fleet had fallen, more especially under the Ministry of Guglielmo Acton? One after another those marvellous ships were launched, which seemed the most wonderful pieces of construction ever devised by human genius, and the most terrible and rapid instruments in existence for attack and defence. It seemed as if Italy brought them forth after painful labor, launched them upon the crest of a huge wave of love, and gazed upon them as beloved daughters, nourished by her best blood, and animated by the most glowing emotions. The enthusiasm, the greetings, and the benedictions which accompanied the successful launching of a new ship resounded from one end of the peninsula to the other in one immense echo. Not only along the sea-coast at Venice, Genoa, Spezia, Naples, Leghorn, where historical tradition was more alive, and the new energy strongest; but also in the inland provinces, in mountainous districts along the whole length of the Apennines, every heart was beating with anxiety, every one followed with the warmest good wishes and with joy the last iron daughter that Mother Italy was taking to the baptism of the sea.

What names they bore! *Italia, Lepanto, Dandolo, Duilio, Ruggero di Lauria, Morosini, Roma.* The figure of winged Hope was standing for us at the prow of each ship, and at the top of each mast the symbol of Victory was shining. Where is the Italian that did not then, in those moments of generous impulse,

feel a thrill of pride on hearing names laden with such grand recollections, such solemn omens, such great promises?

The love of the sea and of naval glory is still alive in Italy, deep and unchangeable, as in the days of the Republics. It is a grand and beautiful inheritance which is handed down from century to century, and cherished in the hearts of the Italians. No other aspiration is more general and truly national. And the national flag will never appear so beautiful, so free, so victorious in the eyes of the people, as when it waves over a powerful new man-of-war; "magnetic," in the words of Walt Whitman, "as the glance of a woman."

Italy—we must never tire of repeating it—will either be a great power on the sea, or nothing; and not merely a great naval power with warships, but with a number of merchant vessels, as in the grand old days of her maritime republics; as it is at sea that the supreme destinies of nations are to be decided. And the fibre of the Italian sailor is in truth so strong and pliant, that he can stand comparison all the world over, for his singular vigor of body and of mind.

As Italy is an essentially maritime nation, so excellent sailors are to be obtained from inland districts. The inspiring breath of the sea reaches as far even as the sides of the Alps and spreads along the whole length of the Apennines. Every Italian is a sailor because all feel that eternal greatness is on the sea.

Our conscription for the sea ought to be extended. We ought to levy men not only from the sea coasts, but from the whole of the peninsula. The present number of officers and sailors would not suffice to equip all our ships in time of war, even with reduced ship's companies. And most serious harm arises from our system of recruiting young men destined for the naval career, as well as from the system of promotion; which is so illogical and unjust that it appears specially designed to prevent good and capable officers from rising. The General Staff, too, is still a turbid mixture of mutually repulsive elements, at the bottom of which still seethe the germs of old evils—unchecked ambitions, personal and local jealousies, favoritism, ignorance and servility.

The only real way of serving the navy would be for a man to come forward and courageously effect the necessary reforms; and, by selecting the best elements and cleansing the whole body, change a motley crew, restless and discontented, into an excellent

nucleus of men, bound together by the heroic bond of duty, experienced in sea-faring ways, prepared for good or bad luck in war, consecrated to glory or to death; free, loyal, staunch brothers in the name of Italy.

But what undertaking, with any life in it, can ever be brought to a conclusion so long as this kind of madness continues, which drives the State to continually oppose those historical laws which our race must obey if it would recover its original position?

The careless neglect, for example, which the State shows in face of the great agrarian problem, which is of the same vital importance as the maritime, is incredible. The so-called group of the Agrarians, in the Italian Parliament, is small and feeble. In the "Reports on the Inquiry into the Agricultural State of the Country," we read: "Our country, at the time at which it was organized into one State, was, as regards agriculture, a *terra incognita;* and still is so, more or less." Notwithstanding which, the traditions of this most noble of man's works, agriculture, in Italy, are splendid.

In addressing the people of Florence during the recent electoral contest, I said:

"You, Florentines, the most ancient authors of that agrarian compact, which is one of the most important monuments of Italian civil wisdom; you, who were the first, at the time of your Republic, to forestall by five centuries the laws of the French Assembly, in declaring Liberty sacred, inalienable, the will of God, necessary for the prosperity of the people; you, who were the first to free the peasant from bondage, and to free from fetters and oppression agricultural work and the noble strength of the man who drives the plow and sows the seed; you, Florentines, who were the first—when the serfs were groaning on the sod in all other parts of Europe and were considered on the same level as the beasts—to raise the wielders of the scythe and pitchfork to the dignity of associates, calling them to share the joys of life with the citizens; you must to-day repeat the example you then gave. Raise to the honor of a seat in Parliament one of your wise and honest agriculturists, rather than one of those chattering lawyers. Give a voice to the soil, give many voices to the soil! In the midst of this general decay is not the peasant—strong, rough, sober, persevering, healthy—the best man amongst you? As he is the best, ought he not to have his part in public affairs?"

Italy, I again say, ought to be a great naval and agricultural power. There is a resemblance between the spur of the prow and the iron of the plough. That vision of the poet was just, in which the symbol of our native land appeared, like that ancient, insular victory, on the prow of a ship having the form of a ploughshare.

IV.

An unforeseen and terrible event has come upon us, to sweep away in an impetuous wave of grief and indignation all these miseries and all these failings. The blood of Humbert I. has fallen like a sacred leaven on the Italian soul, to awaken a sudden fervor of noble aspirations and good will. An heroic spirit has arisen from the dead body of that King, who had witnessed with such grave sadness the decline of every ideal in that third Rome, which ought to have represented before the world the indomitable love of the Latin race for the Latin soil, and ought to have sent forth from its heights rays of the marvellous light of a new life.

That resigned and veiled melancholy, superimposed on a feeling of invincible fatalism, gives a character of most noble gentleness to the late royal figure. As he was not able to exercise strength, he exercised kindness. It has been said that no other king of our times had, like Humbert, learnt to look suffering and death in the face; that no other king had felt pity and sympathy for human sufferings more deeply than he. This is true; and this is the grandest and purest of his titles to glory. And this is why —treacherously struck down by a vile coward's hand, in the midst of his people, among whom he had gone unarmed and alone—he was able to die with such serenity of soul, and with the simple and profound words of ancient wisdom on his lips, *"Non è niente!"*

All his surroundings were tragic, on that night of terror, from the roar of the crowd to the rolling thunder of the storm. Everything was tragic, as on the battlefield of Villafranca, as in the inundations in the Venetian provinces; as in the midst of the cholera stricken people in Naples and Busca, as among the ruins of Casamicciola; and he alone was calm in his lucid melancholy, and could die saying, *"It is nothing!"*

But out of his dead body—carried down through the peninsula, along the Apennines, along the sea, as far as Rome, on a memorable wakeful night—an heroic spirit has arisen which seems to be stirring the national conscience. And now, the aspirations and the wills of those fervid men, who would all so willingly join the search after the last effigy of beautiful Italy, all converge in his heir, in the young Victor Emanuel III.

Are these thrills of feeling a sure sign of a reawakening?

And does the new King belong to the race of those heroes who point out a goal for the energy of their people, and are equal to leading them up to it? We must hope in youth, and, like the Athenians on the great day of Mycale, take as our pass-word *"Hebe,"* the goddess of youth.

It is in fact a matter of bending the great bow of Ulysses. The greatest and most dangerous problems—the Roman problem, the Southern problem, the naval problem, the agricultural problem—are all there and waiting to be solved.

The Roman problem, which concerns the relations between Church and State, has just lately, owing to the Vatican *intransigenza,* been violently flaunted before the eyes of the government, which has, up till now, always avoided facing it, pretending to ignore it, whilst Italy finds herself in the painful and most singular condition of supporting, within her domain, two political organizations, different from one another, opposed to one another, and moved by essentially contrary tendencies.

The Roman Pontificate is by origin and tradition a political organization. The Church in Italy must be considered as a vast and most powerful political association, hostile to the State; and it would be a childish error to seek the solution of the present dissension in Camillo Cavour's illusory formula, "The free Church in the free State." As liberty cannot repair the wrongs which the Church affirms that it has received at the hands of the State, it cannot remedy the harm which its enmity has already done, or that which it is slowly and surely preparing. As formal religion can be a most efficacious, conservative power when it works in harmony with the constitution, so is it a cause of separation and ruin when at war with the constitution. Ruggero Bonghi depicted this evil under the image of a cancer; it seems to me, however, that it would be expedient not to heal it by extirpation.

In the stating, as in the solving, of the problem, we must not neglect to consider the historical origin of the Pontificate—Roman by birth, with a Roman life behind it, and being a transformation of that political energy out of which the grandeur of ancient Rome arose. The early Christians used to represent Christ with the laticlave; Gregory the Great is called the "Consul of God" in the epitaph composed by Petrus Oldradius. The statue of St. Peter, which is venerated in the Vatican Basilica, is moulded out of a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, which Leo the Great ordered

to be recast in thanksgiving for the liberation of Rome from the fury of Attila. What I wish to signify by these figures is that the natural and proper seat for the Pontiff is the *Urbs aeterna,* in the same way as it is the proper seat of the King of Italy; and the problem must always be put in these terms; the key of which is—according to my way of thinking—in the hands of the lower Italian clergy.

Those who believe that we ought, for the time being, to go on as well as we can, and those who dream of Avignon, and those who trust in the "irreligion of the future," make an exhibition of that stupid empiricism which has brought us to our present state of decay.

From this decay we must rise again in the great name of Rome.

Aurea Roma iterum renovata renascitur orbi.

It is not true that we must die, and that the whole land is but an immense morass, where the more efforts one makes to get out, the more one sinks into it. The living body of the nation is laboring in torment, as from a hidden inflammation, out of which some great fever is about to rise. Here and there are true and strong men, who work out their high purposes according to the moral needs of the times in which they live, whose actions develop themselves in subordination to an idea born in them "from contact with the earth," intent on surrounding their every moment with true harmony, and on attracting discordant movements opposed to them into that harmonious circle. And, from time to time, new aspirations are manifest in the mass of the nation itself towards simplicity and beauty; signs of a tormenting thirst, which the disgraceful drinks offered by those who make a pretence of ministering to it are not able to satisfy.

Have we not just lately seen the people of Italy stirred with noble feeling, at the sight of the wild and grand figure of one of her great painters stretched out in the eternity of death and glory? When Giovanni Segantini, the solitary king of the mountain, breathed his last on the Alps, sorrow, surprise and their dreams liberated the soul of the country, for one day at least, from the customary narrowness; and, in the short truce which bestowed the grace of poetry on it, Italy appeared to have found again in herself the sign of some of her previous aptitude, and to recognize her right to an ancient inheritance of which she had been despoiled. Perhaps she experienced the anxiety of one about

to repossess a lost fortune. The great value of an example was brought down along the mountain side, in the midst of the storm, together with that grand dead body. Some of us were filled with love for solitude, and determined to lead a more simple life, and to engage in manly work. Some of us thought that there was everything to hope for and expect, if a race believed to be decrepit, if a nation believed to be exhausted and consumed, had been able to produce a specimen of humanity of such frank strength and simple ingenuity. "There is, then," thought some, "there is, then, an inexhaustible fund of creative power in our land, a hidden energy through which the life which is consumed in us is perpetually restored, through which the powerful bodies are secretly formed, the large hearts, the luminous spirits, which will suddenly cast their light over us, whilst the instruments of our imperfect work are about to fall from our wearied hands. It is true, then, that our land is still so rich as to be able to nourish the germs of highest hope."

The faith which Giuseppe Mazzini expressed in this sentence, is ours: "We religiously believe that Italy has not exhausted her own life in the world. She is still called to contribute new elements to the progressive development of humanity and to live a third life. We ought to aim at initiating it."

And let us also recall the words of another most noble lover of liberty, who died blind, and yet seeing: "Every new thing is old; every old thing is new: the sole path of truth is to see the one in the other."

The rules to which our weakness is at present subject are false and consequently failing. The Italians will not seek new rules except in the study of their own nature, of their history, of their thought, of their incomparable successive civilizations; so that the nation may expand in the unknown future not only by means of its own new forces, but of that faith and purpose which animated it in all the past centuries.

There is neither health nor beauty to be found except in man's unfettered endeavor, all his energy at work and turned in the direction which the infallible genius of the race points out to him. Like that Carlovingian knight, who inherited the strength of all the warriors overthrown by his lance, the man who deserves to live feels himself greater and stronger after every obstacle he overcomes.

Let us glorify the life which ascends higher and higher! Let us extol the truth that sets us free!

I. The more man endeavors to increase his true being, the more worthy is he.

II. The fate of Italy is inseparable from the destinies of Beauty, her daughter.

III. The Latin genius can never regain its hegemony in the world except on condition of re-establishing the worship of a single purpose, and of holding as sacred the sentiment which in the ancient Latium inspired the *Terminalia.*

Through faith in these truths Italy will still be the most noble of nations. Picture to yourself the appearance of her beautiful body, out of which so many harvests, so many men of art, so many heroes have sprung! She lies at the centre of the places where the grandest human civilizations flourished and still flourish. As a link, she connects the West to the East by that *mare nostrum,* that Mediterranean, which bore on its waters "the most beautiful thing in the world, the Greek genius, and the grandest, the Roman peace." The formidable masses of her Alps seem to enter into the heart of Europe, whilst the winds of Africa and Asia warm her southern coasts. Different races, gentle and rough, agile and vigorous, all meet here and multiply. Most powerful institutions, whose influence has been world-wide, formed themselves within her confines, and lived and still live on her soil. Moral dominion appears to be her destiny. The greatest errors may darken, but cannot destroy, her genius. No other land is in such perfect harmony as Italy with the moral and mental structure of her great men. All her strength and all her beauty appear always to tend towards a supreme human expression. There was an hour of her history in which the harmony between herself and her progeny appeared as marvellously perfect, so that her natural forces and the living works of her sons adjusted thmselves to each other in an ineffable equilibrium. The hardness of her mountains, the flow of her rivers, the form of her valleys, could be recognized in the pulsations of her civil life.

If to-day this harmony is broken, shall we not be able to reconstitute it? Not we; but those who come after us. Not the men of to-morrow, perhaps, but those of a further future for sure.

Our own life must, then, be the worship of expectation.

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO.

PRESENT STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

BY BARONESS BERTHA VON SÜTTNER.

LETTERS of condolence and of cynicism come to my desk in these latter days in increasing number. There is a note of triumph and of mockery in one group: "What has become of the famous Peace idea? The South African war, following immediately upon the close of the Peace Conference at The Hague, has not yet reached its end, and already the horizon in Eastern Asia is lurid with the glare of a world-war. Are you convinced now of the absurdity of your claims, ye dreamers of peace?" Through the second group runs an undertone of commiseration: "What suffering must have come to you, honored madame, and to your friends, in seeing your beautiful illusion shattered. Sad, sad; but thus it is. War is an historic law, and your ideals are simply —ideals. You will have to reef your sails in the face of such a storm of facts."

It is true that a feebly manned boat cannot battle against storm and surf. But the simile ill fits the effort to establish peace. That is no boat; it is a rock. The waves may top it with their wrathful spume, but naught can affect its granite permanence.

Let me set aside metaphor and reply to my correspondents. Let me endeavor to show them the point of view from which the advocates of peace regard the present condition of the world, and the nature of the duties and prospects, the hopes and self-denials to be descried therefrom.

In the first place, we admit candidly that we have been mistaken; not, however, in the principles we have enunciated, but in our estimate of present culture. We had regarded public conscience as being permeated by a longing for international right and by an abhorrence of despotism to a greater degree than the facts of the case warrant.

The warlike events that surge about us and threaten us furnish no proof against the principles of the peace movement. They merely prove that these principles have not yet entered fully into the conscience of nations and of their leaders; that the movement is not yet sufficiently advanced in its spread, its organization, its methods of action, to verify the hopes fostered by the conference at The Hague for an early eradication of old, deeply-rooted institutions of brute force. In other words, we have been mistaken, not in the fundamental statements we have made, but in the conception that they were more widely accepted than they have proved to be.

These truths remain: (1.) Culture is synonymous with the repression of brute force; (2.) Nations are oppressed by their brazen breast-plate, and, if its weight increases, they will be crushed by it; (3.) Right relations are as possible between nations as they have gradually been proven to be between individuals, tribes, boroughs, cities and provinces; (4.) The abolition of war as a legal institution of human society, when such abolition is made a matter of principle, will result in undreamed-of increase of material wealth and moral elevation. All these truths, and many theories begotten of them, have not lost an iota of their logical content and of their blessed potentiality from the fact that foolish humanity, through its most powerful agents, government, church and press, still emphasizes dogmas opposed to them.

The advocates of peace maintain their principles. Not only so; they do not rest from their labors; they will not allow the results thus far obtained to slip from their grasp. The institutions created at The Hague, despite the resistance of bellicose Powers, are faithfully guarded by those who helped to create them. The Interparliamentary Union, now in session at Paris, has assumed the task of popularizing, developing and executing the Articles of The Hague. Their co-operators in England continue to protest against the South African war and the subjugation of the Boers, in spite of the supercilious jingoism of government and of the hypnosis of the masses. The Social Democrats, the Ethicists—men of independent tendencies, all of them—lift up warning voices against the fever of Imperialism in general, and specifically against the reckless love of adventure which first scents loot and then seeks revenge in expeditions against a country with four hundred million peace-loving inhabitants.

To save, to save, to avert universal war—that is the purpose for which the enemies of war will strive untiringly until the very last moment. If their strength be insufficient, where shall we place the blame? The fault is not theirs. It rests with the millions of their contemporaries, who, though at heart they desire the same result, yet turn away in contempt or apathy from those who are laboring for it, instead of aiding these labors by the weight that lies in the consensus of the masses. With those who ignore, suspect and belittle the work of peace—even in cases where that work has brought about positive results, where it has matured practical propositions—instead of co-operating with sincere workers in their elaborations of these propositions and enforcing them with opponents—with those must the fault lie.

Great changes come to pass slowly, but in times like the present, when upheavals are fierce and dangers lie near, it might be hoped that swifter advances should be made in the conflict between the new and the old. Just as, immediately before the vote was taken on the Heinze law, a group of devoted men was formed to oppose that measure, which succeeded in defeating it, so, in the face of the present conspicuous and overwhelming manifestation of the principle of brute force, the friends of right might resolutely band themselves together, and, with shields upraised, declare a crusade for the liberation of politics from the thraldom of that immoral tradition.

Possibly the hope that such a step could be taken might again involve an over-estimate of our contemporaries. What matters it? Kant said: "Man cannot think too highly of man," and it is better to have erred in this direction than, by lukewarm doubt, to have condoned the fault of those here criticised.

What we see happening to-day furnishes proof, furnishes wonderfully objective illustrations and experimental demonstrations, not against, but in favor of our doctrines.

In the first place, let us consider the war in the Transvaal. True, it broke out immediately after the conference at The Hague, and in despite of the principles of arbitration and of mediation there announced, and subscribed to even by England herself. Yet it was no triumph for the dogma of the necessity of war; it was rather a triumph for the *advocates* of war. For our opponents, in giving voice to the slogan, "The South African war and the Chinese horrors were the direct result of the conference," com-

mit—purposely, without a doubt—the blunder of confusing sequence in time with sequence of cause and effect. It is the familiar, senseless, exploded, *"Post hoc, ergo propter hoc."*

Seeds which lay slumbering in the world's soil long before the conference at The Hague sprouted in these two instances. For all that the conference itself could achieve was not in the nature of a harvest, but merely a sowing of seed.

The newly created institutions are not yet in operation, their spirit has not yet become incarnate in the flesh and blood of the nations, of potentates, of the press. And Mr. Chamberlain was able to accomplish his purpose, in spite of the pleading of Krüger for arbitration, even unto the last minute. Every intermediation was refused, and none was honestly and earnestly considered.

Several European rulers, who, as their panegyrists maintain, are soldiers, body and soul, had no desire to restrain the arm of England; they wished Queen Victoria success and noted the progress of the war with semi-joyous interest. But with the people of non-English countries there was pronounced opposition to this war; there was a manifestation of the very thing whereof we dream as a foundation of an alliance of European States, namely, a European conscience. This conscience rose in rebellion against the fact that a war of conquest should be waged in this our day; that a great country should seek to subjugate small, free republics. From every side came protests, petitions, actions of various sorts, to move the English to call a halt in this war. In England itself the peace party untiringly made remonstrances in this direction. The deeply rooted sentiment, "My country, right or wrong," had to give way to a sense of justice deeper still, and, as boldly as Zola and Picquart entered the lists against the General Staff, even so boldly did noted Englishmen battle against the imperialistic ministry of their native land. Ten years ago these things would not have happened. Neither Europe nor America would have opposed this war so determinedly; still less possibility would there have been of so powerful a counter-current as arose in England itself. All these things are symptoms of the new spirit.

But, in spite of the sentiment of the nations, the various governments have refrained from any peace-making intervention; and in London this attitude has been regarded as the correct one. But it was correct according to ancient standards only; it

was in direct contravention to the new lines officially marked out at The Hague.

The progress of the war in the Transvaal has shown, forcibly and terribly, what a false relation the possible advantages of war bear to its positive disadvantages. Fifty thousand of her youth, healthy and vigorous youth, has England lost in the past ten months; sixty-one million pounds sterling of her national wealth have been wasted; the respect and sympathy of the world have been recklessly sacrificed; the character of the nation has been brutalized by the passions aroused, and freedom, the pride of the British people, freedom of speech, as well as freedom of the individual, has been imperilled, for even now the spectre of conscription is raising its head. The fruits of half a century of national education have been destroyed in this one attack of war-fever. And in place of the great, submarine Channel-tunnel already planned, the fortification of Dover has been begun. India is devastated by a famine, and the money wasted in South Africa for the destruction of human life might have saved the famished ones.

And the end, the "bitter end," of this campaign is not yet. There are no more decisive battles fought nowadays, even where one side has overwhelming force. There is nothing now save mutual extermination of the troops in the field, devastation of the land in which the combat takes place, cessation of commerce, danger of further complications and the carrying of infectious diseases into other lands.

The reports of Mr. Burdett-Coutts in the House of Commons in reference to the horrible condition of the sick and wounded in South Africa are a confirmation of what the advocates of peace have constantly voiced, namely, that, with our present means of destruction and our present methods of warfare, sanitation is an illusion.

And then came the news of the insurrection of the Boxers and the massacres of the missionaries in China. This, too, is the harvest of seed sown in Europe in these latter years. Apart from the fact that hatred of strangers is a barbarism, concerning which we lack the right to grow indignant so long as the story of anti-Semitic riots and expulsion of foreigners has a place upon European annals, everything was done by Europeans in China to arouse a righteous hatred of foreigners there. Dogmas and wares

have been thrust upon the Chinese; there has been contemptuous treatment, appropriation of territory, open declarations as to the partition of China, backed by plans for the building of fleets. And running side by side with these things, in constant confirmation of mercenary greed and of militarism, with an inherent, blind tendency to expansion, the peaceable, non-military Empire was supplied with guns and cannons from our own factories and with instructors from our barracks.

Well, what matters it? No one cares to bother with the intricately interwoven network of origins and causes back of it all. Here were we faced by facts—a country in wild uproar, the government overthrown or in league with the rebels against foreigners, the legations bombarded, Ketteler murdered—such facts require action.

Here the opponents of the peace movement seem to be in the right. Surely, it is impossible to quietly look on while such things are happening; there is no opportunity for arbitration. What is there left but war? Is not that in some cases the only resource, the *"ultima ratio?"* Now, are ye convinced, ye dreamers, that conditions may at any time arise which will force upon men a resort to arms? Therefore there must be no cessation of armaments, no relaxation in the cultivation of a warlike spirit. Confess that you are beaten, that you have no answer.

Nay, but we do answer. As a well-ordered State maintains a police force to execute the decrees of its judges, to secure robbers and maniacs, to overpower mobs that throw stones and apply torches, to protect those who are persecuted by violence, so would an alliance of Culture-States, such as we contemplate, require an armed force to serve international right as an executive power. Power in the service of the right differs essentially from the power which pronounces all its decisions and purposes to be right. The individuals of a community are not as yet so virtuous, so rational, and so reliable as to render unnecessary every kind of protection and punishment. It is the same with nations. The nations of the earth are not as yet so cultured and so peaceable that a union of nations could exist without a tribunal or an armed force.

What has come to pass before our eyes? Spontaneously, without previous agreement, all nations decided to hurry their ships and troops to the relief of those whose lives were in danger; to punish the criminals, to restore order in the convulsed Empire of

China; to re-establish organized government there. And since such an enterprise can succeed only when it is undertaken unanimously, there was suddenly formed a "world army," a confraternity of previously antagonistic nations, to battle side by side in the name of civilization against an outburst of barbarism. Thus has the impulse of events begun the realization of that fundamental requirement urged by the advocates of the peace movement from the very first—unanimity among the Culture-States, a comradeship of co-operation, a setting aside of conflicting individual rights in the service of a higher solidarity of interest.

This solidarity of interest has now been recognized in the face of the Chinese danger. We recognized it long ago in the face of the danger of militarism. The threatened world-war, the ruin that impended, seemed to us such an abomination of barbarism, and the prevention of that calamity so imperative a duty of civilization, that conflicts of interest and all little bickerings and minor contentions might well be set aside.

A campaign carried on with a common mind and for a common purpose, such as that undertaken in China, would not have been prevented if it had been preceded by a cessation of further armaments, as suggested by Russia at The Hague, or even by a decided reduction of the standing armies. For—let my readers note carefully this fact—the "Culture-Army," the police of international civilization, needs but be composed of a small but representative section of the various nations. The entire available force of Europe, America and Japan could not be sent to China at present, at any rate. When arms are used in the service of right only, the power of such police, or, instead of police—for the word has an unpleasant sound—let us say of such a knighthood of culture, would be overwhelming. For crime—within the limits of a civilized community this holds true as well—is usually committed by single individuals or small bands. It is the same among nations. If questions of common morals arose, whose validity is recognized as of interest to all, every single disturber of the peace, every single tyrant, every single land-grabber would be resisted in the execution of his purpose and would be punished by all. Had all civilized nations hastened to the aid of the Armenians,* had

*Let it not be objected that a "man's house is his castle," and that interference with internal affairs is excluded with nations as it is with individuals. Massacres are not internal affairs. If one man throws down an-

they all advised Spain to relinquish Cuba, or hindered America in its desire to subjugate the Philippines; had they all insisted that England must listen to Krüger's proposals for arbitration, the cruelties and conflicts of the latest slaughters of multitudes could have been avoided. Different nations can advance with united purpose against a common danger, and they can do so by means of the very elements that otherwise support and foster antagonism, namely, by means of their armies. Twice has this been demonstrated; once not long ago in Crete, and now in China. The German Kaiser could command the troops he sent to Eastern Asia to fight shoulder to shoulder with Frenchmen, Russians and Japanese. And it has been possible to appoint one general for this international army.

The possibility that all Culture-States can enter into an alliance, though contested by our opponents, has been proven in fact. Humanity is forced into solidarity by normal evolution along the lines of natural law. What the force of circumstances has brought about could have been accomplished by free will and design, and, so accomplished, it would have been more systematically done, and would have rested upon more secure foundations.

And now, no one has faith in the present casual and transient coalition, and many prophesy that the Powers will quarrel over China, and that the long-dreaded world-conflict will arise in consequence. This, too, is used as an argument against us. "A concert? Unanimity? The slightest disturbance unhinges it all. Rivalry is aroused. No one Power is willing to grant the other a privilege or an advantage. When the coalition campaign has reached its end, or even before that, conflicting interests will assert themselves and the European war will be upon us."

True, that war will break out, if there be no forum for the settlement of chance contentions, a forum which, by common agreement, would adjust all differences. Everything goes to prove how necessary such a forum is. The sad fact that it is not as yet in operation surely does not militate, in the least, against the possibility or the utility of the establishment of such a tribunal. The foundation of it was laid at The Hague. That it is generally ignored demonstrates the fact that militarism struggles against an institution which would undermine war.

other in my neighbor's house and is preparing to kill him, and the victim's cries reach my ears, it is not a breach of the peace if I hasten to help him or call the police.

The question, "How in the world do you propose to prevent war in the face of the present upheaval in China?" has been thus answered by Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, Corresponding Secretary of the American Peace Society:

"We have been asked how we would have settled the present trouble in China without war. That is as if one were to ask how we would prevent a fire when the flames were already bursting from all the windows. The settlement of the trouble by us without war would have required, first of all, that it be turned over to us for settlement, or that the powers involved in it would agree conscientiously to follow, in their efforts at adjustment, the principles and methods which we might suggest. The utter impossibility of either of these contingencies in the case of the trouble with China shows the thoughtlessness of the question.

"The time to have begun the pacific settlement of the difficulty was many years ago. Given certain conditions, practices and beliefs, such as have for a long time existed in the relations of the other countries to China, and war or something like it was inevitable. No advocate of peace has ever been simple enough to imagine that war can be avoided when every condition leading to good understanding and peace has been neglected or trampled under foot."

Another point steadily maintained by the advocates of peace and denied by their adversaries has come clearly to light in these latter days, namely, that wars are instigated and brought to their culmination by certain influential men without the slightest reference to the people, to parliaments or to the choicest spirits of the nations. What has been decided upon by the powers that be, what has been mapped out by "Cabinets," is promulgated as an accomplished fact, approved by the chorus of a servile press, and, if it can be made sensational, cheered by an enthusiastic mob. How necessary that every land should have a ministry of peace, an official organism representing the interests of peace, under whose protection that portion of public opinion which is averse to war might make itself heard. How essential an independent, ethically elevated press, conscious of the duty growing out of its power, the duty to guide the people in the way of unity, of conciliation, of a just consideration of both sides of a quarrel—in short, in the way of peace, the only way worthy of civilization and culture. The opposite is true. The political press, in a ponderous majority, is to-day a forge for the heating of the irons of war.

Current events reveal the fact that our system is not being put in practice, but they reveal no flaws or contradictions in the sys-

tem itself, for it has none. Without a flaw or contradiction it harmonizes with the law of evolution. The new age—with its advance in technical inventions (with especial reference to the possibility of the slaughter of masses), with its ties of international solidarity, its reciprocal economic interdependencies, its sublimated ethical requirements—has outgrown the system of war, and outgrows it more and more daily. This truth is set forth, as it were, in an object-lesson in the rush of action upon the stage of the world's theatre. On the other hand, take the war in the Transvaal. What economic losses (to say nothing of the moral loss) to England and to the rest of the world has it involved; and the end of the war is not yet in sight, in spite of the fact that England outnumbers her adversaries ten to one. That war and the Chinese problem both show that the nations are being mechanically driven to the position which the advocates of peace have suggested as the only one that can be taken as a result of the exercise of free will and rationality, namely, coalition, surrender of secondary specific interests and contentions for the sake of a higher common interest, of culture and humanity, and the creation of a "world-army."

The position into which the Powers are mechanically forced, which in its external form seems to adjust itself to the demands of the peace idea, is not yet permeated by the *spirit* of the idea; not yet based upon the firm groundwork of institutions of peace. It is filled with militarism, confused with military projects and national antagonisms.

The contrast between war and culture is more definitely set forth than could be done in volumes of essays and of peace literature in the addresses and newspaper articles which accompany the sending forth of the "Army of Humanity." The emphasis placed upon the help of God, upon the religion of love and of tenderness, and the synchronous emphasis placed upon revenge and threats of horrors, have never been in so glaring a contrast. A clinging to old ideals of force, reference to the thought that, a thousand years *hence,* one member of the human family shall tremble before another, as men did a thousand years *ago* under the lash of Attila; the recommendation on the part of various journals of methods of retaliation savoring of the wildest of savagery, the slaughter of masses of men, desecration of sanctuaries and graves, etc., and all these proposed as a means of

spreading civilization; all this must needs be recognized by the world at large as strident dissonance.

And what has brought the world to this recognition? The principles of the peace-movement. Denied as they are, they have sunk deep into the conscience of the age. The community of interests in the world has also had its share in effecting this result. This has reached such a degree that a change from conditions of might to conditions of right has become a positive necessity, an essential of life. What stands revealed in the peace-movement is not the dream of supramundane fancy, but a manifestation of the instinct of self-preservation in civilization.

BERTHA VON SÜTTNER.

"IN TERRA PAX."

BY G. LEVESON GOWER.

War in men's mouths, peace through the spring-clad land;
Hate in men's hearts, and love in God's high heaven;
Yet in the mass already works the leaven,
And in the nations some cry, "Hold your hand,
Ye Peoples! Turn not Earth into a hell!"
Already breaks the light when some can see
The change to come, the order new to be,
And, seeing evil, will not say, "'Tis well!"
O! for some high tribunal of the world
Where arms are stilled and equal law bears sway,
The strong aggressor from his vantage hurled,
The wronged upheld in the full light of day!
Then shall the Earth at rest yield glad increase,
And through all seas and every land be Peace!

A CENTURY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE.

BY O. P. AUSTIN, CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF STATISTICS.

AMONG the wonderful developments of the nineteenth century, none is more marvellous than that of its commerce, which has increased more than a thousand per cent., while population was increasing less than one hundred and fifty per cent. This is due, in part, at least, to the fact that commerce has taken advantage of all the other wonderful developments with which the century has been crowded. Ever watchful, ever alert, and ever willing to hazard expenditure for the sake of prospective gain, it has fostered, developed, and adapted to its own use every discovery and invention which human energy, ingenuity and science have brought to the front. From the exchange of a few articles of luxury, carried on the backs of animals or in slow sailing vessels, it has expanded until it now interchanges the products of all lands and all climes, utilizing the swiftly moving railway train by land, and the scarcely less swift steamer by sea; and exchanges which occupied months at the opening of the century are now effected in days or weeks. Business messages then sent by carrier and sailing vessels took a year to reach the Orient and obtain a reply, while now but a few minutes or hours suffice for a similar service. Purchases of goods which then involved a transfer of cash or commodities in which weeks or months were consumed are now arranged by telegraph and banks in minutes or hours; while the transfer of the merchandise is a matter of hours or days. From the narrow frontage of land along the ocean, or along watercourses whose products could enter into the commerce of the then known world, the seaboard has been extended landward indefinitely by the railway, while the carrying capacity and speed of the ocean vessel have been correspondingly increased.

Instead of the pack animal which could carry but a few hundred pounds, or the wagon which could at the best transport a ton of merchandise, the railway car accepts as much as twenty teams could haul, and the engine hurries from twenty to thirty of these cars to the ocean, a thousand miles away, where the steamship calmly swallows the loads of twenty or thirty of these trains, and steams across the ocean at almost the same speed with which the merchandise was transported to the water's edge; while, before it has passed out of sight of land, the consignee on the other side of the globe has received notice of its departure, of the cargo it carries, and of the day and almost the hour at which he may expect its arrival.

Meantime, discovery and invention have multiplied the producing capacity of these greatly increased areas. The shuttle has supplied fabrics more cheaply than the cheapest hand labor could produce. Machinery and agricultural science have increased the products of the soil and transformed into merchandise that which was formerly refuse. Science has explored the earth and brought forth the precious and industrial metals, while invention has vied with art in transforming these products into articles which have become necessities of life and which have in turn contributed to the productiveness of the human race in all climes and conditions, thus multiplying commerce as well as production.

Thus, all the great developments of this wonderful century have combined to aid commerce, and articles which, at its beginning, were luxuries enjoyed only by the rich are now considered necessaries by the masses. The natural products of the tropics have become the necessities of the temperate zone, and the manufactures of the temperate zone are demanded for daily life in the tropics. The grain-producing areas of the newer countries contribute to the food supply of the Old World, and take in exchange the products of its work shops; and the Orient yields its silks, teas and spices in exchange for our foodstuffs, machinery, and manufactures. Meantime, Finance, with its consummate art of balancing commodity against commodity and exchange against exchange, sits aloft and with golden reins skilfully guides the transactions which steam and electricity thus make possible, balancing the sales of one country against the purchases of another, weighing the value of this and measuring the usefulness of that, bringing order out of what appears endless confusion and

hopeless disorder, and by its skilful, complex and silent machinery making possible this enormous exchange of commodities with the transfer of the smallest possible proportion of circulating medium.

To measure accurately the commerce of the world, even in this day of improved business conditions, when the gathering of statistics has become a science and measures of value are reduced to a common denominator (gold), is difficult. That such attempts must have been much more difficult a century ago is so apparent that the fact need scarcely be mentioned as an apology for the use of estimates in regard to some portion of the earlier commerce of the century. Indeed, the fact that this method is still necessary with reference to certain remote spots in the commercial world shows how large a proportion of the statements of the world's commerce in the earlier years of the century must have been estimates, in many cases even conjecture. Yet there is no better method of reaching conclusions with regard to the early commerce of the century than to accept the estimates made by thoughtful men who had given years—lifetimes indeed—to the study of the subject; and, in this attempt to contrast conditions at the close of the century with those at its beginning, these estimates have been accepted as the best and, in fact, the only means of approximating the movement of merchandise between nations and grand divisions in those days when Governments and trade organizations and financial interests were but beginning to realize the importance of comprehensive and accurate statements upon this subject. The interchange of commodities throughout the commercial world at the beginning of the century is estimated at $1,500,000,000 in value, and at the end of the century seems likely to be fully $20,000,000,000. Meantime, the population, which is estimated by Malte-Brun at 640,000,000 in 1804, is now estimated in round terms at about 1,500,000,000, the increase in population having thus been 135 per cent., while the increase in commerce has been 1,233 per cent. While these statements of the commerce of the earlier years of the century are necessarily estimates in many cases, the fact that the Oriental countries had little commercial intercourse with the outside world, or even with one another, and that the chief commerce of the world was carried on by a few nations whose transactions in these lines could be measured with a fair degree of accuracy, seems to justify an acceptance of these statements as, probably, fairly accurate.

An attempt to trace the commerce of the century by decades is even more difficult, because the occasional and semi-occasional estimates, especially those made of population, do not in all cases fall upon the year ending a decade—a circumstance which creates the further necessity of making new estimates for the decennial periods based upon those actually made by experts at the years nearest to those dates. The estimates of population made during the century are those of Malte-Brun, Balbi, Michelet, Behm-Wagner, and Levasseur; and, accepting these authorities as presenting the best obtainable guide, and the estimates made by Kaier, Palgrave, Mulhall and Keltie of the commerce by decades, it is practicable, at least, to approach the average commerce, *per capita,* of the world at decennial periods during the century. This calculation gives the average *per capita* commerce, combining imports and exports to obtain the total commerce, at $2.31 *per capita* in 1800, $2.34 in 1830, $3.76 in 1850, $6.01 in 1860, $8.14 in 1870, $10.26 in 1880, $11.84 in 1890, and $13.27 in 1899.

What has caused this wonderful increase in the world's interchange of commodities, by which the commerce for each individual in the world is now practically six times as much as it was a hundred years ago, if we accept these estimates made by the most distinguished experts of the century? One need not go far to find an answer to this inquiry. Increased areas of production, increased facilities for transporting the products of different sections and climes, increased power of communication between men in various parts of the world, and, coupled with these, the great underlying principle of specialization of labor and products have led to this wonderful development of interchange among nations and peoples, by which articles most readily produced in one part of the world are exchanged for those most readily produced in another part. The great fertile plains of North America, South America, Australia and Russia have become the world's producers of grain and provisions, and are increasing their supplies of the textiles and their supplies of the foodstuffs required by all the world in manufacturing or for daily consumption; while the Orient stands ready with its silks and teas, and Africa tenders its gold and diamonds and ivory and native tropical products, all of which articles are required by the great manufacturing centres of the United States and Europe,

which furnish in exchange their manufactures of cotton, wool, silk, wood, iron and steel.

Thus commerce is constantly increasing its volume by its own activity. The machinery produced by the manufacturing section enables one man in the great grain fields of America to produce as much as a dozen or a score could produce by old methods at the beginning of the century or even later. The machinery of the factory enables a single individual to multiply many times his power of producing the articles required by his fellowmen. Exploration, colonization and investment of capital have greatly increased the producing area of the tropical section of the world. Added to all these, and making practicable the interchange of articles whose production is thus so enormously increased, is the increased power of transportation, communication, and financial adjustment which the second half of the century has developed.

Five great causes enter into, and combine to create, the wonderful development of the century's commerce. They may be stated in five words: steam, electricity, invention, finance, peace. The effect upon commerce of the use of steam as a motive power can scarcely be realized, until the progress of its development is compared with the progress of commerce. Then it is seen that the marked advance in the interchange of commodities was simultaneous with the development of the steamship and railway, and that the growth of the one was coincident with that of the other. The application of steam to transportation of merchandise by rail began in England in 1825, and in the United States in 1830, the number of miles of railway in the world in 1830 being about 200. In that year, the world's commerce, according to the best estimates obtainable, was $1,981,000,000 as against $1,659,000,000 in 1820, an increase in the decade of barely seventeen per cent., while in the preceding decades of the century the increase had been even less. By 1840, railways had increased to 5,420 miles, and commerce had increased to $2,789,000,000, an increase of forty per cent. From 1840 to 1850, railways increased to 23,960 miles, and commerce had increased to $4,049,000,000, a gain of forty-five per cent. By 1860, the railways had increased to 67,350 miles and commerce to $7,246,000,000, an increase of seventy-nine per cent. By 1870, the railroads had increased to 139,860 miles and commerce to $10,663,000,000; by 1880, the railroads had increased to 224,900 miles and commerce to $14,761,000,000;

by 1890, the lines of railroad amounted to 390,000 miles and commerce to $17,519,000,000, and, in 1898, the railroad lines aggregated 442,200 miles, and commerce $19,915,000,000. A single instance will indicate the development which the railroad gives to the commerce of a country. India, with three hundred millions of population and 22,000 miles of railway, has seen her commerce increase nearly sixty per cent. in the past twenty-five years, while that of China, with four hundred millions of people, but no railways, has increased but about thirty per cent. in that time.

In the meanwhile steam had also revolutionized the carrying trade on the ocean. The first steamship crossed the ocean in 1819, and the total steam tonnage afloat in 1820 is estimated at 20,000 tons, against 5,814,000 of sail tonnage. By 1840, steam tonnage had increased to 368,000, while sail had grown to 9,012,000; by 1860, steam had reached 1,710,000, while sail was 14,890,000; by 1870, steam tonnage was 3,040,000, and sail had dropped to 13,000,000; by 1880, steam had become 5,880,000, and sail 14,400,000; by 1890, steam had reached 9,040,000, and sail had dropped to 12,640,000; and, in 1898, the steam tonnage was estimated at 13,045,000, and the sail tonnage at 11,045,000. The rapidity of growth of steam transportation, however, can only be realized when it is remembered that the steam vessel, by reason of its superior speed, size and ability to cope with all kinds of weather, is able to make four times as many voyages in a year as a sailing vessel, and that, in comparing the steam tonnage of the late decades with the sail tonnage of the earlier ones, the former must be multiplied by four to give it a proper comparison with the unit of sail tonnage. Reducing the steam tonnage to that of the standard of measurement at the beginning of the century, we find that the carrying power of vessels on the ocean had increased from 4,026,000 tons in 1800 to 10,482,000 in 1840, 21,730,000 in 1860, 37,900,000 in 1880, 48,800,000 in 1890, and 63,225,000 in 1898-9, of which last enormous total but 11,450,000 was sailing tonnage. Not only has greater carrying power come on land and sea, but with it increased speed and safety. A century ago the voyage to Europe occupied over a month, and was a cause for constant anxiety as to the life of those travelling and the cargo carried by the vessel; now, it is a holiday excursion of five days, in which there is no more thought of danger than on the cycle path or on the elevated railway. News of the West India hur-

ricane in 1818 reached the United States full thirty days after its occurrence, while Havana is to-day less than forty-eight hours from New York. The first vessel from New York to China occupied fifteen months on its round trip, and a voyage to the Orient, before the introduction of steam, occupied from eight to twelve months for the round trip, while now it can be accomplished both ways in a little over one month. Not only have recent years brought increased speed and facility in the moving of commerce, but, with that, increased safety, thus reducing the danger of loss of both life and property; while, in the matter of cost, the reduction has been enormous, many articles which then could not possibly bear the cost of transportation, now forming an important part of the world's commerce. Even in sailing vessels, which still perform about one-fourth of the world's sea transportation, steam is being utilized to perform many duties formerly accomplished by hand-power, such as the hoisting of heavy sails, the steering of the vessels, and the handling of cargoes; and thus, as the size of the sailing vessels is increased, the number of men required to manage them is reduced.

Still another influence which steam has given to commerce is the resultant increase in the quantity of goods offered for transportation. The great areas far removed from water transportation could never have been able to contribute to the world's supply of breadstuffs without the railway to transport their products to the water's edge, and the capacity of men for production of foodstuffs or manufactures, which form the bulk of the world's commerce, has been multiplied by the aid of steam in the workshop, and even on the great farms, where steam ploughs, steam wagons and steam threshers increase the producing power of man, and reduce the cost of the product which he sends around the world for daily consumption by millions who could not have afforded its use in the early years of the century.

Electricity, whose use in behalf of commerce was nearly contemporaneous with steam, has also performed an important part in increasing the activity and volume of commerce. The merchant who desired to send a cargo across the ocean or to the other side of the globe did so formerly at great risk as to prices, or else after long correspondence and vexatious delays. Now, not only the dealer in the cities, but the very farmer who grows the grain, or the workman who produces the iron and steel, knows this even-

ing what was its price in the markets of London and other parts of the world this morning. The merchant who desires to sell in Europe may contract his goods before shipping, and those who would make purchases in the Orient or the tropics can give their orders to-day, with the confidence that the goods will start to-morrow and reach them at a fixed date in time for the markets at their most favorable season. The growth of the telegraph and ocean cable has, like that of the railway and steamship, been contemporaneous with the growth of commerce. The first telegraph for commercial purposes was constructed in 1844, and so quickly did its influence become apparent that several thousand miles were in existence by 1850, while by 1860 the total had reached nearly 100,000 miles, by 1870 280,000 miles, by 1880 440,000 miles, by 1890 768,000 miles, and to-day the total reaches a million miles. Submarine cables, by which the international commerce is guided and multiplied, date from 1851, in which year twenty-five miles were put into operation across the English Channel. By 1860 the total length of successful lines was about 1,500 miles, though one cable laid across the Atlantic and another through the Red and Arabian Seas, meantime, had worked long enough to prove the practicability of the enterprise. By 1870, the submarine cables in operation amounted to about 15,000 miles; by 1880, to about 50,000 miles; by 1890, to 132,000 miles, and by 1898, to 170,000 miles, the number of messages transmitted on them being six millions a year, while those by the land telegraphs are estimated at one million per day, the greater proportion of both being in the service of commerce.

Invention has also contributed largely to the development of commerce, both directly and indirectly. What share it has had in that wonderful growth can scarcely be estimated; but, when we consider to what an extent the development of manufactures, as well as of agriculture, has been the result of labor-saving machinery and ingenious devices of men, it is apparent that to invention is due much, very much, of the enormous increase of production, and consequently the increase of exchange from section to section and from continent to continent. The cotton gin, which had but begun to make itself felt at the beginning of the century, the reaping and threshing machines, by which labor of grain producing is greatly reduced, the application of machinery to mining operations and the handling of the product of the mines, the

engines—those powerful and intricate machines—which transport the merchandise to the seaboard, and the railways on which they run, the steamships, the screw propeller, the iron and steel vessels and the thousands of articles from the factory which form an important part of the cargoes which they carry—all these are the inventions of the century, and all have contributed greatly to the producing and transporting power of man, and consequently to the multiplication of the commodities which he produces and exchanges.

Finance and financiers have contributed enormously to the growth of the commerce of the century. The gold discoveries in California and Australia, and later in other parts of the world, have greatly increased the volume of the circulating medium and encouraged the creation of a single and well defined standard of value, so that the merchant may make his sales and purchases with an assurance that payments will be made in a measure of value acceptable to the whole world, and losses and uncertainty of traffic thus avoided. The supply of this precious metal has increased enormously during the century. Chevalier estimated that the amount of gold in Europe in 1492 was but $60,000,000. From that time to the beginning of the century, the average gold production was about eight millions a year; from 1800 to 1850, about 15 millions a year; and, since that date, it has ranged steadily upward, until it has reached over 300 millions a year, thus multiplying many times the stock of the standard metal of the world. The result of this is that 95 per cent. of the commerce of the world is now carried on between nations having a fixed and well regulated currency, with gold as the standard. Add to this fact the developments of the financial and credit systems, by which sums due in one part of the world are balanced against those due in another part, and by the use of simple pieces of paper the transportation of any considerable sums of money from place to place and country to country avoided, and it will be seen that Finance has had much to do with the century's commercial growth.

"Peace," it has been said, "hath her victories no less renowned than war," and peace has doubtless been an important factor in the wonderful development of the century's commerce. Nothing so quickly affects commerce as protracted warfare. This was particularly noticeable in the early part of the century, when the seizure of vessels, the impressment of seamen, and the general

destruction of commerce—not only the commerce of the enemy but, in many cases, that of any others against whom the slightest suspicion could be charged—practically suspended European commerce. In addition to this, the danger from pirates, which then constantly existed in certain parts of the ocean, was increased during war times. During the first fifteen years of the century, British, French, and finally all European vessels were practically prohibited from engaging in commerce by the Napoleonic wars, and the commerce of the world was largely thrown into the hands of our own shipping, until the war of 1812 and the events immediately preceding it. With the advance of the century, wars became less frequent, and of shorter duration when entered upon; while piracy has been generally suppressed, international laws for the protection of shipping enacted, and regulations established for the protection of those engaging in commerce. Not only has the actual loss from these causes been materially reduced, but the increased safety and absence of danger from losses have encouraged the increase in shipping and in commerce itself.

Many other causes might be named as contributing largely to the wonderful increase in commerce during the century. The area under cultivation in Europe, America, and Australia is estimated to have increased from 360 million to nearly 900 million acres; the coal mines have increased their output from 11 million to 600 million tons; pig-iron production has grown from 460,000 tons to 37 millions; cotton production has increased from 520 million to 5,900 million pounds; while the value of manufactures has increased perhaps a thousand fold in the hundred years. But all these are the results in a greater or less degree of the five great causes named above. Another cause which is frequently urged as contributing largely to the increase of commerce in the middle part of the century, is the repeal of navigation laws and excessive tariffs. While this is, doubtless, entitled to consideration, it is difficult to measure the share which it had in the development of that period. Steam, electricity, and gold discoveries were at that moment combining to stimulate commerce, while the fact that the growth of international commerce has been continued in the face of the return to protective duties by most of the commercial nations except Great Britain, adds to the difficulty of determining how far these important occurrences were factors in the growth of international trade of that time.

The following table indicates the growth of the commerce of the world during the century which is about to close:

THE WORLD'S COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

		Commerce.		Shipping.		
Year.	Population.	Aggregate. Dollars.	Per Capita. Dollars.	Sail. Tons.	Steam. Tons.	Carrying Power. Tons.
1800.....	(a) 640,000,000	1,479,000,000	2.31	4,026,000	None	4,026,000
1820.....	(b) 780,000,000	1,659,000,000	2.13	5,814,000	20,000	5,894,000
1830.....	(b) 847,000,000	1,981,000,000	2.34	7,100,000	107,000	7,528,000
1840.....	(c) 950,000,000	2,789,000,000	2.93	9,012,000	368,000	10,482,000
1850.....	(c) 1,075,000,000	4,049,000,000	3.76	11,470,000	858,000	14,902,000
1860.....	(c) 1,205,000,000	7,246,000,000	6.01	14,890,000	1,710,000	21,730,000
1870.....	(d) 1,310,000,000	10,663,000,000	8.14	12,900,000	3,040,000	25,100,000
1880.....	(e) 1,439,000,000	14,761,000,000	10.26	14,400,000	5,880,000	37,900,000
1890.....	(f) 1,488,000,000	17,519,000,000	11.80	12,640,000	9,040,000	48,800,000
1898.....	1,500,000,000	19,915,000,000	13.27	11,045,000	13,045,000	63,200,000

Year.	Railways (g). Miles.	Telegraphs. Miles.	Cables. Miles.	Area. Cultivated. Acres (g).
1800.....	None	None	None	360,000,000
1820.....	None	None	None	402,000,000
1830.....	210	None	None	.....
1840.....	5,420	None	None	492,000,000
1850.....	23,960	5,000	25	.....
1860.....	67,350	99,800	1,500	583,000,000
1870.....	139,860	281,000	15,000	.....
1880.....	224,900	440,000	49,000	749,000,000
1890.....	390,000	767,800	132,000	807,000,000
1898.....	442,200	933,000	168,000	861,000,000

Year.	Cotton Production. Pounds (g).	Coal Production. Tons.	Pig Iron Production. Tons (g).	Gold Production of Decade ending with year (h). Dollars (h).
1800.....	520,000,000	11,600,000	460,000	128,464,000
1820.....	630,000,000	17,200,000	1,010,000	76,063,000
1830.....	820,000,000	25,100,000	1,585,000	94,419,000
1840.....	1,310,000,000	44,800,000	2,680,000	134,841,000
1850.....	1,435,000,000	81,400,000	4,422,000	363,928,000
1860.....	2,551,000,000	142,300,000	7,180,000	1,333,981,000
1870.....	2,775,000,000	213,400,000	11,910,000	1,263,015,000
1880.....	3,601,000,000	340,000,000	18,140,000	1,150,814,000
1890.....	5,600,000,000	466,000,000	25,160,000	1,060,052,000
1898.....	5,900,000,000	610,000,000	37,150,000	1,950,000,000

(a) Malte-Brun's estimate for 1804.
(b) Based on Balbi's estimate for 1828.
(c) Based on Michelet's estimate for 1845.
(d) Based on Behm-Wagner estimate for 1874.
(e) Levasseur's estimate for 1878.
(f) Royal Geographical Society estimate.
(g) Mulhall's estimates, except 1830, 1890 and 1898.
(h) Saetbeer's estimates prior to 1860.

To discuss the part which the various nations have had in this commerce, the relations of imports to exports, or the classes of articles exchanged between the great sections of the globe, would carry this study beyond reasonable limits. In all of the above statements, the term "commerce" has covered both exports and imports, and has included the exchange of merchandise between nation and nation throughout the entire world, wherever records

of such commerce are attainable. And while it is quite probable that the development of business and statistical methods throughout the world has made it practicable for the inquirer of to-day to bring into the grand total the commerce of some countries whose business could only be estimated in the earlier part of the period, it is also likely that the reduction in prices of the merchandise whose value only is stated fully offsets any increase in the closeness with which the field has been gleaned, and that the figures represent with a fair degree of accuracy the relative quantity of merchandise moved at the various periods under discussion. While the fact that the exports of each nation always become the imports of some other nation, would suggest that export and import ought to balance each other in the grand aggregate, it is found that they do not, since the freight, insurance, and brokerage are in most cases added to the export price in naming the value of the goods where they become an import, thus making the stated value of the world's import usually from five to ten per cent. in excess of the stated value of the exports.

The United States has performed well her part in the century's development of the world's commerce. While the total commerce of the world has grown from $1,479,000,000 to $19,915,000,000, that of the United States has increased from $162,000,000 to over $2,000,000,000, while the ratio of increase in exports of domestic merchandise is even much greater. Indeed, the figures of our commerce for the first year and decade of the century are quite misleading for comparative purposes, as they include large quantities of foreign goods brought to our ports by our vessels and merely declared as entries, while in fact they in many cases never left shipboard and only entered nominally into our commerce, because of their being carried by our vessels. This was due to the fact that European nations which had very rigorous laws prohibiting the carrying by foreign vessels of commerce between their own ports and colonies, were willing to suspend the action of these laws while the war prevented them from doing their own carrying trade. The result of this was that, during the first decade of the century, our reported exports of foreign goods amounted to as much as those of domestic products, and in some years actually exceeded them, while now they only amount to about two per cent. of our total exports. Comparing the commerce in domestic goods during 1899 with that of 1800, it is

found that the percentage of increase is very much greater than that shown by the world's total commerce.

In general, it may be said of our commerce of 1900, that the imports are about ten times as much as in 1800, and the exports twenty times as much as the nominal figure of 1800.

What of the coming century? Can its commerce, and all those conveniences of traffic and intercourse which go to stimulate and create commerce, show such a marvellous growth as that of the century about to end? It seems almost impossible, yet no more impossible than the growth which has actually occurred during this century would have appeared had it been predicted at its beginning. Aërial navigation may, long before the end of another century, aid in the transportation of men and mails and the lighter articles of commerce to areas not supplied with other means of transportation; a similar service may be performed between great distributing centres by huge pneumatic tubes, a mere development of the system which now prevails for shorter distances in great cities; wireless telegraphy will communicate with all sections of the world; electricity will transfer to convenient points the power created by countless waterfalls now inaccessible for manufacturing purposes; steamships will develop their carrying powers and multiply communications between continents and great trading centres; a ship canal will connect the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific; and vessels circumnavigating the globe in the interests of commerce may take further advantage of currents of air and water which move ever westward as the earth revolves ever toward the east; other ship canals will connect our Great Lakes with the ocean, and steamships from Europe and the Mediterranean countries and the Orient will land their merchandise at the docks of Chicago and Duluth, and the other great commercial cities of our inland seas; a great railway system will stretch from South America to Bering Straits, thence down the eastern coast of Siberia, through China, Siam, Burmah, across India, Persia, Arabia, past the pyramids of Egypt to the westermost point of Africa, where only 1,600 miles of ocean will intervene to prevent the complete encircling of the earth with a belt of steel, whose branches will penetrate to every habitable part of every continent, and place men of all climes and all nations and all continents in constant communication with each other and facilitate the interchange of commodities between them.

O. P. Austin.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN JAPAN.

BY COUNT OKUMA, FORMERLY PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN.

MUCH has been said by many writers of note about the Restoration of 1868 being the greatest political revolution there ever has been in Japan. That it certainly was; but, at the same time, it signified a great deal more, for the revolution in question was not confined to the political sphere; but, at the same time, it brought about great innovations in the social and industrial institutions of the Empire. It has perhaps been this exceptional nature of the revolution, so multiplex in its effects, which has not only made stable and permanent the new order of things which the revolution inaugurated, but has imparted such vigor and vitality to the nation as no revolution has ever done in any other country. It is hardly necessary to say that the study of the industrial side of the revolution is, therefore, as important and interesting as that of its political aspects, if not more so. It will be the object of the present article to enter into a brief discussion of this industrial revolution.

Since the Restoration, and in consequence of it, Japanese industry has been undergoing a very remarkable transition, in two respects. One is in the complete modification of its nature; the other is in the sudden acceleration of its development. When, compelled by force of circumstances, Japan opened her ports and entered into treaty obligations with the Western nations, her power of taxing imports was prescribed by the terms of the various treaties at the low rate of five per cent. *ad valorem,* on the average. Most Japanese were then in utter ignorance of the complicated theories of Free Trade and Protection, so that the *pros* and *cons* of both systems had never been discussed among them. Japan thus adopted a Free Trade policy neither voluntarily nor knowingly, but at the pleasure of the Treaty Powers.

This was the external force which helped to bring about the industrial revolution; but the needs of the new situation in which Japan suddenly found herself forced her into the revolution by influences acting from within as well. What were these needs?

To begin with, in the organization of the national army and navy, the former weapons, such as bows, spears and swords, used by the Samurai of the clans, were displaced by rifles and cannon; heavy steel armor was dispensed with, and the new conscript soldiers were attired in European uniforms. Steamers and men-of-war were gradually introduced, taking the place of the old sailing vessels. It would not do for the thousands of civil officials to be much behind the times; so they threw off their native garb and appeared in woollen suits. As a trite Japanese saying goes, "What the upper likes, the lower learns to like still more." The people who dressed themselves in European style were greeted with profounder bows; and those whose means did not enable them to comply with the dictates of fashion satisfied their pride by using European underwear beneath their Japanese clothes. Lamps came to be used at night instead of lanterns, and carpets and rugs were laid down in place of mats. In short, throughout the whole country there was a general craze for everything European.

These facts, though apparently trivial, prepare us to realize what actually occurred. There arose, both in those commodities which are the necessaries of life and in those which are merely articles of luxury, sudden and enormous demands for things which had been hitherto unknown in the Japanese market. To meet these new demands, a thorough change slowly but surely took place in the nature of the industry of the nation. While Japan remained a hermit nation, a perfect means of self-supply had been organized, and in every kind of occupation the division of labor had been carried to a fine point. Take sword-making for example, and see how many hands engaged in special occupations a sword had to go through before it could be worn by a clansman. Of course, there was the sword-smith who forged it. Then there was the craftsman who made a hilt for it; another who furnished a guard; still another who made a sheath; yet again another who lacquered it; and so on. In the manufacture of thousands of other things—such as the palanquins used by the Daimios or feudal lords, the dresses worn by the different classes of people daily or

on ceremonial or other occasions, which were in great demand in the days of feudalism,—no less minute and multiplex divisions of labor existed. The effect upon these kinds of industry of the popular rush for things European can be easily imagined. A vast number of occupations which had hitherto been thriving had suddenly to be abandoned, and skilled laborers and artisans were thrown out of employment in thousands.

This was, indeed, the greatest shock ever felt by the industrial world of Japan. Nor, indeed, is it easy to find its parallel anywhere. We read, for instance, in modern European history of the great effect of the discovery and utilization of steam power upon the industry of the West. Undoubtedly, that was one of the most momentous events in the history of civilization, the effect of which was to revolutionize the industry of the whole of Europe. But the application of steam power to production was gradual; and, consequently, the transition which was brought about in the industrial world through it was also gradual. Moreover, the utilization of steam power was merely an improvement, however great, in the processes of production. It neither exercised any direct influence upon popular taste, nor caused a blind popular craze for novelties. Its principal merit was that it largely economized the labor of production, but it scarcely affected the nature of the general demand. In the case now before us, it was altogether different. Here, the nature of the general demand was entirely changed. It was in this respect as if a new class of consumers, with widely different tastes, had suddenly been called into existence among the old class of manufacturers, asking for things which the manufacturers knew nothing of, and which therefore they could not supply. The consequence was that the greater portion of the industrial world was paralyzed completely. Those who rightly appreciate the magnitude and strength of the shock then inflicted upon Japanese industry, may wonder with reason how Japan could have succeeded in restoring orderly business activity out of this industrial chaos.

It is one of the peculiarities of fashion that it is too superficial to take much heed of any economical principle. To this rule the present case was no exception. In spite of the danger which threatened the national finances, the demand for things European not only continued but even increased, partly, no doubt, on account of the impulse toward progress which animated the nation,

but partly from that fondness of human nature for novelties which manifests itself as well in New Yorkers and Parisians as in American Indians and Fiji Islanders. Finding the home manufacturers utterly powerless to gratify their newly acquired tastes, Japanese consumers continued to rely upon European producers. The Japanese government, deprived of tariff autonomy, and so precluded from having recourse to protection, had not as yet had time enough to consider and adopt any other measures calculated to encourage home production. Suddenly brought face to face with Western civilization, the people, too, could not yet understand the use of machinery, or grasp the advantages of a joint capital. Moreover, all kinds of monopolies and business privileges which the Daimios granted to their favorite merchants, or to themselves, had ceased to exist with the fall of feudalism. Thus, having no excessive duties to hinder their ingress, and finding no domestic merchandise against which to compete, foreign commodities of every description freely flowed into the country, while a large number of home manufacturers were obliged to remain idle. Thus it was that the nation which, from time immemorial, had entirely depended upon herself for support and supply, began of a sudden to import all things from other countries—from the costly implements of modern warfare and expensive machinery down to trifling food-stuffs and toilet articles.

Under such circumstances, the amount of annual imports during the first ten years immediately following the Restoration naturally exceeded that of exports as will be seen from the table on the following page, the only exceptions being the first (1868) and the ninth (1876) year of Meiji, when a large amount of silk was exported to Europe owing to its scarcity there.

Such a state of affairs could not long be suffered to continue. Something had to be done to turn the tide. Either the political and social conditions had to be made to adjust themselves to the old industrial system, or the industrial system to adjust itself to the new political and social conditions. The former meant retrogression, the latter progress. Consequently, recourse was had to the latter, with the determination that no obstacles, however great, should be allowed to hinder the nation's victorious march on the path of progress. So much about the sudden change in the nature of the industry of Japan; we turn now to the acceleration of speed in its development.

TABLE I.

FOREIGN TRADE OF JAPAN

(During Thirty Years After the Restoration, 1868-1898).

Christian Years.	Years of Meiji.	Merchandise.			
		Exports.	Imports.	Total.	Excesses.
1868	1	15,553,472,870	10,693,071,790	26,246,544,660	4,860,401,080
1869	2	12,908,977,990	20,783,633,090	33,692,611,080	*7,874,655,100
1870	3	14,543,012,510	33,741,637,360	48,284,649,870	*19,198,624,850
1871	4	17,968,608,660	21,916,727,650	39,885,336,310	*3,948,118,990
1872	5	17,026,647,220	26,174,814,930	43,201,462,150	*9,148,167,710
1873	6	21,635,440,850	28,107,390,030	49,142,830,880	*6,471,949,180
1874	7	19,317,306,090	23,407,814,400	42,779,120,490	*4,144,508,310
1875	8	18,611,110,610	29,975,627,620	48,586,738,230	*11,364,517,010
1876	9	27,711,527,500	23,964,678,960	51,576,206,460	3,746,848,540
1877	10	23,348,521,600	27,420,902,950	50,769,424,550	*4,072,381,350
1878	11	25,988,140,280	32,874,834,170	58,862,974,450	*6,886,693,890
1879	12	28,175,770,190	32,953,002,390	61,128,772,580	*4,777,232,200
1880	13	28,395,386,660	36,626,601,000	65,021,987,660	*8,231,214,340
1881	14	31,058,887,930	31,191,246,020	62,250,133,950	*132,358,090
1882	15	37,721,750,570	29,446,593,980	67,168,344,550	8,275,156,590
1883	16	36,268,019,590	28,444,841,780	64,712,861,370	7,823,177,810
1884	17	33,871,465,500	29,672,647,450	63,544,112,950	4,198,818,050
1885	18	37,146,691,430	29,356,967,920	66,503,659,350	7,789,723,510
1886	19	48,876,312,790	32,168,432,260	81,044,745,050	16,707,880,530
1887	20	52,407,681,150	44,304,251,690	96,711,932,840	8,103,429,460
1888	21	65,705,510,210	65,455,234,010	131,160,744,220	250,276,200
1889	22	70,060,705,820	66,103,766,600	136,164,472,420	3,956,939,220
1890	23	56,603,506,030	81,728,580,500	138,332,086,530	*25,125,074,470
1891	24	79,527,272,340	62,927,268,380	142,454,540,720	16,600,003,960
1892	25	91,102,753,630	71,326,079,500	162,428,833,130	19,776,674,130
1893	26	89,712,864,590	88,257,171,710	177,970,036,300	1,455,692,880
1894	27	113,246,086,150	117,481,955,460	230,728,041,610	*4,235,869,310
1895	28	136,172,177,920	129,260,578,280	265,372,756,200	6,851,599,640
1896	29	117,842,760,620	171,674,474,250	289,517,234,870	*53,831,713,630
1897	30	163,135,077,320	219,300,771,640	382,435,848,960	*56,165,694,320
1898	31	165,753,752,880	277,502,156,510	443,255,909,390	*111,748,403,630

*These figures show the excesses of imports; the others those of exports.

One of the principal measures adopted by the Restoration government, with the object of promoting the national prosperity and enlightenment, was the education—using the term in its widest sense—of the young as well as of grown men, some of whom held high government positions. These latter were made to travel through civilized countries for the purpose of observing and examining their social, industrial, and political institutions, with a view to transplanting to Japanese soil whatever seemed to them likely to bear good fruit there. A great many students were also sent abroad to study all the branches of modern science. At home, not only were common schools established all over the coun-

try, but there arose the Imperial University, the Schools of Mechanical Engineering and of Agriculture. The young men began thus to be equipped for their future activity in the spheres of politics and industry.

Another measure which the government steadily pursued was the establishment of various kinds of factories, under the direct supervision and management of its officials. In the School of Mechanical Engineering, a small iron-foundry was built, and machines were made for the purpose of practical instruction. The Department of the Army started the manufacture of gun-powder and implements of war, while the Department of the Navy built and equipped a dockyard. The Department of Finance could not get along without a mint, nor the mint without a chemical laboratory. The same department also felt the need of an establishment where the paper currency, the national bonds and various kinds of stamps could be printed, and founded one under its direct control. In a similar manner a paper factory was established. This, in turn, necessitated the manufacture of sulphuric acid, soda, and other chemicals; and thus various manufactories sprang up, one after another.

The government also encouraged the introduction of the machinery for reeling silk thread and spinning cotton yarns, both of which operations had formerly been done almost wholly by manual labor, with such slight mechanical assistance as could be obtained from a wooden contrivance of a rudimentary nature. The government succeeded in concentrating the capital hitherto scattered by issuing Bank Regulations and establishing national banks. For the purpose of facilitating foreign trade, it used its influence for the establishment of the Specie Bank of Yokohama. Again, the government undertook the construction of the first railway in Japan,—the line between Tokyo and Yokohama.

Not to go into further details of a similar nature, let it suffice to say that, during the first ten years after the Restoration, the principal items of export of the country consisted of natural products or raw materials, while manufactured goods were imported from the West, the amount having a tendency to increase year by year; and that the government, anxious to check this tendency, concentrated its efforts during this period upon laying the foundation for the development of the national resources and industry,

the effect of which became gradually apparent in the subsequent ten years.

Those young men who were studying the different branches of science, either in their own country or abroad, were now ready to make practical application of the instruction which they had received.

Profiting by the examples set them by the government, the people, too, began to appreciate the advantages of the European industrial system. Wealth and intellect joined hands to benefit themselves and their native land by exercising their capacity in the new field of industrial activity. Led by enterprising individuals, railway companies, mining corporations, cotton mills, paper factories and many other enterprises of the like kind made their appearance one after another, as private organizations. The home producers and manufacturers who thus arose were now able, in part at least, to meet the demands of new Japan. The adjustment of the industrial institutions to the new order of things was now an accomplished fact; and one of the greatest industrial revolutions in the history of mankind had thus been achieved within comparatively short time.

Among the most successful manufactures newly started in Japan, we may mention the match industry. Formerly, flint was in universal use in Japan; but when matches were imported, they began at once to be used, even in the remotest villages. Some shrewd business men saw the great profits that could be realized from this industry; so it was started; and, although it had to encounter some difficulties at first, yet before many years had passed, the home-made matches completely drove out those made in Europe.

But, indeed, the success did not stop here; Japanese matches soon entered into competition with their European rivals in the Chinese markets. There they were again victorious. To-day they are exported, besides, to Corea and Siberia, to Hong Kong, Singapore, British India and to the islands of the southern Pacific, the annual amount of the export having now risen to about yen 7,000,000 in value.

The future of this particular industry looks most promising, as will be evident from the increasing amount of the yearly production shown by the accompanying table, which gives statistics also as to the growth of other industries.

TABLE II.

MANUFACTURED GOODS EXPORTED FROM JAPAN

(in thousands of yens).

Years of Meiji	21.	30.	31.
Christian years	1889.	1897.	1898.
Habutaye	804	9,530	12,055
Other silk piece goods		186	573
Silk handkerchiefs	2,104	3,390	3,555
Cotton piece goods	143	2,512	2,691
Carpets	54	973	850
Matches	1,137	5,641	6,273
Flowered matting	166	1,232	3,938
Cotton yarns	....	13,490	20,105
Porcelain and pottery	1,449	1,819	1,989
Lacquer	589	767	783
Straw braid	146	3,181	5,981
Umbrellas	26	628	687
	6,618	43,349	59,480

Another enterprise that has proved successful is cotton spinning. Twenty years ago, there existed only two mills, with 20,000 spindles each; now, there are 1,300,000 spindles, and besides providing for our domestic needs, cotton yarn is exported to China to the amount of yen 20,000,000 annually. Muslin and other cotton goods are also exported. Paper manufacture has been very prosperous recently. The enormous number of publications, such as books, periodicals, and newspapers, has caused the establishment of many new mills; and, like matches, after successful competition with the foreign product at home, our paper is now competing in China against that manufactured in the West. The production of cement was first undertaken by the government, that article being necessary for the building of railroads. But to-day many private companies are manufacturing cement for domestic and foreign consumption. Woollen factories in Tokyo and Osaka are kept busy; and their output, in quantity and quality, is almost sufficient to meet the internal demand. They call for a yearly import of raw wool amounting to yen 4,917,763. It would be too tedious a task to enumerate various other branches of industry, such as the manufacturing of brushes, soap, and many others, which are prospering or beginning to prosper in Japan under her free trade system. It may be, perhaps, proper to conclude *a posteriori* from what has been observed that most of the new industrial undertakings in Japan which are still in the stage of in-

fancy, and are growing with wonderful rapidity, after they have displaced imported goods in the home markets, will, in obedience to the economical law of demand and supply, pour their products into all the other Eastern markets, where they will compete favorably with the same kind of commodities from America or Europe.

In these days of steam and electricity, the exchange of thoughts and ideas is effected with ease and alacrity, as much as, if not more than, the exchange of commodities. The arguments in favor of a protective tariff, after the fashion of those advanced in the United States, found their way to Japan. Now and then, some observers here, of more or less influence, maintain that the growth of our industry does not fully keep up with our expectations, chiefly because of the absence of protection. This, to say the least, is an open question. Table I. (page 681) proves that the exports and the imports of Japan have been doubled, more or less, every ten years since 1868. The following table shows an annual increase of the imports of some chief raw materials while those of the manufactured articles remain, relatively speaking, at a standstill.

TABLE III.

COTTON AND WOOLLEN GOODS IMPORTED TO JAPAN.

(in yens).

Christian Years.	Years of Meiji.	Cotton.		Wool.	
		Manufactures of.	Raw.	Manufactures of.	Raw.
1867	1	2,542,979	1,657,454	0	?
1872	5	4,891,770	5,420,843	0	?
1877	10	808,804	4,502,838	0	?
1882	15	4,231,872	7,029,259	?	?
1887	20	3,391,939	9,149,166	5,142,513	445,200
1892	25	4,752,208	19,476,623	6,257,671	730,493
1897	30	9,888,031	53,245,571	10,282,464	3,413,906
1900	32	9,402,037	67,174,040	9,072,422	4,917,763

This and also Table II. (p. 684) prove the progress of our industry. Such development of the national resources as Japan has been making has been accomplished under her free trade policy. To us this development seems truly phenomenal. But if any one asks, why it has not been even more so, the explanation appears to be that Japan is still in great need of men of trained intellect and practical experience, not that she is in need of protection. Given the same amount of capital and the same kind of machinery as we possess, if persons of trained intellect and practical experience engage in manufacture with them, the undertak-

ings will succeed; otherwise, they will fail. When cotton spinning was first undertaken in Japan, all the yarns produced were coarse; the fine yarns could not be obtained owing to the lack of skill and experience on the part of the laborers, who were then utter strangers to this kind of work. Even at the present time, for the same reason, large quantities of fine yarns are imported from England, although the amount is decreasing year by year.

Besides, we must remember that the advancement of manufactures depends, to a large extent, upon the development of the banking system, of the insurance system, of the means of transportation. These also require special training and experience in the men employed. Japanese capitalists and producers, recognizing this fact, are anxious to engage the services of those who have specially studied, or gained practical experience in, the various branches of industry either at home or abroad. But the number of such persons is sadly small compared with the demand. Herein lie the true grounds for complaint, if complaint is to be made at all. It is not the absence of a protective tariff, nor the scarcity of capital, nor yet the high rate of interest, as some hold, that we have to deplore. One or two of these supposed causes may have something to do in hindering Japanese industry from developing with even greater speed. Every encouragement should be given by the government and the nation at large to the public and private institutions of learning, and to certain industrial corporations, so that they can furnish the country with a sufficient number of such men through study and practice: and in the course of time, they will become a most valuable instrumentality in developing the industry and resources of the nation, without the aid of protection.

The Japanese advocates of protection are accustomed to point to the marvellous development of the resources of the United States as an example of what protection can do. Originally a poverty stricken nation, the United States have become one of the wealthiest and most populous countries on the surface of the globe within the last hundred years. But whether this unexampled prosperity is due mainly to protection remains still a debatable subject, notwithstanding earnest and careful discussion for many years past by the most sagacious statesmen and the most profound scholars of the Union. It is not within the scope of my subject to take part in this controversy. Leaving it, therefore, as an un-

solved question, let us stop to consider some points of the radical differences which exist between the two nations, in order to show that, even if it were true that the prosperity of the United States were due to protection, it would not necessarily follow that that would hold good in the case of Japan also.

The physical resources of the United States, we all know, have been and still are unlimited. The vast stretch of fertile land between the Atlantic and the Pacific had remained in its natural, wild state from unknown times. The mountains were ready to yield magnificent timber and rich store of minerals; navigable rivers and lakes were ready to afford unrivalled facilities for traffic; along the coasts, sinuous bays waited to provide shelter for ships freighted with the wealth of a continent, whose vast expanse of plough-land and pasture-land were to be flecked with numberless homesteads. This continent, so favored by nature with resources and wealth surpassing the dreams of avarice, remained unknown till four hundred years ago. Moreover, the people who settled on this virgin land were far from being unintelligent and uncivilized. They brought with them from the Old World all the accumulated knowledge and experience of a thousand years, and all the great characteristics of their race—indomitable courage, untiring energy, love of liberty and uprightness. The New World poured forth its hidden treasures lavishly at the touch of the hands of this noble race. Solely occupied with the development of the internal resources of their continent, and anxious to secure peace and order so that they might be free to concentrate their efforts upon the accomplishment of that object, the people of the United States long adhered strictly to the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and avoided all diplomatic entanglements with Europe, preventing at the same time any encroachment of the European Powers upon their own sphere of influence.

This tendency of the United States to remain in some degree isolated from the Old World has been manifested not politically only, but commercially also; for the prevention of foreign competition was thought necessary to the development of internal resources. Thus a protective policy was adopted, and by it the desired end was attained. But if the United States did not wish to have other nations entering into competition with her in her own markets, she was not very anxious in return to compete in the markets of others, so that, as regards her exports, she let things

take their own course. The consequence was that the principal items of her exports were, till quite recently, and are now, though to a much less extent, agricultural and natural products, which the richness of her soil enabled her to produce in abundance, and for the supply of which the European nations were obliged to depend upon her. While by protection she thus succeeded in preventing foreign competition, there meanwhile has arisen, within the last twenty years, a number of trusts, syndicates and combinations of various kinds, with the result of checking internal competition to a large extent. Though in the United States protection and trusts have effected successful results, it is singular that neither the one nor the other has prospered in any part of Europe. Considering these facts, it is to be questioned if the trusts could have long existed without protection, or protection without the Monroe Doctrine. At any rate, it is certain that these three factors in combination have exercised a great influence upon the destiny of the United States.

Now, let us consider the case of Japan. Its territorial extent, roughly speaking, is only one-twentieth of that of the United States, but its population is estimated at the enormous figure of forty-five millions. From ancient times, the resources of Japan have been fully utilized and developed. The various mines that are now being worked are mostly of at least three hundred years' standing. The farms are now under such a condition that they require abundance of fertilizers in order to yield a good return of crops. The farmers have to labor on their small lots of land with the care and patience which a Japanese gardener exercises when he makes a miniature landscape, by here making a rivulet course and curve, and there raising a small hill. They are not like the farmers of the United States, in possessing vast tracts of lands, and cultivating them with steam machinery. Again, regarding the Japanese people, though they are in one sense very old, yet in another they are quite young, it being only thirty years since they assumed a cosmopolitan character. In other words, in the case of the United States, the country is young, and the people old; whereas, in the case of Japan, the country is old and the people young. With these great fundamental differences, to say nothing of the great dissimilarities in economical and political condition, which are noticeable between the two nations, is it not hasty to conclude that, because the industry in one country has

TABLE IV.

THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXPORT OF THE UNITED STATES

(In Thousands of Dollars).

	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.
1. Breadstuffs—						
Corn and cornmeal	$30,981	$15,299	$38,490	$54,989	$75,962	$70,753
Wheat and wheat flour	128,678	95,457	91,735	115,834	214,948	177,363
All other	7,116	3,847	11,130	27,033	42,985	25,883
Total	$166,775	$114,603	$141,395	$197,856	$333,895	$273,999
2. Cotton and Manufactures of—						
Unmanufactured	210,869	204,900	190,056	230,890	230,442	209,564
Manufactures of	14,340	13,789	16,837	21,037	17,024	23,566
Total	$225,209	$218,689	$206,893	$251,927	$247,466	$233,130
3. Provisions—						
Meat products	135,690	127,001	125,204	127,483	158,245	167,879
Dairy products	9,580	6,632	6,299	9,654	9,095	7,629
Total	$145,270	$133,633	$131,503	$137,137	$167,340	$175,508
4. Iron and Steel	29,220	32,000	41,160	57,497	70,406	93,716
5. Mineral Oils—						
Crude	4,415	5,161	6,127	6,171	4,343	5,202
Refined	37,083	41,498	56,261	56,463	51,782	51,070
Total	$41,498	$46,660	$62,388	$62,634	$56,125	$56,272
6. Wood and Manufactures of	27,712	27,115	31,947	39,624	37,513	41,489
7. Animals—						
Cattle	33,461	30,603	34,560	36,357	37,827	30,516
All other	2,250	5,150	7,280	7,211	8,415	7,364
Total	$35,711	$35,753	$41,840	$43,568	$46,242	$37,880
8. Copper and Manufactures of—						
Ore	2,435	1,104	2,033	2,059	824	440
Manufactures of	19,697	14,468	19,720	31,621	31,180	35,983
Total	$22,132	$15,573	$21,753	$33,680	$32,004	$36,423
9. Tobacco and Manufactures of—						
Unmanufactured	24,085	25,798	24,571	24,711	22,171	25,467
Manufactured	3,849	3,953	4,380	5,025	4,818	5,178
Total	$27,934	$29,751	$28,951	$29,736	$26,989	$30,645

prospered under protection, the other will also prosper under the same fiscal system?

If we examine the table on the foregoing page, which gives the amount of the principal exports of the United States, we shall be able to draw an interesting inference. It is this,—that while the industry of the United States is, on the whole, very healthy and growing, the exports of the unmanufactured commodities, and of those which otherwise possess the character of raw materials, have generally shown no tendency to increase to any remarkable extent, and in some cases have actually decreased; that the exports of manufactured articles have been increasing steadily, in most cases the figures of the year 1894 having been almost doubled in 1899. One of the greatest agricultural peoples is gradually becoming a manufacturing nation. Before long, her manufacturing power may become so great that she will be compelled to seek markets all over the world for the disposal of her produce. When that day comes, her protective tariff may prove a great obstacle to her success in competing with other nations, for one of the well known effects of protection is to raise wages and prices.

Here is an interesting table of comparative prices in the United States and England, compiled by Mr. Henry W. Lamb, President of the New England Free Trade League.

TABLE V.

PRICES IN UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND.

Article.	Quantity.	United States Price.	English Price.
Lead	100 lbs.	$4.70	$3.64
Litharge	lb.	.08⅜	.04¾
Wire, smooth	100 lbs.	3.05	2.50
Barb wire (galvanized)	100 lbs.	3.80	2.39
Wire nails	100 lbs.	3.38	2.55
Iron ore	ton.	6.12½	5.25
Tin plate	100 lbs.	4.85	3.60
Sheet steel	100 lbs.	2.70	2.07
Galvanized iron	100 lbs.	3.78	3.23
Steel beams	100 lbs.	2.30	1.80
Borax, refined	lb.	.07½	.034
Lime	bbl.	.90	.62
Cream of tartar	lb.	.22⅛	.159
Bleaching powder	lb.	.02¾	.01½
Castor oil	lb.	.12¼	.066
Caustic soda	100 lbs.	2.42	1.84
Cement (Portland, best)	bbl.	2.55	1.11

Mr. Lamb says:—

"The effect of the trust prices is to put all production in which these articles (in the table) are required upon an unsound, because

artificially high, basis. We are developing an export trade in many lines of American manufacture that is becoming the wonder and admiration of the whole world. Americans are not only proud of what has already been accomplished, but look forward with eagerness to every promised increase in our exports. This eagerness is the more intense because we have reached such a stage in our industrial development that the prosperity, and even the maintenance, of thousands of our people depend upon selling their products abroad. And yet, at the outset, at the very foundation of manufacturing enterprise, the tariff enables the trusts which it has created to extort for the materials of industry a price 25, 50 and sometimes 100 per cent. above what a foreign competitor pays for the same materials. Every handicap, every disadvantage, of this sort must be removed, if American producers are to continue to win in the sharp competition of foreign commerce. Every trust extortion, then, should be resented for two reasons: It makes our consumers pay more and our producers sell less. And every tariff duty that protects a trust in its extortions should be abolished."

In the light of these facts, it would not be at all surprising that, if the industrial prosperity of the United States continues to increase, as no doubt it will, and if the growth of her manufacturing power keeps pace with it, she may be obliged one of these days to abandon her protective tariff, in which she has been a firm believer ever since the beginning of her national existence; even as, urged by the necessity of her national expansion, she recently gave up her Monroe Doctrine, annexed the Hawaiian Islands to her territory and occupied Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

Such being the case, Japan is not likely to adopt a protective policy in spite of her having secured something like tariff autonomy by her revised treaties with the Western nations, and in spite of the opinions of those who wish to take advantage of the terms of these treaties. She is aware that, for the development of her resources, she is indebted to the free trade system, and she will remain a willing instrument for benefiting other nations through it, as well as herself. In this, she finds the means of repaying her indebtedness to the Western nations—especially to the United States, which first introduced her into the family of nations—who imbued her with the spirit of modern civilization, and gave her whatever she has needed for the invigoration of her national life, thus enabling her to act her part with honor and distinction, whether in war or in peace.

OKUMA.

CHINA AND THE WESTERN POWERS.

BY F. CRISPI, FORMERLY PRIME MINISTER OF ITALY.

THE first attempts to civilize China started from Italy, the birthplace of more than one civilization. The Italians, having inherited the Greek and the Latin spirit, defended the intellectual conquests they had achieved throughout the ages against the barbarians a long time before they were able to constitute themselves into a free and united nation. Marco Polo revealed China to Europe; Martino Martini was the first to describe it graphically in 1655 through his *"Atlas Sinensis;"* and the first missionaries to the Far East were Italians, who, whilst respecting the external forms of the Chinese rites, preached the Christian faith (insinuating that the germs of it were already contained in the Chinese religious codes), and propagated the principles of Italian science and civilization. Some unfortunate disagreements between the rulers of the country and the Dominican friars resulted in the expulsion of all the missionaries from China; and Latin influence was nearly entirely replaced by the influence of Northern Europe, since Holland, England and Russia did not then mix religious propaganda with their mercantile and colonial enterprises. But China was practically closed to Europe for a century; and force of arms alone succeeded, in the period from 1841 to 1887, in reopening its doors.

The treaty of Nanking (1842) opened the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow and Ning-Po to British commerce, gave Hong-Kong to England, and imposed an indemnity to the amount of twenty-one millions of dollars on China. During the fifty years that followed, we had the treaty of Tien-tsin in 1858 (ratified at Peking two years later, when England and France had sacked the Imperial Summer Palace); the Anglo-French treaties of 1860-1861; the agreement of Chefoo (1886); the treaty of peace be-

tween France and China on the 9th of June, 1885, after the struggle for Tongking; the additional agreement of 1887; the commercial agreement of Chung-King, in February, 1890—and all this so as to open new ports to Europeans; to declare and guarantee a free opportunity to Christian propaganda, with the recognition of the right of missionaries to possess houses and lands independently of the so-called "European concessions," which right had before always been refused to laymen; to sanction and enlarge the principle of extra-territoriality not for the diplomatic representatives only, but for all Europeans; to abolish the transit duty, which each province had the right to impose on goods; and to recognize the right of European nations to navigate and transport goods along the two great river-ways also, which, for a total length of over six thousand miles, lead from the Yellow Sea into the heart of the immense Chinese continent.

This long series of compulsory acts on the part of Europe gave rise to a reaction in China not only ethical and religious, but political and national. The different secret societies, the result of native fanaticism, grew more powerful, increased in number and became very bold. The Chinese chronicles are full of stories of bloodthirsty uprisings against strangers, accompanied by ferocious pillage and robbery, directed mainly against the mission-houses and the missionaries. All the prejudices that fanaticism could suggest to stir up an ignorant and barbaric population were set at work, some ridiculous, other childish; but they all and always had most terrible results.

In 1894, the war with Japan broke out, and, like a flash of lightning, rapidly came to an end. But of this war Russia, Germany, England and France gathered the fruits, after they had arrested the victorious young Empire on the way to Peking.

After four or five years of territorial occupation, a new general rising has broken out against Europe, which has been accused of interfering with the Dynasty, the Dynasty being considered as having been powerless to prevent disturbances which might prove the prelude to the disruption of China. Whether this be a national revolution, or only a war of fanaticism, the historians of the future will say. At the present moment, it is simply the cause which has provoked the intervention of the civilized Powers in the affairs of China. Was this intervention justified? Was it imposed by duty?

The Chinese Empire is an anachronism: its insensate obstinacy in resisting any change looking toward modern civilization is unparalleled. The cruelties of Islamism, although so much later in origin, the Mussulman fanaticism, the recent slaughters of the Armenians, still present to our mind, all fade into nothing by comparison. Turkey is acting on the defensive and for self-preservation; her diplomacy, cleverly turning European rivalries to advantage, is endeavoring to preserve the throne of the Sultan for the Turks, knowing quite well that any change means death. China, on the other hand, is an obstacle in the way of commerce and of the world-civilization. From the day when China stood up in arms against Japan, the historical contrast between Chinese barbarity and the civilization of the world at large presented itself as a phenomenon which, at the dawn of a new century, was nothing less than amazing.

Japan gave obvious proofs of understanding that the reason of her existence and her destiny are very closely connected with the necessity of a change within herself. Whether Japan has really understood this fact, or has only appeared to do so, cannot at the present moment be affirmed, although it would seem difficult for her now to draw back from the course she has already taken; but, whatever may be true of Japan, eternal immobility and unchangeableness are the characteristics of China. China is still to-day what it was in the most remote past; it has learned nothing from contact with civilized peoples, either in war or commerce. The preaching of Christianity for centuries within Chinese borders has been almost fruitless. The one sentiment that has grown with unexampled rapidity and is now spread over that immense extent of densely populated land is race prejudice, hatred of the Europeans.

It is not my intention to trace the formation of the European concessions in China. These are closely connected with the action, in political or colonial expansion, of the respective Powers, especially after the Japanese victory, which was transformed into a Russian occupation of Port Arthur. *"Sic vos, non vobis!"* Since that day, each nation has turned towards the Yellow Sea with more lively hopes, aspirations and ambitions. Each country of Europe has ever been forced to act thus, either for economical, social, or domestic reasons; or in defence of its own position and prestige in the world; or for protection of commerce, of the dif-

ferent outlets required for its products and superabundant industries; and there has been the supreme necessity of preserving the balance of power on the seas, which would immediately be upset by the establishing of a powerful colonial empire on the part of one Power to the detriment of the others. All this immense concentration of political and economical, social and commercial, moral and material interests, for the securing of wider national opportunity, is summarized in history, from the British conquest of India to our days. France, the epic dream of Napoleon having become a thing of the past, is, although a Republic, organizing with dogged perseverance a colonial empire. The other Powers, which, on account of the Napoleonic arrogance, could do little in the first quarter of the century, endeavored, as soon as the period of restoration had come, to conquer territory and influence in the most distant regions of the world; the last example being the United States in its conquest of the Philippines. In China, each one has, up till now, obtained by force, by cunning, by shrewdness, as much as sufficed to prevent the establishment by a rival of a possible future, exclusive supremacy. Only the weak and incapable were excluded from those concessions, being unable to claim them in time or with sufficient authority of prestige. The narrow mind of the Chinaman did not recognize in these said concessions the basis of an opportunity for reciprocal advantage in the future—the beginning of a happy transformation which might have led China from the horrible refinements of the arts of barbarism to those very different and genial ones of modern civilization.

During the long period which intervened between the eleventh century and the fifteenth, and still later, the relations between the East and West had been most regular and peaceful; but they were free from any pretence of conquest, from any tendency to disturb the religious, and, consequently, the moral, conscience of Asiatics. On the contrary, they were founded on a free and reciprocal intellectual, moral and material intercourse. The account which Marco Polo gives of the fifteen and more years passed by him in China, of the many important offices and confidential missions entrusted to him, affords conclusive proof that the Chinese in those times exercised tolerance towards Europeans.

The objects of intercourse being changed, the nature of the relationship became modified also. The first difficulty was the

rise of fanaticism against the missions. The secret societies speedily took advantage of this sentiment, and the Europeans, whilst, empowered by regular concessions, they were intent on constructing railways, developing industry and setting up other productive manufactures, were slaughtered. The diplomatic and consular agents were first assaulted and then besieged; whilst the representative of the German Empire, led into an infamous trap, was barbarously murdered. Immediate intervention was indispensable; and it was also important that the necessity for this intervention should be recognized by public opinion, so that international accord might be rendered more easy. Unhappily, exaggerations and fantastic inventions were not wanting on the part of the press. Descriptions and horrible details of slaughter and torture were published, which had, fortunately, never taken place. I do not approve of this kind of journalistic imposition on public credulity; but I recognize, in a spirit of impartiality, that it prevented the home opponents of some of the Powers from starting a movement intent on misrepresenting the purpose of the intervention, and from pretending that it was a colossal enterprise for conquest, a whimsical and arrogant colonial adventure.

It may be as well to state clearly and accurately the considerations on which the decision for the collective action of the Powers was based. These were the re-establishment of order, as it was impossible for the civilized world to look on unmoved at such a gigantic revolution; the severe and exemplary punishment of the bloodthirsty insults offered to the representatives of the Powers; the rehabilitation of each of the separate Powers in those rights which the violated concessions recognized as respectively theirs, and the securing of a real guarantee that the horrible deeds of cruelty should never happen again in the future; the guarantee of effective protection for the religious missions, of all creeds and all nationalities; the establishing of an orderly government, that would honestly co-operate in the application of the measures proposed; the obliging of this government to maintain normal and peaceable relations with the civilized Powers, through their diplomatic, consular and military representatives.

These different objects, then, constituted a common programme; though the indemnities and compensations to be demanded by the several Powers, individually, might differ in degree.

The right and justice of the cause were so evident that all the Powers joined it. It may be said that, for once only, diplomacy based on reasons of state yielded the path to sentiment. A ray of idealism was lighting up the not always disinterested movements of European Cabinets. And we saw troops embarking at every port, under every flag, amidst the enthusiastic cheers and good wishes of every one. More significant example was never imagined of what would be the course of affairs in that grand Utopia, the United States of Europe. Never was so gigantic a stride taken towards universal brotherhood—a brotherhood which is nothing else, for the present at least, but a rhetorical figure in the declamations of socialistic and anarchical orators, who, preaching the struggle of class against class, confirm the ancient aphorism, *"Homo homini lupus!"*

The march to the front was rapid, the incidents of little or no importance, the victims, happily, few. The enemy beats a hurried retreat. The discipline, the accord of the international combatants, the perfection of their arms, but increase the terror, and soon the road is clear. Peking is occupied, the legations relieved and their occupants set free. But the revolt and the massacres still rage in the Tartar cities; all reliable news is wanting; it is not known whether the Emperor is dead or alive, if the Empress has taken flight and where, if the rebel Prince has made himself the jailer of the imperial family, or if he himself is a prisoner, and of whom. In the meantime other troops, and in larger numbers, and inured to war, are landed at Taku, where they greet the arrival of the commander-in-chief, proposed by Germany and accepted, under more or less restrictive conditions, by all the Powers, in the person of Field Marshal von Waldersee.

Whilst diplomacy and the troops are sharpening their weapons, these observations of mine will be on their way across the ocean. I will then spare myself the ungrateful task of the prophet; so much the more as, in such a serious and complicated question, the most unexpected incidents might give the lie to the most reasonable hypothesis. I will, instead, consider the great problem itself, and under the aspect which interests me the most.

China is a huge market; the 450 millions of inhabitants that populate its immense territory render this, whilst it is more extensive, also more thickly populated than Europe. Japan, with

a population which stands in the proportion of one to ten compared with the Chinese, has nearly the same value of commerce; in 1899 it amounted to 225 millions of dollars, whilst China succeeded with difficulty in reaching 233 millions. This comparison will suffice to show that the Far East is a real and wealthy mine, still almost unexplored for the purposes of commerce, investment of capital and production.

If, up till now, England has enjoyed the greater part of this commerce, we must not forget that the commercial question tends always, more and more, to become mixed up with the political. China might flatter herself that she is impregnably defended by her great wall; but now England is gradually working her way into the very heart of the Celestial Empire, and stretching out her claws towards the South, with concessions in the territory opposite Hong-Kong, and she has occupied Wei-hai-wei; whilst she had already succeeded in having the frontier of Upper Burma rectified, in acquiring the right to navigate on the Yangtse, and in securing the opening of three new ports, which placed the whole commerce of Kwang-Si in her hands, with the right to send consuls into Yun-nan and to unite the railways and telegraph lines of Eastern India with those of China.

On the north there is Russia, whose position it would be as well to examine at length. Russia having occupied part of Manchuria, the Russian-Chinese frontiers extend coterminously over more than 4,000 miles. The Trans-Siberian railway, the construction of which has been pushed on with alacrity, for obvious military purposes, is already, for the greater part, open for traffic —that is to say, along the extensive stretch from Samara to Stretensk, and, on another piece from the Sea of Japan (Vladivostock) to Khabarovka. When the line now in construction from Stretensk to Khabarovka is completed, all the northern part of Manchuria will be protected by that line, which will render a rapid mobilization of troops a very easy matter; and when the branch line from the Onon River to Peking and to Port Arthur is open to the public, the possession of Manchuria will be made sure, whilst Mongolia will always be threatened. It is no longer a matter, then, of saying that Russia is aiming only at the defence of her frontiers; it appears evident, instead, that the Muscovite Empire tends towards acquiring a preponderating position, in view of events which have perhaps already been brought to a head.

Germany has put down a firm foot in the province of Shan-tung, and France has insured herself a nice little bit to the south.

Another actor on the stage which must be taken into account is Japan; in possession of Formosa by right of conquest, she threatens to take the province of Fo-kien. This province, so modest in appearance, geographically speaking, has been an enemy to China for centuries. Whilst Fo-kien is an essentially agricultural country, Japan is chiefly military. In China, the cultivator of the soil is obliged to gather two immense harvests of rice every year to feed such an enormous population. Japan, instead, possesses untold mineral treasures, and her mines are admirably well worked; so that not only do they provide wealth, but they render the land independent of Europe as regards implements either for peace or war.

Finally, we come to the United States of America, that already had many important interests in China, chiefly commercial, and which, after having wrested the Philippine Islands from Spain, after having, by the occupation of the Sandwich Islands and (together with Germany) of the Archipelago of Samoa, marked out, so to say, the extremities of a line between their Far West and the Asiatic Far East, have also taken up arms and intervened in the present conflict to such an extent as to legitimately entitle them to some kind of real compensation.

The intervention of the United States reveals another aspect of the future. For, if Russia intends to pass over from Manchuria and occupy Mongolia; if England intends to claim the expansion of her sphere of influence over all the Yangtse Valley (with 177 millions of Chinese population); if Germany gradually spreads herself over all the peninsula of Shan-tung—three suppositions that might be safely made by any one who has followed the development of European occupations in China during recent years—the great highway of the Atlantic, now preponderating, not to say exclusive, as regards commerce and international relations, will lose its value in comparison to that of the Pacific Ocean. This immense sea, put into communication with the Atlantic by the Nicaragua Canal, leads to a world which was, up till now, if not unknown, certainly neglected, from the coasts of China and Japan to those of California and the neighboring Rocky Mountains, across Australia and the thousands of enchanted islands constituting Polynesia.

Ocean cables are already quietly being prepared; the German press has already pointed out that the acquisition of the Caroline Islands, of the Palaos and the Marianne, must be considered as a bridge thrown between the other German possessions, Kiao-chou and New Guinea. The populations living on the coasts of the Pacific amount to 878 millions—that is to say, 100 millions more than the half of the entire population of the world, according to the latest calculations.

Senator Seward made the statement, as long ago as 1868, in the Senate of the United States, that the Pacific Ocean, its shores, islands, and the coasts washed by its waves, will in future be the principal stage on which the events of the world will be played out. It seems to me that the Senator's prophecy is about to be accomplished.

So far I have purposely said nothing regarding France and Italy. They are the two greatest Catholic nations in Europe, if we take into account the reserve which Austria-Hungary has maintained in foreign politics for several years; and the massacre of the missionaries enjoins upon them duties equal to those which Germany has asserted for herself in consequence of the assassination of her diplomatic representative. The right to intervene is confirmed by the treaty of Berlin of July 13th, 1878, by which treaty each nation has the right to protect its missionaries abroad. The fifty-second clause of this treaty imposes, moreover, much wider and more pressing duties on France. France cannot renounce that of which she has always boasted as a privilege. The exercising of this right dates from a remote past. We find it one with the sceptre of the Kings of France; we see it constantly reconfirmed; and, after the Crimean War, we find it extended even where it was not justified in penetrating and where it ought not to have forced itself, thanks to the persevering and most zealous work of the missionaries, who, instead of being instruments for the spreading of Christian charity and civilization, are far more frequently diplomatic wielders of political influence. This work of slow but continual expansion came more easily to France because of a circumstance which it is important to record.

All know that the Institute *De Propaganda Fide* sends a large number of missionaries to the East; but all do not know that this Institute has a powerful organization in Lyons, where the liberty conceded to it by the Vatican and the assured protection of the

French Government have ended by gaining extraordinary political power for the *Propaganda* work. It happens, consequently, that, whilst the religious missions sent from France to the most distant lands preserve a marked national character, those organized by other nations absorb outside elements, and each such mission thus loses the character of the place of its origin, so that the influence resulting from its work cannot be attributed to one State rather than another. It is true, however, that France has not always fulfilled her duty as protector of the Christians in the East; and still we have a vivid remembrance of the horror felt at the massacres of the Armenians, against which every civilized being raised a cry of shame; but the horror at these cruel persecutions was equalled by the regret felt that France both should and could have forgotten the task assigned to her by history and tradition, and so jealously claimed by her at Berlin in 1878. The fact was naturally followed by its consequences; because the Christians, subjects of the Sultan, finding themselves abandoned by those who, they considered, ought to have quickly intervened for their protection, turned round and concentrated, so to say, all their hopes on Russia. If, at the present moment, France were to repeat the same error, would Russia subordinate to this unasked-for protection her own private aims in the far East?

With regard to Italy, the duty owing to humanity has justified her intervention in China. Italy cannot boast that she has commercial interests to protect there. In Chinese commerce, Italy not only comes after Germany, Japan, Russia, France and the United States, but is left a long way behind by Denmark, Sweden, and Holland. Italy's intervention is dictated by the obligations of civilization, humanity, and the protection of Italians, be they laymen or missionaries. And the points of the programme common to all the other Powers, already mentioned, are those that Italy has equally the right to see carried out.

Europe has not as yet re-established order, has not punished the offenders, has not set up a regular government, has not restored in deed and right the possessions violated by the rebels. For the present, we have still to discuss the preliminaries of peace. This interlude may be useful, as it will give time to the other international forces, still on the way out, to reach China; and the conditions of peace will be dictated with more effectual security if supported by an imposing array of troops.

But, without making any forecasts, may I be allowed to express the hope that the harmony reigning between the great Powers may survive this hard trial? It is necessary for all of them to understand the danger of dissension, which might (God forbid the supposition, even!) transfer the war from the land of the barbarians to civilized countries. China cannot be considered as the booty of war to be divided. If this were the case, the cause of civilization would disappear and the rights of conquest, sad survivals of the Middle Ages, would get the upper hand. China must, instead, become, as I have already said, a market open to progress, science, art, industry; to all, in fact, of the most genial and beneficent manifestations of human activity. China must cast off the garment of the barbarian, worn for centuries, and be clothed anew, since new times, new wants of humanity are knocking loudly at her doors; and, united to the other Powers, she also will be, when the time comes, an instrument of civilization. Europe will not be repaid for her present action and the sacrifices it will necessitate by war indemnity or concessions of territory alone. But the opening of the largest market the world has ever known will be the certain means whereby all may harvest wealth in a future which the work of men and their governments will endeavor, in their own interests, to bring about as soon as possible. This accord will be rendered surer and firmer if the long, laborious and most difficult diplomatic work which lies before us be conducted in a spirit of moderation. One thing is certain, and that is that each nation must receive a reward in proportion to the sacrifices it has made. The weak, or those who for political reasons have shown themselves such, the avaricious and the incapable, will not have the right to complain when all is over; because, in politics as well as in agriculture, the mother of all doctrines and all examples, the harvest does not only depend upon the skill of the laborer in the field, but upon the quantity and the quality of the seed sown.

But the claims of justice must not be forgotten. It is impossible to deviate from the objects in which the intervention originated; to withdraw without having accomplished those objects satisfactorily would be such an evident proof of incapability that the cause of civilization could not hope, for many long years to come, to triumph in the far East.

Among the European Powers now in China, the one which

shows, for the moment, the greatest firmness, the strongest will, is Germany; because, aside from her strong impulse toward colonial expansion, she knows exactly what satisfaction she intends to get for the bloodthirsty insult she received. The treacherous assassination of a diplomatic representative cannot remain unpunished. "Wherever there is an Englishman, there is England," was said at the time of England's greatest colonial conquests.

William II. has used far more decided and severe language than this. He is a man of iron will and of noble feeling; and the powerful nation which, in such a short space of time, has risen to such power is with him, heart and soul. Of one thing we may feel sure; and that is that the subtle windings of diplomacy will not bend the German Empire to unforeseen and unbefitting renunciations.

Among the mementoes of the good will of the German Emperor, I have here before me his portrait, underneath which he wrote: *"A gentilhomme, gentilhomme; à corsaire, corsaire et demi."*

That is the motto, that the programme, of this powerful sovereign. And after the insult offered in Peking to his country, he will rigidly carry that programme out. Of that I feel convinced.

F. Crispi.

A GLANCE AT THE WALLACE COLLECTION.

BY J. J. BENJAMIN CONSTANT, MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

THE collection of Sir Richard Wallace is a gift of specially great value, a truly national boon. As a Frenchman, I may be allowed to regret that this wealthiest of collectors, who lived so long in France and was almost a Parisian, did not leave some part of his collection to the Louvre Museum. Still, England is not far from France, and the trip across the Channel is so short that all who really love painting will surely find time to visit the new gallery. In this connection, I must say that I do not understand why young artists do not more frequently and in greater numbers visit that country of good painting, for in England good paintings are to be seen everywhere. There is not an old family on the walls of whose ancestral home are not to be found a landscape by Constable or Gainsborough, portraits by Reynolds and Lawrence, not to mention numerous examples of Van Dyck.

Through the exhibition of such a collection of masterpieces as is contained in the Wallace gallery, the taste of the public is educated, connoisseurs are made, and the way is prepared for the birth of the great painters of the future.

Let us do justice to the English public, who, despite the national fondness for sports, are nevertheless much interested in the things that pertain to art. It must be some consolation to living artists, who are being so perpetually compared—and not always to their advantage—with the dead, that the English public are as much interested in the present as in the past. It was so in the time of Gainsborough, Reynolds and Sir Thomas Lawrence. At that period, England was waging war all over the continent of Europe, as well as in America; and at such moments, painting is

always somewhat neglected, for painting is essentially an art of peace. But it is more than certain that in England, as elsewhere, the masters did not live an easy life, and found the majority of people indifferent to their art. It is at most but twenty years since a revival of admiration, in which France to some extent shared, began to render justice to the school of English painters of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. In France, landscape painters made some acknowledgment of their indebtedness to the school of 1830 for the two English masters who influenced their work—Gainsborough and Constable. Outside of the landscape painters, Eugene Delacroix, among the historical painters, has left in his correspondence several pages glowing with admiration for Reynolds, Lawrence and Bonnington.

All honor to the dead! The living, however, cannot but feel that, in all countries, the greatest mistake that talent can make is to be contemporary, and that at times the merits of masters who are dead are exaggerated at the expense of those who are still alive. But, after all, that is of little consequence, since a true artist loves his art above all else, and for that reason he finds his reward largely in the happiness which he experiences in its pursuit.

But let us return to that palace of art, the Wallace gallery.

* * *

First of all, I must be permitted to pay my respects to those painters of French grace and gallantry, Watteau, Boucher, Greuze and Prud'hon. Watteau surpasses the others by his cleverness and unerring knowledge, by his warm and delicate coloring. The two large canvases by this master which hang in the Wallace gallery, while very agreeable to look at, are not, however, among his best works, and are not to be compared with the *"Embarquement pour Cythère"* of the Louvre Museum; but the two little panels, *"Gilles et Sa Famille"* and *"La Leçon de Musique,"* are gems of art.

Gilles is to the life the strolling player whom every one knows, the impudent, bold amuser of gay society, who, while remaining the professional whose business it is to make the great ones laugh, mocks them without seeming to do so. How keen those eyes are, how insolent, malicious, and full of merry scorn! How nervously are the fingers drawn, how correct is the action! You

can see them run over the strings of the guitar, and lay greedy siege to the purses of his auditors for the little money he needs. With what masterly skill is the clothing painted, and without any exaggeration. In short, it is all living, sensuous, intelligent. No painter has ever better represented the gay, joyous life of careless enjoyment. On all sides, people suffered at that period, they fought many a time and gloriously and in a generous spirit, but without profit; and the happiness of living was but rarely experienced. So, before "*le passer au deluge*," men hastened to fall in love with beautiful women, and to lie at their feet on the greensward of some great park. It was so good to think of nothing, scarcely to dream, to brush the strings of a guitar, to forget one's soul while gazing into beautiful eyes, to hear no longer the boom of cannon in the fields for listening, in the silence of the woods, to the songs of birds at the setting of the sun, or to the light laugh of some gay lady in reply to the burning declarations of a persistent wooer. Watteau was certainly the painter of this amorous and heedless eighteenth century. This sad man—for it would seem that he was really of a melancholy temperament—was the most cheerful of painters, and one who combined great knowledge with the most delicate and clever execution. Watteau will always be the greatest painter of the end of the eighteenth century, and the most truly French.

* * *

By the side of Watteau, Greuze also had grace, but he often descended to the merely pretty, a painter of the boudoir, insipid and affected. One must, indeed, be enthusiastic to admire the young woman, one of his favorite models, who is forever raising her eyes to heaven so as to make them seem larger, with much of the expression of a bleating lamb. The face is rounded to excess, and seems more like soft wax than beautiful, living, rosy flesh! Yet Greuze has painted some remarkable portraits of men—he well understood the great lords of his time. I commend to the admiration of every one those which are to be seen in the Louvre Museum, and which show Greuze in his best light.

* * *

Prud'hon was also a painter of grace, but with classic aspirations toward Beauty. A survivor of the eighteenth century in the first days of the Consulate, dazzled by the rising glory of Bona-

parte, he was one day to become the composer and designer of that art-jewel of Fontainebleau,—the cradle of the little King of Rome. He was one of the most inspired masters of the Empire style, and the exponent of the Græco-Roman transformation of that time which Josephine de Beauharnais had brought into fashion, and which so much influenced the feminine costumes of Malmaison and the Tuileries. The canvases in the Wallace gallery which bear the signature of Prud'hon do honor to French art, but it is still to the Louvre and to the gallery of the Duc d'Aumale at Chantilly that one must go to see this master at his best.

* * *

Let us now pass to the three French masterpieces of the school of 1830—*"Les Sorcières de Macbeth,"* by Corot; *"Marino Faliero,"* by Eugene Delacroix, and *"Le Soleil Couchant dans la Forêt de Fontainebleau,"* by Theodore Rousseau.

In *"Les Sorcières de Macbeth,"* against a greenish sky streaked with red rise the outlines of great oaks. In the depths of their shadows are seen two passing horsemen. The witches are at the left; they have started up with a gesture which seems to say, "Macbeth, thou shalt be king!" All that was merely an excuse for doing a characteristic landscape, an admirable bit of painting, a masterpiece. Never has Corot painted with a broader, richer, more elaborate touch. Never has power been expressed with more facility, more nimbleness of hand. You can hear the leaves rustle. What poetry of Nature is in this never-to-be-forgotten picture. It is executed in a masterly manner, and without any abuse of technique. What a lesson in Art and Painting! Young artists who allow themselves to tire so quickly of composition would do well to pass long hours before Corot's pictures. This sincere and healthy-minded painter would give of his artistic strength to those morbid ones who are now so much the fashion, to the awkward and pretentious imitators of the early Italians. No one is primitive to-day, so let us remain in our own times and live in the daily apotheosis of Nature.

* * *

Let us now turn to another masterpiece, the *"Marino Faliero"* of Eugene Delacroix. Around a great, light space made by a marble staircase, and in a soft light, a symphony in red and gold, which is occasioned by the presence of the great nobles of Venice

in their gorgeous attire, offers a wonderful arrangement of colors. The reds are kept dull, but here and there a cap of vermilion or orange bursts out like a flower in the sunshine, making an isolated note in the general accompaniment. At the foot of the staircase is a dark, bluish spot; it is an Oriental carpet. Upon this carpet, a headless body clad in a light garment with a great blood-stain, and the executioner as richly dressed as the great lords who surround him, and who have come to witness the delivery of the fatal stroke—all add to the startling effect of barbaric splendor. Into this red symphony comes most appropriately, and just where it should, the touch of resplendent gold in the robe of the Doge, the robe of Marino Faliero, of him who has betrayed the Republic.

All this is grandly depicted with a tragic brilliancy, as should be a Venetian drama of that period of splendor when on the doublet of red brocade the red of blood was invisible. They killed one another in the sunlight in that city of passion, sometimes at night amid the silence of the canals, at the sweet hour of serenades.

Such a subject for romance and its brilliant scenic possibility well suited that ardent colorist, Eugene Delacroix, and he has made a masterpiece from it.

* * *

"Soleil Couchant dans la Forêt de Fontainebleau," by Theodore Rousseau. The sun sinks on the horizon. The day has been warm. The cows are coming to drink. The rays of the setting sun are like red gold among the trees. With these few eternal notes, Theodore Rousseau has chanted a hymn to Nature, which is aflame in a divine transfiguration of evening.

Having drawn the trees one by one in forms absolutely corresponding to their essential character, having drawn the sky and the ground and the cows that are coming to drink, and having drawn it all patiently and lovingly for the sake of supplying himself with a lasting background, Theodore Rousseau has over-shot it with rich, transparent tones that spread all over the landscape, the coloring of precious stones, where the topaz mingles with the opal, the emerald green with the lapis-lazuli, and delicate rose with the fire of the ruby. Never has any one made more masterly use of material so rare. Never has a painter been more of a lapidary in execution. After the brilliant coloring of Eugene

Delacroïx, we have the gem-strewn colors of Theodore Rousseau. Let us bow before these two great colorists.

* * *

On going into the great hall, we are attracted, at the left of the entrance, by a medium-sized canvas of Velasquez. It is scarcely rubbed in, being painted with the end of the brush, but with a free boldness which is entirely Spanish. In the distance is seen a Castilian château having somewhat the air of a farm, while in the foreground the young Don Balthazar is training a pony.

In the same room is another example of Velasquez, a portrait of a Spanish lady, and a painting of the highest order. What a richness of material is here, and how well preserved it is.

Thus much being said, I do not wish to overdo my explanation of the beautiful, but would leave to each one the task of discovering it for himself. Let us, however, look at the series of artistic pearls signed Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Thomas Lawrence. These pictures have been engraved by excellent artists, but no reproduction can equal an original. The work of these English painters would inspire even the uncultured with a love of painting. It is large, easy, and suggests a love of Nature. They are never entirely engrossed by the "subject." Even in a composition, the subject is, with the English masters, as well as with true painters of all countries, a mere pretext for a bit of congenial work. They are never absorbed, except in representing life. What is more attractive than this child, with great, shining eyes, holding her dog against her dainty breast, and saying to it, "I love you?" Such sweetness, such candor attracts both the heart and the eyes, and one longs to say to this exquisite baby, "And we, also, we love it, and we love your painter, the great Reynolds."

Apropos of the indifference to "subject," which, in all schools, masters of the true artistic temperament have shown, it may be well to return to it and speak of it in passing.

The colorists, the powerful handlers of pâte, have never considered the subject otherwise than as a means of representing life under such and such actions, or such and such aspects, joyful, or sad, or simply plastic.

Rubens in one of his most marvellous pictures, *"L'Enlèvement des Sabines,"* which hangs in the National Gallery, did not even take the trouble to dress his Sabines in the costumes of their

day. Without any more ado he dressed them in the style of the seventeeth century. One might rather think it a kidnapping of beautiful Antwerp women on a Flemish fair day. But what difference does it make? He has *made* white shoulders that shine, sumptuous stuffs, warriors with glittering arms—all which is instinct with life, and blazes with the superb coloring of the greatest of Flemish masters.

Thus, the "subject" in Painting is not of great importance. It causes this beautiful art to descend to the level of mere story-telling, of the picture which appeals to the "man in the street." The crowd gathers before the pictures which depict various kinds of occurrences, before some battle-piece, for instance, of whose correctness it cannot judge, or some dramatic scene of history which may not even represent the facts. But this is of little or no significance. The curiosity of crowds is not based on proper knowledge, and everything in the shape of a figure-piece interests them. They pass by bits of real painting, or subjects treated by true artists, preferring those painters who are mere illustrators.

I must allow myself to tell an anecdote concerning this love of the "subject." A publisher of prints was once in despair over a certain proof which he was unable to sell. The subject, nevertheless, was one which he had supposed would take well. The engraving depicted a dog and her puppies, in their kennel, being tossed about upon the furious waters of a flood. The publisher's regular customers commented upon the perilous plight of the poor beasts, but did not buy the print. Then a brilliant idea occurred to the publisher. He requested the artist who had painted the original from which the engraving was made to add to the work a man in a boat, a rescuer, risking his life upon the tumbling waters to save the animals in distress. The change was made by painter and engraver, and forthwith the customers, no doubt reassured as to the fate of the poor animals, bought quite a number of copies.

As often as crowds go to expositions of paintings, they will stop before pictures for the sake of the "subjects," more or less sentimental, more or less historical, which they represent. But among these crowds there will always be some fastidious ones, some connoisseurs, who will go straight to the good bits of painting, to the true works of art, to the canvases which give the expression or the illusion of life.

Reynolds, Gainsborough, Thomas Lawrence have splendidly achieved the victory of life over death. He still lives, that English admiral who holds the key of Gibraltar in his powerful grasp. Reynolds has perpetuated his victorious gesture, he has preserved his martial and rugged face, with his complexion as red as his coat.

When at Amsterdam, you admire the *"Syndics des Drapiers,"* you see the men before you still alive, posing their best for Master Rembrandt, looking at those who are looking at them, and you almost expect them to speak to you. Yes, Rembrandt has stolen them from Death, these worthy men, these fine burghers of Amsterdam, these famous cloth-merchants. And is not this continual resuscitation of the individual by the art of painting one of the miracles of human genius?

This ability of imparting life to their creations was possessed by Reynolds, Gainsborough and Lawrence; they all had it and showed it continually. To be convinced of this you have only to look at the central panel in the Wallace gallery, which is the "Portrait of Nelly O'Brien." Never have coloring and values been managed with more skill and feeling. The reflection of the face is transparent without being thin, and is handled with a full brush. What poetry is there in the soft light that comes from above through the trees. Never has any one represented with more facility and with more accuracy the charm and the grace of the English woman, although Romney has done it occasionally, and Lawrence very often.

But let us turn to the panel directly opposite. Here we see Rembrandt in all his strength, and Velasquez in all his elegance. This work of Rembrandt's certainly belongs to the epoch of his "Syndics" and of the *"Ronde de Nuit."* The *"Dame Espagnol"* is of the epoch of *"Las Meninas,"* and of the baby Balthazar in the Museum of the Prado at Madrid.

At last, as with everything here below, one becomes tired of admiring, even in this Wallace collection. We shall return to it later, so as not to forget any of the masterpieces which it contains.

J. J. Benjamin Constant.

CHAUCER.

BY JOHN W. HALES, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

THE close of a century has often, as it has happened, synchronized with the death of some great writer; and the fact is extremely useful as a mnemonic, if for no other reason. In 1800 died Cowper, who made an epoch of importance in English literature, though his works are never likely again to enjoy the fame that not unnaturally attached to them under the circumstances of their first appearance. In 1700 died Dryden, who for over a generation had reigned by right divine the King of English Men of Letters, whatever rank has since been or shall be finally assigned him amongst our poets. In 1599 died Spenser, one of the greatest spirits of the greatest literary age in the history of England, a great Prince in Israel beyond all question, though he had his weaknesses and faults, as critics and criticasters have not been slow to point out. And in 1400 passed away Geoffrey Chaucer, not the "Father of English Poetry," as it was once the fashion to style him, but the supreme Poet of the Middle Ages, and undoubtedly, whatever his shortcomings, one of the greatest Poets England has produced.

We may add that it was at the close of a century that there died a certain royal author, for whom, with much justice, has been claimed the title of the greatest of English kings. The date of King Alfred's death, which has hitherto been commonly received, and which is to be observed in the celebration of his millenary, 901, is almost certainly wrong. But it is not yet a finally settled question whether the real date is 900, or 899. There seems some contradiction of evidence on the point, which we have not time or space now to discuss. It is enough for our present purpose to remark that the famous King and the century he did so much to make famous passed away together.

It would seem that he whose death-day, half a thousand years ago, we now commemorate, had been for some time in ill health and of enfeebled powers, before the end came. He was born, as has been made of late quite clear, in spite of current but groundless assertions, in or about the year 1340, the birth-year of his great friend and patron and brother-in-law, John of Gaunt. So he was only some three score years old at the time of his decease. But that was thought a considerable age in those days. Occleve writes:

> "Of age am I fifty winter and thre.
> Ripeness of dethe fast upon me hasteth."

There is a reminiscence of this conception in Shakespeare's making King Richard the Second address his uncle, who was then only fifty-nine, as "Old John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster." Of course, many men lived longer, as Gower and Langland in the fourteenth, and as Malory and Fortescue in the following century; but the average of life was, for various causes, much shorter in the Middle Ages than now, and Chaucer at sixty thought himself an old man; and an old man he was. There is reason to believe that he wrote very little after the year 1390, or thereabouts.

He had lived a life of immense activity, and probably spared himself in no way. We hear of him first as a page in the household of a Prince of the blood, of Prince Lionel; and we have brief memoranda of frequent movements from one part of England to another—from Hatfield near Doncaster to Reading, to Windsor, to Woodstock, to Liverpool, to Anglesea. Then he had a terrible experience as a young campaigner in France in 1359 and 1360, of which probably his term as a prisoner was the least distressing part. The sufferings from storm and from other hardships on Easter Monday, 1360, are recalled in the name of Black Monday, which occurs more than two centuries later in Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice." Then, we find him, a little later, constantly employed in the public service both at home and abroad—at the London Custom House, in Italy, in France, in Flanders. And in the midst of all this diplomatic and other business, and of all the tournaments and other gaieties and dissipations of the two Courts at which he was so well known a figure, we know that he was an indefatigable student, and that,

after the discharge of his duties as a Civil Servant, he turned to his books with insatiable zest, though with a weary head.

Of his early educatlon we know nothing. There were good schools in London when Chaucer was a boy; but we cannot connect him with any one of them. Probably, to a large extent, he was a self-taught man—one whose literary attainments were mainly secured as he grew older and his delight in the best poetry within his reach developed and matured. He became thoroughly familiar with French and with Italian literature, and read many Latin writers both old and new, if not very accurately yet with undoubted interest and perseverance. The Science also of his time greatly attracted him, and clearly occupied much of his leisure and attention. Assuredly, as a many-sided student, he worked hard and incessantly, and gave himself not many holidays, only the flowers in the May time, he tells us, having power to make him leave his books, and revel in the beauty of new-arisen Nature.

Then he had troubles, private and domestic probably, certainly public and political. Several things suggest a suspicion that his married experience was not happy, whoever was to blame —it was not necessarily or exclusively the husband—and that his relations with his son Thomas, who rose to high distinction, were not much more satisfactory and cordial than those with his wife. However this may have been—the matter is very obscure—he pictures himself to us, in the "House of Fame," as leading a lonely, uncompanioned life out of his office hours, sitting "as dumb as any stone," and living:

> "As an heremyte,
> Although thyn abstynence is lyte."

That is, he confesses to being something of a *gourmet*—a fact that peeps out of many other passages of his works; for Chaucer never makes any pretense of being better than he was; there is no touch of the hypocrite in him. Not Horace or Montaigne or any other writer is more simply frank and natural. Then, his material prosperity, such as it was, coming to an end, he was involved in difficulties that, probably arising out of state intrigues, lost him his posts in the Civil Service, and reduced him to something like pennilessness. For some reason or other, in December, 1386, he was dismissed from the two positions he held

at the Custom House, having then, it would seem, only certain pensions to live on, and of these, probably in great distress, he sold two in May, 1388. But

> "A merry heart goes all the day,"

and Chaucer was surely a merry hearted man—one

> "That ever with a frolic welcome took
> The thunder and the sunshine."

And he still hoped to complete the *magnum opus* he had so long designed—"The Canterbury Tales"—the fourth attempt he had made at a worthy expression of his lively genius; "Troilus and Cressida," "The House of Fame," and "The Legend of Good Women" having been begun with ardor but cast aside or hastily concluded when found inadequate for a full exhibition of his mind and art.

But some fifty years of unremitting toil and pleasure and thriftlessness had produced their inevitable results; and the tyranny of a premature old age began to oppress him who had lived so busily and so intensely, drinking "life to the lees, all times," enjoying greatly, suffering greatly. Chaucer's last ten years were, it would seem, years of much anxious care and physical debility. The golden age, to which he had so long looked forward, was not to come. His great work was never to be completed. What he was to do was well nigh done. It was much, but it was far less than his design. The world went wrong for him and with him. The reign of Richard II. contrasted miserably with the reign of Edward III., though, indeed, the contrast was a quite natural result. The policy which had been glorified by such brilliant battles as Crecy and Poitiers was followed by sore domestic discontent and wretchedness. Society was shaken to its foundations. It was no wonder that the literary harvest, for which there had been such long and industrious cultivation, could not under such circumstances be reaped and garnered. Chaucer was fully ripe for his great enterprise; he had taken unlimited pains with himself; his heart had watched and received, and his head was stored with knowledge. And he had produced work of merit unapproached in his day, and not so often approached since. But the coping-stone was now to be placed on the building; his supreme poem was to remain a splen-

did fragment. The Latin poet insists that a great writer must have a mind disengaged from petty incumbrances:

"neque enim cantare sub antro
Pierio thyrsumque potest contingere sana
Paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque
Corpus eget. Satur est quum dicit Horatius
Evoe!

"Quis locus ingenio, nisi quum se carmine solo
Vexant et dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur
Pectora vestra, duas non admittentia curas?
Magnae mentis opus nec de lodice paranda
Attonitae, currus et equos faciesque deorum

"Aspicere et qualis Rutulum confundit Erinnys.
Nam si Vergilio puer et tolerabile deesset
Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri;
Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina."

Certainly the struggle for Chaucer, in his last decennium, was hard and fierce; and, though he fought his battle bravely, circumstances overpowered him. Morally he triumphed; but materially he was beaten, except perhaps just for the last few months of his life; and even then, though his pecuniary means were bettered, his health and strength would seem to have failed beyond recovery.

The short poems he wrote during this period all represent him summoning his best courage to endure an adverse fate. He strives nobly to learn the lesson of patience and fortitude—to brace himself to bear "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune;" and, like Sir Walter Scott and many another, he is, in the midst of misfortune, personally worthier of our respect and admiration than when he was well to do and living in comparative ease and wealth. In his "*Balades de visage sanz Peinture*," his ballads of "The Unpainted Face"—*i. e.*, of reality, of things as they are, not as they seem—he resolves to be content with what means he has, however scanty, and to rise superior to all accidents:

"My suffisance shall be my socour;
For fynally, Fortune, I thee defye."

Socrates would not let himself be tormented by the freaks of the fickle goddess; he knew well how she lied; and

"I know hir eek a fals dissimilour;
For fynally, Fortune, I thee defye."

Fortune defends herself by saying that, by her inconstant dis-

pensation, she has taught him many things, and that he must not expect her to be at his beck and call; that he was born in her "reign of variance," and must revolve on her wheel even as others revolve; and that he has no right to complain of, to "pinch at," her mutability:

> "For I thee lente a drop of my richesse,
> And now me lyketh to withdrawe me.
> Why sholdestow my realtee oppresse?
> The see may ebbe and flowen more or lesse;
> The welkne hath might to shyne, reyne or hayle;
> Right so mot I kythen my brotelnesse."

That is, she may exert her prerogative of changeableness, even as the sea and the weather. The poem, however, concludes with an appeal from Fortune herself to certain royal friends of Chaucer's, that they should allay, or cause to be allayed, his "cry and plaint," and by their intercession, if not by their direct help, see

> "That to som bettre estat he may atteyne."

Still more earnestly, in his *"Balade de bon Conseil,"* he schools himself to be quiet and resigned. He would fain withdraw from the crowd—"flee fro the prees;" and live simply and sincerely—"dwelle with sothfastnesse"—content with what little he has:

> "Suffice unto thy good, though hit be small."

Riches attract envy, and high position is perilous; the great secrets of living are not to "hoard" or to "climb," but to be content; to do well oneself, not merely to advise others; to be genuine and true.

> "Werk wel thyself that other folk canst rede,
> And trouthe shal delivere, it is no drede."

This is the concluding wisdom attained by Chaucer; this is his final creed, this belief in Truth the Deliverer.

> "That thee is sent, receyve in buxumnesse;
> The wrastling for this worlde axeth a fal.
> Her nis non hoom; her nis but wildernesse.
> Forth, pilgrim, forth. Forth, beste, out of thy stal!
>
> "Know thy contree; lok up; thank God of al;
> Hold the hye wey, and lat thy gost thee lede,
> And trouthe shall delivere, it is no drede."

With all his merriness, Chaucer was yet essentially no frivolous, but a grave and serious man. Even in his earlier poetry

his thoughtfulness is perpetually apparent; and if, at one epoch of his life, when he wrote such tales as the Reeve's and the Miller's, he abandons himself for the nonce to what is coarse and animalistic, he defends himself by the necessity of dramatic faithfulness; and certainly he soon restrains such licenses and returns to his better self. Conceivably enough, he may at one time have taken part in the wild and disastrous extravagances of the Court of Richard II.; but, assuredly, he came soon to his senses, and not even the sober-minded Gower gives that light-headed monarch straighter or shrewder admonition. He tells him frankly that all is being lost by his utter instability—for "lack of steadfasteness."

> "Trouthe is put down; resoun is holden fable;
> Vertu hath now no dominacioun;
> Pitee exyled; no man is merciable;
> Through covetyse is blent discrecioun;
> The world hath mad a permutacioun
> Fro right to wrong, fro trouthe to fikelnesse,
> That al is lost for lak of stedfastnesse."

And then the old poet, assuming the function of a prophet, solemnly apostrophizes the wayward King, who was so diligently sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind:

> "O prince, desyre for to be honourable;
> Cherish thy folk, and hate extorcioun!
> Suffre no thing that may be reprevable
> To thyn estat don in thy regioun.
> Shew forth thy sword of castigatioun;
> Dred God; do law; love trouthe and worthinesse,
> And wed thy folk agein to stedfastnesse."

But good advice was wasted on a governor who could not govern either himself or his realm; and, to quote the words of a very different type of man,

> "The skipping King, he ambled up and down,
> With shallow jesters and rash bavin wits,
> Soon kindled and soon burnt; carded his state,
> Mingled his royalty with capering fools,
> Had his great name profaned with their scorns,
> And gave his countenance, against his name,
> To laugh at gibing priests and stand the push
> Of every beardless vain comparative."

It was a sorry spectacle Chaucer beheld, in the world political, in the last year but one of the Fourteenth Century. Possibly, as has been thought, King Richard's brain had given or was giving

way. Well might Shakespeare make the Archbishop of York a little later confess:

> "We are all diseased,
> And with our surfeiting and wanton hours
> Have brought ourselves into a burning fever,
> And we must bleed for it; of which disease
> Our late King Richard being infected died."

However, Chaucer having done what he could to bring to a sense of the situation him who was so wildly rushing to his doom, soon frankly attached himself to the Saviour of Society who then arose, the son of his old friend and patron, John of Gaunt; and, perhaps, the latest lines he penned are the *Envoi* to the "Complaint to His Purse," in which, happily not in vain, he invokes the Lancastrian's sympathy with his straitened circumstances:

> "O, Conquerour of Brutes Albioun,
> Which that by lyne and free eleccioun
> Ben verray king, this song to you I sende,
> And ye that mowen al myn harm amende,
> Have mynde upon my supplicacioun."

King Henry IV., four days after he came to the throne, granted the old poet forty marks (£26 13s. 4d., equivalent to some £340 of our money) yearly, in addition to the annuity his predecessor had granted him, thus nearly doubling his income. Thus, we may believe, his last months were spent in comparative comfort, so far as his income was concerned. His old vivacity was gone, though gleams of his characteristic humor shine out now and then in his latest pieces, as in his lines to Scogan, and to Bukton; he found composition, he tells us, and composition in English, not so easy as of old:

> "Princess! receyveth this complaynt in gré."

The Princess was probably the Duchess of York, and the poem submitted to her is what is known as the "Complaynt of Venus":

> "Unto your excellent benignitee,
> Direct after my litel suffisaunce.
> For eld, that in my spirit dulleth me,
> Hath of endyting al the sotelte
> Wel ny bereft out of my remembraunce.
> And eek to me hit is a greet penaunce,
> Sith rym in English hath swich scarsitee
> To folowe word by word the curiositee
> Of Graunson, flour of hem that make in Fraunce."

But his buoyancy of spirit never completely succumbed before any evils physical or pecuniary; at least it had its occasional revivals. On December 24th, 1399, he took a lease for fifty-three years, or less, should he die sooner, of a tenement called the "Rose in the Garden of St. Mary's Chapel"—*i. e.*, the old Lady Chapel, which preceded the building now commonly known as Henry the Seventh's Chapel—attached to the east end of the Westminster Abbey Church. He was, however, to enjoy his new quarters but for a very short period. There is no reason for rejecting the date October 25th, 1400, as the date of his death; that, certainly, three and a half centuries ago, was accepted as the date of his death. He was buried first in the Cloisters, as Stow informs us; and then, one hundred and fifty years afterwards, in the east aisle of the south transept, near the site of the tomb we now see, which was at that time erected in his honor by Nicholas Brigham, a minor versifier who, it would seem, felt that the great poet was insufficiently honored in his outside resting-place. Not long after that re-interment, Spenser and other poets found their last, long home in the same part of the same venerable pile, and the south transept became known forever as "The Poets' Corner," Browning and Tennyson its latest co-tenants. We will quote the exact words of Camden from what is the earliest guide book to the monuments of Westminster Abbey:

> *"In Australi plaga Ecclesiae:*
> *Galfridus Chaucer Poeta celeberrimus, qui primus*
> *Anglicam Poesin ita illustravit, ut Anglicus*
> *Homerus habeatur Obijt 1400. Anno vero 1555*
> *Nicholaus Brigham Musarum nomine hujus*
> *ossa transtulit [from 'the Cloister'], et*
> *ille novum tumulum ex marmore his versibus*
> *inscriptis posuit:*
>
> *"Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,*
> *Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.*
> *Annum si quaeras Domini, si tempora mortis,*
> *Ecce notae subsunt quae tibi cuncta notant.*
>
> *25 Octobris, 1400.*
> *Aerumnarum requies mors."*

Possibly, or probably, these verses and the words that follow were copied from the original gravestone.

Never was death more truly described as "a rest from troubles." It is conceivable that amongst his vexations was some

narrow-minded priest that persuaded him in his weakness of body and mind to apologize for much that needed no apology. It cannot, indeed, be said of him, as is very dubiously said of another poet, that:

> "His chaste Muse employed her heaven-taught lyre
> None but the noblest passions to inspire,
> Not one immoral, one corrupted thought,
> One line, which dying he could wish to blot."

But it can most truly be asserted that the general tone of his work is healthy and health-giving, and that, in judging of certain grossnesses that offend the modern reader, we must carefully take into account both the manners of his age and his creed and principles as an artist. Once on a time, men were naked and not ashamed; and that time had not entirely passed away when Chaucer wrote. He is at times frankly and simply natural; but he cannot be accused of deliberate and lingering sensuality. He takes men as he finds them, and does not shrink from portraying the coarse as well as the refined. He knows that all sorts go to the making of the world, and he paints all sorts. But he never forgets that a villain is a villain; and no one has given more sympathetic pictures of what is liberal, noble, chivalrous. So we would fain believe that the "Retraccioun" mentioned in the final passage of the "Canterbury Tales" were either a sacerdotal suggestion or were made by him when he was no longer his sane and clear-headed self. He thanks our Lord Jesu Christ that he has translated Boethius's *"De Consolatione"* and other books of Legends of Saints and homilies and morality and devotion; but, undoubtedly, we should not now be caring to commemorate his quincentenary, if he had been represented in literature only by such works as he mentions or refers to—such works as the Parson's Tale, and the Prioress', and the Second Nun's, and the Tale of Melibeus. "The Enditings of worldly vanities" that he would revoke in the concluding paragraphs of the "Canterbury Tales"—"the Book of Troilus; the book also of Fame; the book of XIX. Ladies; the book of the Duchess; the book of Saint Valentine's Day, of the Parliament of Birds"—these are all works of great promise or of great performance, works of singular beauty and power, if now and then somewhat free-spoken and unrestrained, whose destruction by any illiterate father-confessor would have been a grievous loss to the nascent human-

ism of the Middle Ages and to English Literature. Monks and friars may have resented the too faithful portraitures of their orders or disorders; but, though we cannot doubt there were many of these persons that were not mere worldlings and profligates, yet both contemporary history and contemporary literature abundantly ratify the exhibitions of monastic corruption that Chaucer brings before his readers. But to have exposed the irreligiousness of the so called "religious" need have caused the poet no remorse in his last hours; it should rather have cheered and soothed him. He had made his protest against hypocrisy and Pharisaism, because in his heart of hearts he revered truth and piety, however careless at times his language and his humor.

Virgil, as he was passing into the land of the Shadow of Death, wished that his unrevised Epic might be burnt. His exquisite taste shrank from leaving behind him work not absolutely finished and perfected so far as might be. Happily for all lovers of poetry, a desire that would have deprived the world of many literary passages of almost faultless beauty, however incomplete the work as a whole, was not executed; and, happily for English Literature, Chaucer was not able to exterminate or to withdraw writings that are a treasure of enduring price.

For already his works were held in the highest esteem, and all the lesser but not unendowed spirits of his age gathered round him as their lord and master. His poetic kingship was not only unchallenged; it was loyally and heartily accepted. And it became so supreme, and its acknowledgment so general and so uncritical, that, in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, most unattached poems and even some attached ones were ascribed to him.

His reputation, incomparable at the time of his death, has, of course, in later generations had its times of obscurity and eclipse. His vocabulary and grammar became to a large extent obsolete, just as Bacon believed the Elizabethan language would be, and Waller that of the Restoration period. And that very popularity we have mentioned proved detrimental to a true appreciation of his genius, as so much that he did not write and so much that was altogether unworthy of any connection with him was sent down to his credit or discredit.

A new era in our knowledge of Chaucer began with the studies of that excellent scholar, Thomas Tyrwhitt, admirably

followed up and extended by Professor Child, Dr. Ellis, Dr. Furnivall, Dr. Morris, Professor Ten Brink, Professor Skeat, and many others in England, in America, and in Germany. And at the close of the Nineteenth Century, which is, as we have seen, just five hundred years since Chaucer's death, we may venture to say that he is more widely and intelligently appreciated than he has ever been before. His works have been edited with the reverent care and the high ability that till lately have been reserved for "the Classics" of Athens and of Rome; and the recognition of him as a great master in literature is no longer confined to an enthusiastic, but not always discriminating, band of bookworms and archæologists. He is no longer known through well-meaning versions and perversions, but heard to speak with his own voice. And the numerous pieces wrongly ascribed to him—pieces proved not to be his by endless arguments, by their grammar, their metre, their language, their fulness, their allusions, their acknowledged composition by other persons—have ceased to form part of what was so blindly and comically called his works. We do not say that all these compositions were mere rubbish; some undoubtedly deserved to live, and are important products of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. But, to adopt the old Greek cry, when the drama was passing on to subjects unconnected with the god whose worship was originally concerned, what had they to do with Chaucer? The most admirable recent contribution to Chaucerian literature, and to a real knowledge of his grammatical and metrical style and characteristics, a volume that forms a most excellent commemoration of his quincentenary, is Professor Skeat's "Chaucer Canon; with a discussion of the works associated with the name of Geoffrey Chaucer," with a well-chosen motto from the Epilogue of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar:

"Dare not to match thy pipe with Tityrus his style."

JOHN W. HALES.

NEW YORK AND ITS HISTORIANS.—I.

BY MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER.

A COMPLETE History of Miswritten Histories would be, of course, the most instructive book in the world. We can never hope for it, but now and again profitable fragments of it are put forth. Modern research or modern progress in clear thinking revises some long-accepted story of the past, and the most valuable part of the newer version is its showing of the causes why the older was written and believed.

This has been the case, for instance, with regard to the colonial history of New England. Until recently it had been treated almost altogether in what Mr. Charles Francis Adams calls a "filio-pietistic" spirit. But now that this fact and the reasons for it have been recognized, a basis has been laid for a juster understanding of the times and the men in question.

The history of the City of New York has never been read through a filio-pietistic glamor. But in an opposite way it has been more grossly misunderstood than the history of New England; the hour of its clarification has been longer delayed; the story of its falsifying is not yet well known; and until this story is known, the true import of the history itself cannot be felt.

It is an interesting story, showing that ironies of circumstance may as long and as deeply affect the world's estimate of a community as of an individual. In part it reveals reasons for misrepresentation which are the same in kind as those that appear when we study the facts about New England, although very different in result. I mean that the character of the people of New York and the course of their development have logically affected the way in which their local historians have written. But this character and this course were in themselves exceptional as

compared with those of the other American colonies. And the long miswriting has also been due in part to peculiar mischances, and, again, to the curiously harmful influence of a book written with no evil intent.

The New England colonies were homogeneous in blood and speech, safe from all foes excepting red ones, self-governing from the first, and for fifty years practically undisturbed by their nominal over-lords in England. They were ruled by self-conscious, self-confident sectaries who were satisfied with their condition, proud of their prospects, and keenly aware of the fact that they were playing an important rôle in the eyes of the present and the future as the founders in a new world of new commonwealths upon novel patterns. Naturally, they nourished troops of chroniclers—minutely careful diarists, garrulous biographers and memoir writers, voluminous letter writers, clergymen who discussed all contemporary matters in print as well as from the pulpit, and compilers who wove into more formal narratives the threads thus lavishly spun. And, naturally, the tenor of almost all this writing was of a sort to inspire in later years a succession of filio-pietistic historians.

Quite as inevitably, New Netherland did not chronicle its works and ways in the same spirit as New England, or with the same voluminousness. Its people were diversified in blood, traditions and speech; although Dutch and Flemings largely preponderated among them, they included numbers of Frenchmen, some Britons, and so many odds and ends of humanity that twenty years after Hudson had discovered Manhattan fourteen languages were spoken in its streets. Ruled not by itself and not even by a European state, but by a selfish mercantile corporation, New Amsterdam was always dissatisfied with its political and commercial condition. It suffered more at the hands of the Indians than any important New England town. It was bent upon trade, not upon protest, propagandism, or demonstration of any kind. It was liberal in religion, and therefore, although more Christian in some respects than New England, it took its moral and spiritual self much more simply. Neither for spiritual nor for material reasons did it feel a strong sense of its own importance as a favorite of heaven, and apparently it did not consider at all what posterity might think about it. "Its people,"

says Brodhead, "came with no loud-sounding pretensions to grandeur in purpose, eminence in holiness, or superiority in character. They were more accustomed to do than to boast. * * * Husbandmen and traders they chiefly were"; and although "men of science and acquirement were not wanting among the fathers of New York," many of them were in the service of the West India Company, which owned the province, and could write nothing except under its scrutiny. For these reasons it is natural that, while some excellent descriptions of the province, some interesting fragmentary narratives, and some important explanations of its political and commercial condition were written in its Dutch days, no full chronicle or long-continued diary was produced. Moreover, almost all its official and unofficial writings were veiled from later eyes by the Dutch language, and many of them were buried in the archives of the motherland until some fifty years ago. Before that time almost everything that historians wrote about New Amsterdam was gleaned from the chronicles of New England; and there were good reasons why the information that these supplied was misleading as well as inadequate. The self-approving spirit of the New Englander did not fit him to judge impartially of any one else; and, in addition to the general feeling of dislike for Holland which prevailed among Englishmen at that time, he had a special feeling of antagonism for the New Netherlander.

From the beginning Puritans and Pilgrims looked toward the fertile but sparsely settled Dutch province with an envious eye and moved upon it with an aggressive foot, taking advantage of its weakness and of the fact that its rulers in Holland, while neglecting it themselves, sternly bade it keep the peace with every neighbor. Gradually they thrust its outposts from the Connecticut River; in 1653 they induced Cromwell to despatch an expedition for its conquest; and steadily they pressed westward, on the mainland and on Long Island also, to the very doors of New Amsterdam, threatening its safety long before it was attacked in 1664 by the ships of the Duke of York. For thirty years before this time two cries dominated in all the many letters, petitions, and verbal appeals sent from New Amsterdam to Holland—one against the mingled neglect and oppression of the West India Company, and the other against the greedy boldness of New England. The same facts inspired in the mind of New

England a feeling of dislike and contempt for New Netherland, and this was increased, of course, by the Puritan's hatred for all advocates of free speech and religious tolerance. Then, after New Netherland had become New York, its status as an unchartered royal province alarmed its northern neighbors, and the repeated claims of its governors to districts that they had absorbed constantly exasperated them. Thus, during early days, New England formed and expressed a very unjust estimate of the city on Manhattan, while, as always in that uncritical age, many things that had not come under a writer's own observation were set down as facts with small warrant or with none at all.

Moreover, mischance had already begun to work against the truthful chronicling of Manhattan's life. If Governor Peter Stuyvesant had not been a tyrannical and ill-tempered person we should have had fuller knowledge of the early history of the town he ruled. In 1649 Adriaen Van der Donck, one of its most cultivated and public-spirited citizens, returned to Holland as the agent of his fellow-townsmen who were struggling with the West India Company for the right to municipal self-government. After years of negotiation and dispute Van der Donck won their battle, and thereby he greatly incensed their governor. During his stay in Holland he had written the most valuable descriptions of the early state of the province that we now possess; and, intending to supplement these by a history of its settlers, he asked from the home authorities, before he set sail for New Amsterdam again, permission to examine its official records. They referred his request to Stuyvesant; but, as the history was never written, it may be assumed that the governor refused to give his enemy a privilege that might prove detrimental to his own or to the Company's good repute; and before any one else thought of basing such a narrative on so sure a foundation, the earliest and most valuable of the records had been lost.

After the year 1674, when New Netherland was finally ceded by Holland to England, the city on Manhattan, for one hundred years and two, was English in fact as well as in name. But it was always largely Dutch in blood and spirit. While New England, toward the end of the seventeenth century, lost a portion of its independence and was brought into closer connection with the home government, New York, as a conquered and a royal province,

was wholly at the mercy of this government, and, becoming more and more the recognized centre of English influence in the colonies, had to struggle hard for each small measure of the liberties it desired. Inevitably its people split into two parties—an aristocratic and a democratic, a loyalist and a patriot—before any such sharp division showed elsewhere. And although the peculiarly hot political feuds of New York were not determined by facts of nationality, the persistent attachment of its Netherland folk to the speech, the customs, the ideas, and the Church of their ancestors, strengthened by the wholly Dutch character of the up-river districts, worked with other causes of disagreement against true civic unity and the development of that civic pride which finds a natural outlet in the writing of local chronicles and the cherishing of the memory of conspicuous citizens.

No other American town was in such a constant stir and seethe as New York all through the hundred years that preceded the Revolution. This fact is remembered, with some of its results as they showed just before and during the great conflict. But its unfortunate effect upon the writing of history is not as clearly recognized. For example, had the feuds that divided New York been less bitter and persistent, Jacob Leisler would probably have found a competent biographer, or his days an impartial chronicler, soon after his tragic death. But in fact nothing was written about these days except a mass of excitedly, abusively controversial papers and pamphlets, most of which were not printed until Leisler had been dead for a hundred and fifty years. They tell each side of the story in a confused and fragmentary as well as a partisan way. They are so voluminous, yet so scattered, so contradictory, and in some respects so baffling, that no pen has yet attempted to set forth their contents in a full and conscientious fashion. Nevertheless, their bitterness has flavored almost every pen that has referred to the period they cover, making its results an absurd panegyric or an unjust arraignment of the Leislerian party, and thus failing to explain the real reasons why it survived its chief so long and had such a strong influence upon local affairs. Naturally, most of the historians of our national life fail in their treatment of an episode which even those who deal specifically with New York have not rightly handled; and so it has slipped out of the popular memory, although no other of as

picturesque and dramatic a sort occurred in any colony in pre-Revolutionary times. It is almost the same with the Zenger trial for libel and high treason. This was not an episode of simply local significance. Establishing the freedom of the press in New York and assuring it to the other colonies, it was the most important event that happened in our parts of America before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. In regard to it there is no dispute about facts, motives, characters, or results, and it is not actually ignored or mishandled in our general histories of colonial times. Nevertheless, it has not been as fully or as emphatically celebrated as it should be. Our children do not know the story by heart as they do even minor anecdotes about New England's experiences; and, indeed, adult Americans, unless they are professedly students of our past, rarely recollect even the names of John Peter Zenger and Andrew Hamilton.*

During the eighteenth century the historians of New England naturally copied the mistakes of their predecessors in regard to New Amsterdam. Their bias against New York remained almost as strong, for the feeling of enmity between the two regions did not die out until after the Revolution, and the unquestioning self-approval of New England also persisted. And meanwhile New England's loving grasp upon the pen was still practically undisputed by New York.

The causes that kept New York politically restless worked indirectly as well as directly against the development of a local historical school, harmfully affecting its general intellectual condition. In a bi-lingual town, and one where the government barred the way as firmly as it could to all liberal and progressive ideas, education was at a lower ebb than in the more homogeneous

*When the results of the revolution of 1688 were known in America, and when Governor Andros (who was in charge of New York as well as of New England) was thrown into jail in Boston, the popular party in New York placed at their head Jacob Leisler, a merchant of German birth and the senior captain in the city militia. Although he was bitterly opposed by a new-born "aristocratic" party, he ruled the province for two years. Then, after the arrival of a new governor, he and his son-in-law were convicted of high treason and hanged. A few years later the parliament of England reversed the attainders, thus clearing the memory of Leisler and Milborne, and ordered that their confiscated estates be restored to their families.

John Peter Zenger, a newspaper editor, was tried for high treason in 1734 because his journal had criticised and opposed the local government. He was defended by Andrew Hamilton, a lawyer, who came from Philadelphia to defend him after those in New York who appeared for him had been disbarred by the court, and was acquitted, amid great popular rejoicings, in spite of the utmost efforts of the government to secure a different verdict.

and independent towns of New England; and this meant that literary activity in all directions was much less. Before and immediately after the Revolution New York accumulated a great deal of valuable material for the writing of its history. But much of it remained in manuscript until long after our own century had begun; and such was the case even with the second and more important part of the only history of the town and province that was attempted before 1800.

This was the work of William Smith, an accomplished jurist who took the Tory side in the Revolution and died Chief Justice of Canada. The first part of his book was published in 1756, but it brings the story down only to 1732, and therefore does not include an account of the Zenger trial. It says very little, and that little incorrectly, about the Dutch period. Probably the earlier records of this period had already disappeared. They may have been lost during the Dutch repossession in 1673-1674, when, the English said, some official papers were taken away; or, more probably, when all of them were transferred to Boston by the royal order in 1689 (after the incorporation of New York with the Dominion of New England), there to remain until 1691; or, perhaps, in a fire which destroyed the Government House in the old fort in 1741.* Even the surviving records of New Netherland were in a language unfamiliar to Smith. But these facts really mattered little in so far as he was concerned, for his method was not a scientific or a philosophical one in any modern sense. He himself acknowledged the superficial and partisan character of his book, and would not allow the second part of it to be published while he lived. This is more valuable than the first part as painting the author's own times, but it did not see the light until 1826.

The year 1804 should be marked with a bright letter in the annals of New York. Then its Historical Society was founded, and the influence of this association during its earlier years was strong and wholesome, while the many volumes of publications and republications that it has issued contain much of our best material for a reconstruction of our past. But, on the other hand, a black border should encircle the page in our annals that

* An inventory taken in 1753 shows that none of the city's papers then existing have since been lost, although some have grown illegible and others have been mutilated by autograph-hunters.

is dated 1809, for it records the appearance of Knickerbocker's History of New York.

On both sides of the ocean this book was hailed as a triumph of literary art and a new glory for the new Republic. It has proved to be an enemy of the state, and its long vogue a civic disaster. It was written as a jest, of course, and as such it was received and has always been treated—ostensibly. But in fact it has done the work of a very able and very false historical document. To-day it shares the fate of many another "classic." Comparatively few people read it, and still fewer enjoy it; scarcely any, indeed, among the young seem to find in it the delicious quality of humor that their grandfathers and great-grandfathers all discovered, or can understand what Walter Scott meant when he said that its perusal made his sides "sore with laughing," and reminded him of "the style of Dean Swift" with "some touches" that recalled Laurence Sterne. Nevertheless, its reputation remains as great as ever; and the substance of what it says, and, above all, the tone in which it is written, having filtered through the minds of three generations, still affect the point of view of almost every American, not merely distorting his ideas in regard to this fact or that, this personage or another, but perverting his general mental and emotional attitude toward the place, the times, and the men in question. Irving's burlesque still dominates the popular conception of the history of early New York, and even the professed historian still helps to propagate its influence. Many an historical writer of to-day, although otherwise quite serious in mood and method, quotes long passages from Diedrich Knickerbocker, while more or less explicitly telling the reader they are not to be literally accepted. Others recast the substance of his fantasies without giving any warnings at all, or have plainly been biased by his temper or indirectly swayed by the general attitude of mind that it has nurtured. Unless one knows the true story of early New York as the "sources" now available reveal it, and unless one has traced, with Knickerbocker well in mind, the travesties and the minimizings of this story through a long list of highly dignified and popular modern histories for children and for adults, it is impossible to realize how deeply Irving's book, written, as his chief biographer says, "in pure wantonness of fun without a particle of malevolence," has injured the fame of the town that gave him birth, and how

strongly it has worked against a right comprehension of his fatherland in its colonial days.

And there have been practical ill results from these perversions of judgment. Until very recent years the citizens of New York deserved reproaches that could be brought against no other Americans. They were rightly charged with being wholly ignorant of their past, and indifferent to it except in certain ways that may be called "social" in the narrow sense, antiquarian, or genealogical. New York has always been vaguely proud of its Dutch blood, and the individual New Yorker more definitely so. Even the name Knickerbocker soon lost its burlesque sound in this connection and became a synonym for the truly well born and bred. But below this thin stratum of self-satisfaction lay until very recently a deep indifference to the historic past, almost a contempt for it as compared with the better known, more loudly lauded past of New England. The fact was due to various causes—for example, to the great numbers of New Englanders who entered the city early in our century, to the floods of foreign immigrants that swept into it sooner than into any other, and to its lack of veracious chronicles. Yet unquestionably it was due in great part to the direct influence of Irving's unveracious chronicle; and it has been a most unhappy fact. For, who can calculate the effect of a high and proud quality of local patriotism in training the youth of a Republic for conscientious civil life? And who can estimate in how far the modern political condition of New York has been due to a lack of this feeling among the educated as well as among the ignorant classes of its people? Now a reaction is beginning and, as one might expect, it shows two phases. Our evident advance toward a more conscientious acceptance of the duties of to-day is accompanied by a visible development of interest and pride in the story of our local past; and this means, or will mean, the waning of Knickerbocker's influence.

There have always been some voices to protest against the influence of Irving's book. When it was first published certain people of Dutch descent felt deeply outraged by its tone. They were told that they had no literary taste and no sense of humor. But apparently they foresaw that it would have another influence than that of pure literature or pure fun. For example, in an address delivered before the Historical Society and printed in part in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of March, 1819, Gulian C.

Verplanck felt it needful to comment upon that general prejudice against the Dutch which has spoken through many generations of English writers; and he said:

"It is more in sorrow than in anger that I feel myself compelled to add to these gross instances of national injustice a recent work of a writer of our own. * * * I allude to the burlesque history of New York, in which it is painful to see a mind as admirable for its exquisite perception of the beautiful as it is for a quick sense of the ridiculous wasting the riches of its fancy on an ungrateful theme and its exuberant humor on a coarse caricature. * * * How dangerous a gift is the power of ridicule! How often at its dread presence have the honest boasts of patriotism, the warm expressions of piety, the generous purpose of beneficence, faltered on the lips and died away in the heart!"

M. G. Van Rensselaer.

(*To be continued.*)

"FROM INDIA TO THE PLANET MARS."

BY JAMES H. HYSLOP, PROFESSOR OF LOGIC AND ETHICS IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

THE fairies could not have pleased Alice in Wonderland more than M. Flournoy's recent book on the mediumship of Mlle. Smith will please two classes of readers. Those who are looking for romances dealing with the interest in another world can read this book with unabated fascination, if they can manage to shake off all scientific encumbrances, and if they can escape the author's explanation of his phenomena. On the other hand, the sceptic and scientific devotee can read it with the malicious delight of an iconoclast bent on demolishing the gods of the spiritualist. "From India to the Planet Mars" is a book that has appeared just at the psychological moment. The public has been prepared by the work of the Society for Psychical Research, and more especially by the Piper phenomena and Dr. Richard Hodgson's report on them, to expect some sort of a scientific revelation regarding another life, and hence to find a work appear immediately on a voyage of discovery in a portion of interstellar space, with the accompaniment of survival after death, is an incident well calculated to stimulate the imagination beyond all bounds. Indeed, the situation in the psychological world, of the unscientific sort, as met by this book, may be compared in some respects to the age of Columbus, and M. Flournoy's book to that of Defoe on the adventures of Robinson Crusoe, except that Flournoy carefully dispels the illusions which he conjures up in the name of spiritualism. Both the title and the subject matter suggest this comparison.

It is always the unknown, accompanied by the conviction that there is a reality in it to be reduced to the known, that offers the most attractive field of interest and exploration to the human

mind, and it matters not whether it is inspected by the philosopher, the scientist, the religious devotee, the litterateur, or the common man. All can revel in it with equal impunity and delight. The discovery of Columbus found the human mind in this condition. The existence of a new world was itself a romance, and truth could easily compete with fiction in the supplies which new knowledge and hope offered to an insatiable curiosity. Homer and his creations were disappearing in the limbo of mythology, and men were fast becoming accustomed to the prosaic life of facts, made all the more uninteresting by the increased struggle for existence due to an increased population. Hence, a new world dawned upon hope and imagination as a refuge from the problems of civilization and a stimulus to the unwearied flight which the human mind is wont to take on the wings of poetry and fiction.

Now, psychical research, even though it may not have accomplished as much in the way of discovery as Columbus, certainly holds out definite hopes and promises to human interest. It has kept the religious mind on the *qui vive* for evidence of its most precious belief, while it has offered to some sceptical convictions a refuge from despair. M. Flournoy has taken advantage of this psychological situation, even though he expects to disenchant it, and has couched his work in terms that must tempt the wary and unwary alike into the labyrinths of a new world. The ordinary spiritualist, however, is walking into a spider's parlor when he accepts this invitation. The book is a thorough piece of scientific work in most of its aspects, especially in its exposure of the spiritistic claims advanced for his medium. It leaves little to be desired for the sceptic. The title simply invites you into a fairy land, while the discussion reduces you relentlessly to the commonplaces of ordinary life and illusion. Nothing can rival the painstaking care with which the author has run down every clue upon which spiritism might rely for its support.

The case is this. M. Flournoy, Professor of Psychology in Geneva, Switzerland, heard of one of the usual marvels in the circles of spiritism; and, not having any foolish dignities to respect, was not long in obtaining an introduction to the little coterie which was "investigating" the mediumship of a lady whom he denominates by the pseudonym "Mlle. Smith." She was found to be a lady of considerable intelligence, of irreproachable

character, honest and sincere, and ready to submit her phenomena to investigation. M. Flournoy even says that she is beautiful, and that she accepts no payment for her experiments. Both of these qualities ought to attract the attention of the scientific mind. Mlle. Smith goes into a trance and purports to be controlled by a spirit who calls himself Leopold, and claims to have been Joseph Balsamo, the hero of a book by Alexandre Dumas, but who is better known in history as the famous Cagliostro. Besides him, there appear the unfortunate Queen, Marie Antoinette, a Hindu princess of the fifteenth century, and a young man who claims to be reincarnated on the planet Mars. The last named individual gives the language which, he claims, is spoken on that planet, detailing both the alphabet from which it is constructed and its interpretation in French. He describes the manners of life there, and draws representations of the houses in which its people live and specimens of the animal and vegetable organisms there prevalent. All of this has a most delightful flavor of romance, and it is given in a detail which cannot be expected here. The reader must go to the original or to the translation for a satisfactory account of the facts. The latter is fortunately accessible, and, I must say, has been unusually well done. The only exception that can be taken to it regards the abbreviation of the original, which is a misfortune for the scientific mind that is either unable or has not the time to examine the fuller account in French. To the one or the other, however, I must refer the reader for one of the most extraordinary books of the day, so well calculated is it to exact attention for the obscure phenomena of psychical research from those who have hitherto been content to play the part of scientific Philistines.

In all its external features, at least, the case is like the many instances of alleged spirit control. Mlle. Smith is wholly unconscious of what she does and illustrates in a remarkable degree what subconscious mentation can do to imitate the requirements of reality. The impersonations take the form of alleged reincarnations. It seems that spiritualism expresses itself in France in terms of that doctrine. The author discusses three types of it, the Martian, the Royal, and the Hindu cycles. Each represents a very plausible appearance; but only one of them, the Hindu instance, offers any serious difficulty to explanation by the author along the lines of normal psychology and psychiatry,

The alleged reincarnation on the planet Mars is a remarkable production; that of Marie Antoinette is much less interesting. The Hindu reincarnation appears the most real, as it contains some features calculated to satisfy the demands of personal identity, though explicable by stretching the hypothesis of resurrected memories. In other words, examination showed that there was not the slightest evidence that spirits had anything to do with the production of the phenomena, but that they were the unconscious production of Mlle. Smith's own mind in the trance condition, playing on the obscure recollections of her own experience and receiving its impulse to do this from her normal conviction that her case was spiritistic.

The alleged inhabitant of Mars shows few, if any, resources in Mlle. Smith's memory except the most general outlines, but the impersonation is exceedingly rich in the material of spontaneous fabrication. In fact, this particular case is nothing but "the baseless fabric of a dream." The language, alphabet, representations of houses, animals and plants are shown to be unquestionably nothing but the production of Mlle. Smith's imagination in this unconscious state, worked out with marvelous originality and consistency. The products find their exact analogy in ordinary dreams. The language betrays its spurious character in its constructive resemblance to the French, which is Mlle. Smith's native tongue. Besides, there is not a vestige of anything leading to the identity of the person who claims this reincarnation on the planet Mars, and nothing otherwise that is plausible or probable. It is simply a pretty creation of the subliminal imagination, bent on producing something sufficiently unlike terrestrial realities to deceive the unwary; and it is one of the most appalling things in nature for the psychologist and moralist to be thus confronted with the devilish tendencies of unconscious mental action. We can hold the normal consciousness responsible, but the subconsciousness never. It seems constrained to fool us, but is not astute enough to accomplish its aim. It has, in this instance, however, played a wonderful game, whose trickery it is the merit of M. Flournoy to have exposed.

The impersonation of Marie Antoinette is less remarkable in all its superficial characteristics. It has no features which are not easily explicable by the resurrection of Mlle. Smith's own knowledge of that unfortunate queen's history, and the influence

of ideation upon the histrionic representation of that queen's manners and character.

M. Flournoy confesses to some inexplicable phenomena in the Hindu impersonation. There are traces of the Hindu language and some remote historical incidents of a very early period that cannot be ascribed to the "medium's" fabricating imagination. The supposition that Mlle. Smith had at some time heard or seen enough of the facts, now wholly forgotten and unrecognizable when produced, and cropping up unconsciously as spirit messages, seems so improbable or difficult of proof that M. Flournoy admits being puzzled. But the entire success with which he discredits the alleged Martian phenomena, lends its support to the probability that the Hindu impersonation is precisely like it. For me it is not specially puzzling at all. I think that his theory of secondary personality is more easily applied to the Hindu case than the author supposes. Apparently, it is the improbability that Mlle. Smith had seen or read the book in which the facts are found that excites M. Flournoy's wonder. But, as the amount of the Hindu language delivered is very small, and the historical incidents mentioned in that princess' life are very few, it is easy to imagine the reading enough of it in some catalogue, newspaper, or article to account for their appearance in this pseudo-spiritistic form.

But what is so delightful in M. Flournoy's work is his scientific appreciation of the psychological problem before him, and the thorough way in which he has proceeded to deal with it, at least in all respects that concern the claims of spiritism. Nothing can equal the patience and perseverance with which he has pursued every clue to an explanation of the phenomena in terms of what we know in normal psychology. The incidents that would strike the ordinary mind as mysterious, or even miraculous, are easily reduced to simple and well-known phenomena of mind. Every nook and corner of the case is investigated, and no stone is left unturned for vestiges of subconscious mental action on the part of Mlle. Smith to account for the facts, and the success is as great as the effort. In so far as the evidence is concerned, the spiritist is left without any support for his theory. All this is accompanied with a most delightful sense of humor and a keen irony that might be called malicious, if it were not so just and the victims of it so deserving of this polite form of ridicule.

There is apparent in some of it a suppressed feeling of ridicule that may be due to the necessity of being respectful toward the people whose kindness was instrumental in securing an opportunity to investigate the case. The style of presentation is most charming. In fact, the work is an excellent novel in all but the facts, and, in these, it is science of the best kind, wherever it applies psychological analysis to the refutation of spiritism. In this respect, it is beyond praise, and should be read by every man who is tempted to dabble in that subject.

Its chief interest, however, lies in the influence that it must exert upon the general course of psychical research. That subject has been so ignored and misunderstood by the scientific Philistine that he could not be persuaded by any important fact to touch it. He passed it by on the other side, holding his nose, or sneering at its alleged phenomena. But M. Flournoy has taught this supercilious class a lesson. He has shown that there are phenomena which have all the external characteristics of discarnate spirits, and yet are amenable to explanation without such a resource, though only on the condition that the most amazing subconscious mental activity be admitted, and admitted in a form that shows no trace of an automatic character. The outcome it will be interesting to watch. I shall expect the scientific Philistine to accept the book with great applause, as it affords such a fine text with which to lecture spiritualism. Psychical research will become at once a very important department of investigation.

Scepticism, of course, is most welcome in this subject which leads so close to the madhouse, but what a comment on the pretended scientific spirit, that it will give no quarter to a subject until its own preconceived opinions have been substantiated by some one who has not stood on his dignity in regard to the facts.

But, in spite of M. Flournoy's emphatic rejection of spiritism, he believes in telepathy, or thought transference, telekinesis, or the movement of physical objects without contact, and lucidity, or clairvoyance! It is apparent, however, that he does not rely wholly upon the phenomena of Mlle. Smith for his convictions on these subjects. He seems to indorse telepathy on the collective evidence published by the Society for Psychical Research, and telekinesis upon personal experiments with Eusapia Palladino. Clairvoyance he seems to adopt without any evidence that I can

discover, and he combines telepathy and clairvoyance to explain some of his own facts, which he fears might otherwise be amenable to the spiritistic theory. But there is something very strange in this acceptance of these supernormal phenomena, though M. Flournoy does not regard them as supernormal at all! He puts a very peculiar meaning on this term. He speaks as if it were convertible with the supernatural. He considers these processes as perfectly *natural,* and in the case of telepathy speaks of it as something rather to be expected than doubted! You would suppose that the "supernormal" sustained the same relation to the "normal" that hyperaesthesia sustains to aesthesia; but no, it is made equivalent to the supernatural, and this assumption simply annihilates all rational perspective in the case. Let us examine his position in regard to these several remarkable powers, which he attributes so easily to the human mind without supposing them to be anything more than normal and natural.

It must be conceded, at the outset, that M. Flournoy has investigated and analyzed the facts bearing upon these hypotheses with something like the same method and care as he did those claiming to be spiritistic; but he is, nevertheless, distinctively less cautious in his convictions. He appears to be so ready to accept these theories as natural and normal, that he finds no such reason to be sceptical as he supposes is obligatory in regard to spiritism. Take, for instance, his indorsement of Eusapia Palladino. He does not state a single fact in proof of her genuineness. We have only the author's *ipse dixit.* This is all the more amazing after Dr. Richard Hodgson's exposure of that clever fraud. No case of that kind should be admitted without letting us into the knowledge of the facts. Of course, it can be said that it is no part of the present work to discuss her phenomena. But this, taken in connection with her exposure, is all the more reason for silence unless good evidence beyond an *ipse dixit* be produced. A theory based upon experiments with Eusapia Palladino, and designed to explain some of the phenomena observed in the case of Mlle. Smith, should come with far better credentials than are here offered. The author's illusion about the "natural" betrays him, in this instance, into a disposition to credit phenomena that are far more revolutionary in physical science than spirits can possibly be either in physics or psychology. The reason for this judgment I shall give again.

Let us examine M. Flournoy's example of telekinesis in the case of Mlle. Smith. Two oranges were found removed from their places, under circumstances involving either the dishonesty or the mal-observation of the witnesses, as alternatives to explanation by telekinesis. M. Flournoy offers the choice between these hypotheses and the subconscious action of Mlle. Smith; though it is evident that he inclines to telekinesis. This is fair enough; but I am amazed to find that no such care is taken to examine the facts and their conditions as was shown when exposing the claims of Leopold, Marie Antoinette and the mysterious Martian. There are two ineradicable defects in the author's treatment of the case here. First, he is apparently ready to attach weight to mere testimony, and that of the parties interested in their theory. Secondly, he has not applied carefully to the phenomena his own hypothesis of secondary personality, while that supposition seems to me entirely adequate to its explanation. M. Flournoy does not give us the full details, as they should be given in so important a matter. We should know the exact amount of time involved in the occurrence of the phenomena, the occupation of the witnesses, their position in the room and in relation to Mlle. Smith, their capacities for observing facts of this sort, and every little incident bearing upon a complete record of the observed facts. But there is not a word of this, and apparently no conception of the necessity for such details. It is all the more remarkable, after the author's scepticism of his witnesses' testimony for spiritism, that he should be less stringent in his methods when it is only a matter of telekinesis! Evidently, this is so natural and normal a process that it does not need careful verification. Moreover, after observing, in other connections, the readiness with which Mlle. Smith passes into and out of a trance without retaining any memory of it, why does not M. Flournoy refer to this fact as probably affording a clue to the explication of the case? Let me mention the instance of his walk with Mlle. Smith, in which she went into a trance, suggested visiting the house of a friend, and awakened to know nothing of it and feeling very much embarrassed at her action. A better instance of this is that of writing a letter. She sat down to write a note to M. Flournoy, and in the midst of it passed off into a trance, and finished the letter in the language and incidents of one of the subconscious personalities. She mailed it, and never knew any-

thing regarding this latter part of the letter until the fact was called to her attention by M. Flournoy.

Now, it would be easy to apply the same causes and conditions to the explanation of the throwing of the oranges, especially in the absence of all adequate accounts of the circumstances, and it is surprising that a man of M. Flournoy's usual scientific acuteness has not seen this. What is to hinder us from supposing that Mlle. Smith suddenly passed into the trance (a fact which M. Flournoy records over and over again), and threw the oranges without being noticed by the other persons in the room, and then awoke without any knowledge of her actions? M. Flournoy makes a few general observations in the direction of such an hypothesis, but he does not urge it with the enthusiasm displayed in applying the same theory against spiritism. He seems to think that telekinesis does not exact any serious objection from belief. As for myself, I must say that I do not think there is one iota of rational evidence for any such phenomena, and I should regard it as much more exposed to scientific objections than spiritism, which he is at so much pains to disprove. The same can be said of clairvoyance. I have never seen any adequate evidence of such a power, and I think M. Flournoy is persuaded to accept it much more because he thinks it a weapon with which to combat spiritism than on the grounds of scientific evidence.

I come next to his consideration of telepathy. He recognizes that this doctrine is not accepted by the scientific world in any form whatever, but he does not flinch under this. His attitude, however, toward scepticism regarding it is very curious. He expresses surprise that any one should have difficulties regarding it. This process which the scientific world scouts as absurd, as revolutionary in both physics and psychology, and as supernormal in every sense of the word, M. Flournoy regards as very probable *a priori*.

Psychical research ought to be very easy after such a verdict as this. It seems not even necessary to strain at camels. At any rate, the psychical researcher can stand and look on with a malicious smile, while the sceptic proclaims without evidence that telepathy is a very probable thing and one of the most natural things in the world. The plight of M. Flournoy's admirers here will be amusing, if they have laughed at the claims of telepathy. They are called on to be very sceptical if the phenomena

claim to be spiritistic, but very credulous if they are only telepathic, telekinetic, or clairvoyant!

I must say, however, that I do not share M. Flournoy's tractable disposition regarding telepathy. I do not think it intrinsically probable, nor easy to believe on any evidence but that afforded by the most careful experiments. At its very best, it is nothing more than a name for coincidences, whose cause and explanation are yet to be determined. The popular mind makes it a most extraordinary power. It is endowed with unlimited access to the person's memory whose mind is read. But there is no adequate evidence for such a process: in fact, there is not one iota of respectable evidence for it. The only telepathy that can lay the slightest claim to recognition on scientific grounds, is the transmission of present active states of consciousness; and, in fact, it is probably the psychical researchers alone who admit this much. But such a thing as the selective telepathy necessary to reproduce personal identity is without any experimental support. Consequently, when a man uses the term, he must show that he is able to meet its responsibilities. M. Flournoy does nothing of this kind. He says enough to discredit telepathy of all kinds in his treatment of the only facts in his case that could possibly lay any claim to that explanation, and yet considers it something that may be taken for granted apparently without evidence. But that a man can sit down and gravely assume, without experimental proof, a sort of infinite access by some subliminal process to the memories of any living mind that the telepathic subject chooses to select, and yet claim to be scientific, is something that transcends my idea of science. I do not see why a man would take offense at spiritism after such a leap as that.

It all comes from the baseless assumption that spirits are supernatural and telepathy natural. I can conceive the very reverse of this, namely, that telepathy should be considered supernatural and spirits natural. M. Flournoy ought to know that modern idealism makes all talk about the natural as useless as the supernatural. When everything is natural, the term has no explanatory value whatever. In Greek thought, when the term was convertible with the physical and opposed to the immaterial, it had some importance; but, the moment that it became convertible with the uniform or invariably constant, it lost its value as an instrument for supporting a materialistic and mechanical

view of the cosmos. But to me telepathy, even in the only form that has any scientific, or alleged scientific, credentials, so far from being natural in any accepted use of that term as a name for the constant and uniform, is so exceptional as simply to throw the reins loose to the maddest sort of philosophic speculation.

But let us concede with M. Flournoy that telepathy is "natural" and spirits "supernatural." How can he oppose telepathy to spiritism, unless he qualifies it with the power to effect all that might most rationally be attributed to spirits. I make bold to say that there are conditions under which a spiritistic theory is easier to believe than the telepathic. These conditions are that the contents of what purport to be discarnate communications be appropriate to the proof of personal identity. We should, of course, prefer to know something of the process by which the limitations of our access to a transcendental world can be overcome. But, as we must inductively form our hypothesis in any case, all suppositions to bridge this chasm must stand on the same footing; and, if the unity of the phenomena is best represented by inferring the continuance of an individual consciousness after death, we may consider the process of communication to be what we please. Besides, even as a conceded process telepathy is not anything that is known in the usual sense of that term. It is only a name for certain facts which require a causal explanation. It is convenient for limiting evidential claims, but it is not explanatory. But now, if telepathy be once granted as a fact, no matter what conception we take of it as a process, we have a phenomenon of the transmission of thought independently of the ordinary impressions of sense, and we should be violating no scientific principles if we supposed that, under favorable conditions, a transcendental consciousness might be able to intromit a message into a living mind. After telepathy is admitted, it is but a question of evidence to settle whether we are probably in communication with a discarnate spirit. If the phenomena alleged to be spirit messages represent what the proof of personal identity demands, a discarnate consciousness is the most natural supposition in the case. This conception of the matter is strongly reinforced by the fact that telepathy between the living, so far as we have any right to assume it at all, is limited to the present active states of consciousness, and shows no tendency to select its data with reference to the reproduction of personal identity, with its syn-

thetic character and command of memory. With that limitation, we should have to suppose the continuance of consciousness after death to explain the facts. Without that limitation, we have a theory infinitely larger than the spiritistic, and wholly without any analogies in either physics or psychology. Hence, on *a priori* grounds, I see no reason for assuming any antagonism between the telepathic and the spiritistic theories. Once assumed, unless its limits are defined, telepathy becomes an evidential difficulty against the spiritistic doctrine; but, when it begins to take on the proportions of infinitude, it plays into the hands of its competitor, which conforms to the demand that a process shall be finite if it expects scientific recognition.

But it is precisely because his data do not represent any evidence of personal identity that M. Flournoy is justified in rejecting the spiritistic theory in his special case. It is not because telepathy is either a normal process or a function incompatible with the operation of discarnate souls. Leopold, Marie Antoinette, and the Martian inhabitant ought to have given us some evidence of personal identity, as in the "communicators" of the Piper case, if Mlle. Smith expects us to believe in spirits, and it is their absolute failure to satisfy this demand that justifies M. Flournoy's sceptical position. Had he treated telepathy, telekinesis and clairvoyance in the same spirit, no criticism whatever could have been directed against his conclusions. But his tolerance of these theories and the possible amenability of what may be called the Dandiran, the Vignier, and the Burnier incidents to a supernormal explanation, as the author apparently squints toward that possibility owing to the conjectural character of the evidence against it, might suggest to the spiritist the following hypothesis. Taking what we know of secondary personality and its various forms, we might assume it to be, as ordinarily known, only a transitional state to the conditions which might bring the subject into communication with a transcendental world. But it would in all cases be most naturally accompanied, on this supposition, by all sorts of difficulties and confusions in the communications from that world, betraying various abilities and inabilities to communicate, and there might be conditions in which the whole impulse to represent the facts as "communications" from that source should come from a transcendental stimulus, while the representations of the facts should come wholly from the sub-

ject's own mental action, and be distorted as secondary personality must inevitably distort its data. The whole of the modern theory of hallucination supports this view. Hallucinations are found to be due to what are called secondary stimuli—that is, stimuli that are not co-ordinated with the sense in which the hallucination appears, and so not representative of the world that causes them. In such a process, vestiges of spirit messages might slip through, and the conditions affecting the possibility of communication present so many difficulties that the attempt to deliver anything genuine might have to be given up. To illustrate from his own case; if Mlle. Smith's secondary personality can secure its stimulus, but not its representations, from her normal memory and experience, or convictions, it is quite conceivable that the same state should receive its stimulus, but not its representation of the facts, from the transcendental world, while a few veridical, though fragmentary, messages of the genuine sort might slip through in the fluctuation of the conditions embodied in the secondary state. The incidents that appear to be supernormal acquisitions of knowledge, in the absence of satisfactory proof that they are resurrected memories of Mlle. Smith's childhood, might be instances of this success, obtainable only on opportune occasions, while the conditions remain generally impervious to such communications. In this way, we might unify the supernormal aspects of M. Flournoy's case with those that show such remarkable characteristics of secondary personality.

I am, of course, very far from accepting any such view of the case. On the contrary, I think it wholly an instance of secondary personality, and that telepathy, telekinesis, and clairvoyance should have received no tolerance in this book where the evidence for them is wholly wanting. But, if M. Flournoy thus accepts them, he must expect to meet trouble in his disposal of the Dandiran, Vignier, and Burnier incidents, with which he is evidently impressed, in spite of his reference of them to possible memories of his medium. So far as his evidence is concerned, these theories should have received less tolerance at his hands. It is his illusion about their being normal and natural that leads him into this course. Moreover, for a man who so heartily rejects the supernatural, his invocation of sympathy from the orthodox by a confession of faith, when he refuses to accept that criterion in spiritism but applies the most rigid criteria of scientific proof, is a

contradiction as well as an exhibition of pious cant unworthy of a man who claims to respect science. The only hope of the religious consciousness, if it is to reconcile itself with science, is to be tolerant of spiritism rather than telepathy, telekinesis, and clairvoyance, and to abandon the criterion of mere faith for that of scientific proof. Hence, having accepted the jurisdiction of a scientific court, the author should have bowed to its canons.

Not to press this criticism, however, the chief importance of the work lies in its tendency to stimulate investigation of a subject that has been too long neglected. Psychical research has a grim Nemesis and scepticism a Medusa head in the author's admission of telepathy, telekinesis, and clairvoyance, but this sin will not destroy the scientific merits of a work that offers our Philistines their only hope of minimizing the significance of the Piper phenomena.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

RETROGRESSION OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN.

BY FLORA MCDONALD THOMPSON.

I HAVE not encountered the ghost of my great-grandmother, but something akin to it which has startled me no less. I have been face to face with the American woman of little more than half a century ago, who rose to greet me from the dusty pages of De Tocqueville's "Democracy," and who, by the light of contrast, has caused me to gasp with astonishment, beholding the degeneracy of her end-of-the-century descendant.

M. De Tocqueville, you will recall, came among us before the first woman's rights enthusiast had sounded her war-cry in the land. American woman's suffrage was not; co-education was not; the industry of woman was not in trades and the professions, but supplemented man's in the home. Also, when De Tocqueville came among us, it was soon after the "three days' revolution" in France. He was very alert to observe every operation of the principle of democracy as it might be applicable to the conditions of his own people. He believed that on the operation of that principle the happiness of his own country and the destinies of the civilized world depended. Thus it was with a great love of liberty and with jealous discernment of all that opposes its highest realization, that he "explained with a pencil of light" the successive steps and more important features of our development as a nation. A contemporaneous American critic of his production wrote: "He exhibits us in our present condition a new and, to Europeans, a strange people."

A strange people we are to ourselves, as we look backward to De Tocqueville's picture of us; and, compared with the American woman of De Tocqueville's time, the modern American woman is something more than strange. She has changed not alone with respect to outward form and manners, but in the whole under-

lying principle of her development she has so far departed from the ideals then logically set forth as indispensable to the continued growth of our national greatness, that the American woman of to-day appears to be the fatal symptom of a mortally sick nation.

De Tocqueville thus expressed his fundamental notion of woman's political importance:

"No free communities ever existed without morals; and as I have observed, morals are the work of woman. Consequently, whatever affects the condition of women, their habits and their opinions, has great political importance in my eyes."

Fancy representing to the heralds of woman's suffrage that the political future of woman is in mere virtue, that the greatness of woman is to be good, without reference to being President or even to being a school trustee!

Adhering to his original point of view, De Tocqueville enters into a minute analysis of the American woman in the character and relation of wife, and supplies a standard measured by which the retrogression of the sex becomes so clearly apparent as to be all but reducible to an arithmetical equation.

"In the United States, the inexorable opinion of the public carefully circumscribes the married woman within the narrow circle of domestic interests and duties, and forbids her to step beyond it. I by no means suppose, however, that the great change which takes place in all the habits of women in the United States, as soon as they are married, ought solely to be attributed to the constraint of public opinion; it is frequently imposed upon themselves by the effort of their own will. When the time for choosing a husband is arrived, that cold and stern reasoning power which has been educated and invigorated by the free observation of the world, teaches an American woman that a spirit of levity and independence in the bonds of marriage is a constant subject of annoyance, not pleasure; it tells her that the amusements of the girl cannot become the recreation of the wife, and that the sources of a married woman's happiness are in the home of her husband. As she clearly discerns beforehand the only road which can lead to domestic happiness, she enters upon it at once and follows it to the end without seeking to turn back."

Side by side with this vision of wifely excellence known to De Tocqueville, and to my great-grandfather, I place the history of Oklahoma, South Dakota, Newport! So far from the modern American wife steadfastly pursuing the road to domestic happiness without ever turning back, divorce statistics have determined that the actual number of American women, during twenty years, who set out on the road to domestic happiness and did turn back, or were sent back, is 328,716. Of this number 67,685, or about

one-fourth, turned back from causes involving immorality of woman, and in more than half the given instances of marriages dissolved for this cause, the law fixed the blame on the wife.

A danger De Tocqueville perceived to threaten men, in consequence of the virtue the young democracy imposed upon American women, has been unexpectedly averted:

"I am aware that the education of young women in America is not without its danger; I am sensible that it tends to invigorate the judgment at the expense of the imagination, and to make cold and virtuous women instead of affectionate wives and agreeable companions to man. Society may be more tranquil and better regulated, but domestic life has often fewer charms. These, however, are secondary evils which may be braved for the sake of higher interests."

Courageous philosopher! My poor, inevitably self-sacrificing great-grandfather! The eminent virtue of your American woman was inseparable from the perfection of a great republic; and for the discomfort it brought upon man, the latter would receive a reward—in heaven and pure politics! How is all this changed at the end of the century! What the effect upon "higher interests" is to be is a question that coming years will answer; but so far as austerity of virtue is concerned, the American wife to-day may put a man quite at his ease.

The stupendous stride this country has taken in the development of depravity since De Tocqueville held us up to the admiration of the world is forcibly suggested by a statement he makes concerning American literature and its treatment of women and morals:

"In America all books, novels not excepted, suppose women to be chaste, and no one thinks of relating affairs of gallantry."

From what, then, have you sprung, all you unnumbered hosts of American erotic writers, and all you scandal-monging daily papers of the United States? I know. Your morals and your manners are a disorder that American *nouveau riches* have contracted in travelling abroad—to Paris and other places; and, once in the blood, the disorder has been transmitted to posterity. When De Tocqueville wrote, Western gold mines were locked in the bosom of the earth; the great Chicago hog was unborn; American enterprise had not penetrated the wells of commercial cunning from which stock is freely watered; Americans were still hard at work making fortunes, and not at a loss how to employ them, and earnest toil rather compelled virtue than deferred the opportunity

of vice—an opportunity we realize to-day along with our boasted prosperity.

That the economically ideal organization of the American family has been overthrown by the aggressive spirit of the "new" woman appears with amazing clearness, placing De Tocqueville's view of the equality of the sexes in the United States of the earlier time in contrast with the facts of to-day:

> "In no country has such constant care been taken as in America to trace two clearly distinct lines of action for the two sexes, and to make them keep pace one with the other, but in two pathways which are always different. American women never manage the outward concerns of the family or conduct a business or take a part in political life; nor are they, on the other hand, ever compelled to perform the rough labor of the fields, or to make any of those laborious exertions which demand the exhaustion of physical strength. No families are so poor as to form an exception to this rule."

Directly to the contrary to-day, over seventeen per cent. of the whole number of persons employed in all occupations are women. Furthermore, the United States Commissioner of Labor has found the number of women so employed to be constantly increasing, and that at the expense of men; the percentage of increase of women, in every given instance, showing a corresponding decrease of men. In this connection, still another suggestive fact appears in the statistics of the United States Department of Labor. In proportion as women advance in men's industries, and thus cause the retirement of men, the latter engage in domestic labor and personal service. The American woman competes with man, not alone to his disadvantage, but to his degradation.

Involved with this chaos in the industrial order, revolution with reference to sex constantly advances in the domain of American politics. We have woman's suffrage to some extent existing in a number of States and in several Territories of the United States, and absolutely unrestricted woman's suffrage in four States—making a total of almost three-fifths of the whole number of States in the Union which have in some way yielded political power to woman. Also we have the American woman clamoring for every office in the gift of the people, from President to police-court justice. Supporting and furthering this anomalous economic development of the American woman is a universal system of education, founded on a theory which assumes not alone equality of the sexes, but identity of rights and opportunity. In

short, we have realized precisely the condition De Tocqueville describes as existing in the misguided minds of certain people in Europe, who, according to him, "confounding together the different characteristics of the sexes, would make of man and woman beings not only equal but alike. They would give to both the same functions, impose on both the same duties and grant to both the same rights; they would mix them in all things—their occupation, their pleasures, their business. It may readily be conceived that by thus attempting to make one sex equal to the other, both are degraded; and, from so preposterous a medley of the works of nature, nothing could ever result but weak men and disorderly women."

Further defining the admirable state of equality of the sexes originally prevailing in the United States, De Tocqueville says:

> "Nor have the Americans ever supposed that one consequence of democratic principles is the subversion of marital power, or the confusion of the natural authorities in families. They held that every association must have a head in order to accomplish its object, and that the natural head of the conjugal association is man."

Certainly, this picture of wifely submission would move modern American women to scorn and their husbands to hollow mirth. Common experience anywhere in the United States to-day proves its absurdity as applied to the existing family order, and I have found, in a recent labor report of the State of Massachusetts, token of the anarchy and confusion involving "natural authorities" of the American family that is both formal and formidable.

The Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts—Massachusetts, the State which is the greatest pride of American civilization—presenting facts concerning the earnings of heads of families, officially publishes a category of "husbands of heads of families." In this analysis of the situation there are recorded in Massachusetts eighty-five "husbands of heads of families."

Concluding his view of the happy organization of the family in America, De Tocqueville says: "I never observed that the women of America consider themselves degraded by submitting to conjugal authority. It appeared to me, on the contrary, that they attach a sort of pride to the voluntary surrender of their own will, and make it their boast to bend themselves to the yoke, not to shake it off. Such, at least, is the feeling expressed by the most virtuous of their sex."

Remembering what De Tocqueville conceived to be woman's contribution to political greatness—the morals of a country—and bearing in mind that the greatest moral force proceeds from self-immolation, the logical success of the old-fashioned American woman must be admitted.

"As for myself," says De Tocqueville, "I do not hesitate to avow that although the women of the United States are confined within the narrow circle of domestic life, and their situation is in some respects of extreme dependence, I have nowhere seen women occupying a loftier position, and if I were asked to what the singular prosperity and growing strength of the American people ought mainly to be attributed, I should reply—to the superiority of their women."

Considering the new form of superiority of the American woman at the end of the century—a superiority which is greater than all the domestic virtues, a superiority that boasts of feminine independence, a superiority that immortalizes woman and demoralizes man; considering this modern superiority of the American woman, one looks curiously to the future and asks, What of its effect upon our national character and standing?

FLORA MCDONALD THOMPSON.

MOHAMMEDANISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY OSKAR MANN.

On the day of intercession for missions in the year 1873, Professor Max Müller advanced the theory that the six great religions of the world are divisible into missionary and non-missionary religions. Under the first head he places Buddhism, Christianity and Mohammedanism; while Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism and Judaism belong to the latter class. He adds that the characteristic feature of missionary religions is that in these "the spreading of the truth and the conversion of unbelievers are raised to the rank of a sacred duty by the founder. * * * It is the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers which cannot rest, unless it manifests itself in thought, word, and deed, which is not satisfied till it has carried its message to every human soul, till what it believes to be the truth is accepted as the truth by all members of the human family."

It is from the zeal for propagation in a religion that we are able to judge of its vitality. If, for example, we wish to gain a clear idea of the vitality of Christianity, we must not direct our attention toward the intellectual centres of Christian countries, where materialism and hypercriticism often obscure the image of eternal religion, where indifference and scepticism seem to threaten the very existence of the faith, but we must look at the missionary work, in which, with youthful enthusiasm and sacred zeal, not the least valuable elements of the nations are active in the propagation of the faith, often at the sacrifice of their own lives.

The same is true also of Mohammedanism, in connection with which a striking activity in the spreading of its teaching is displayed. This fact is not sufficiently recognized, and it may,

therefore, be of general interest to give some information as to the present condition of Mohammedanism, the number of its adherents, and the manner of its propagation. From the facts and figures adduced below, we shall be enabled, at the same time, to form an opinion as to whether Pan-Islamism constitutes a danger to Oriental civilization, as is asserted by some authorities on Eastern matters. Furthermore, the approaching close of the century presents a fitting occasion for a retrospective glance at the religious and intellectual movements of the past hundred years. In the nineteenth century especially, technical knowledge has made vast progress, and the ever increasing energies at work in the life of civilized races naturally sought before long to bring other spheres under their influence. It was in the nineteenth century that modern civilization first came actually face to face with Mohammedanism, which forms, as it were, a barrier between Western culture and non-civilized peoples. Step by step, the influences of the West encroach upon the borders of the Mohammedan world, not, of course, without producing certain reactions. So it is that, in the nineteenth century, after a long interval, Mohammedanism again manifests expansive activity, and in a manner, indeed, which evokes our admiration.

I will begin by giving, by means of figures, an idea of the present condition of Mohammedanism in the different continents, compared with its proportions about one hundred years ago.*

The status of Islam in America may be dismissed very briefly. On the whole continent of North and South America there live only about 49,500 Mohammedans, there being 20,500 in North and Central America, inclusive of the West Indies; the other 29,000 are in South America, where the British colony of Guiana alone contains 21,000 Mohammedans. These are exclusively workmen, the coolies imported from India and China. There is here as little question of the progress of Mohammedanism as of its retrogression; conversions to Islamism do not take place at all, as the coolies live apart, and scarcely come into contact with Americans. They, moreover, generally return home when they

*For the years 1890-1897, especially good and critically sound materials are afforded by the excellent work of Dr. Jansen, "The Propagation of Mohammedanism." ("Die Verbreitung des Islams," 1897.) But it is, of course, difficult, if not impossible, to obtain reliable figures for earlier periods. Here their want must be supplied by a survey of the spread of Mohammedanism from a geographical point of view, as, for example, in the case of Africa.

have effected an improvement in their material position, and are replaced by other immigrants, who form hopes of large earnings in the foreign land. That the majority of these Mohammedans live in British Guiana is naturally accounted for by the relative facilities for the transport of coolies thither from British India.

Mohammedanism has as yet penetrated very little into Australia, although the insular connection of that continent with the Malay Archipelago, where Mohammedans predominate, will doubtless soon produce a more active propaganda of Mohammedanism there. We have to record in Australia, inclusive of Oceania, about 19,500 adherents of Islam, who chiefly consist, as in America, of Indian and Chinese merchants and coolies.

In the Middle Ages, Mohammedanism, as is well known, had overrun a large portion of Southern Europe—Spain, Sicily, Southern Italy, and the whole Balkan peninsula, speaking in the widest sense of the term; at the beginning of modern times, it was geographically confined to that peninsula, exclusive of the Tartar tribes inhabiting Russia, in number rather more than six millions, who remained behind after the great Mongolian invasions. At the present day the Balkan peninsula contains about 15,700,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,350,000 are Mohammedans, most of them living in Turkish territory.

But in Turkey itself a constant retrogression of Mohammedanism is to be observed. Here the religion of the Prophet encounters Christianity, and frequently succumbs, since the latter is usually accompanied by the superiority of Western culture. That this was not always the case is shown by the very interesting history of Mohammedan propaganda among the Christians of the Balkan peninsula, in Albania, Servia and Bosnia, where, especially in the seventeenth century, in consequence of the negligence and apathy of the Christian clergy, Mohammedanism made surprising progress. Information on this matter may be found in the capital work by T. W. Arnold, "The Preaching of Islam."

The Society of English Mohammedans, founded in Liverpool by Mr. Quilliam, a description of which is given by John J. Pool ("Studies in Mohammedanism"), has attained the large number of two hundred members in the fifteen years of its existence. This absolutely isolated phenomenon cannot be seriously counted among the successes of Mohammedanism.

On the other hand, great progress has been made by Moham-

medanism in this century in Asia and Africa, its ancient homes; less through the power of the sword, than by means of untiring missionary work. It is a fact that, especially in Africa, this kind of peaceful progress is more often the result of a "jihad," or religious war; but, in spite of this, it must not be forgotten that the real instrument of Mohammedan propaganda is no longer the sword, as in the first centuries of Islamism, but the teaching of the priests who succeed the soldiers, and who impart the faith to the masses of the people.

Almost the whole of the modern progressive movement of Mohammedanism in this century may be traced, directly or indirectly, to a puritanical sect, the so-called Wahhabis, whose founder, Abd-al-Wahhab, appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century in the province of Nejd, in the interior of Arabia, as the reformer of a then very corrupt Mohammedanism. Before long he and his successors had such a powerful following among the nomad tribes of Arabia, that in the year 1803 they even gained possession of the two sacred cities, Mecca and Medina, and only about ten years ago was the Turkish Government able to put an end to their political power. Like the Reformation of Luther in Germany, this movement was originally directed only against the abuse of the veneration of saints, against religious superstition, and increasing luxury in worship, and therefore it aimed merely at a spiritual revival; it has, however, particularly since the destruction of its political importance, assisted a great deal in the exterior propagation of Mohammedanism. As little now could be effected by means of the sword for the renewal of the faith, so much the more fervently did its adherents labor as religious teachers within the sacred mosque itself.

On the occasion of the pilgrimage to Mecca, obligatory for all believers in the Koran, a certain Saiyid Ahmad, formerly a freebooter and bandit in India, became acquainted with the teaching of the Wahhabis; and, on his return home to India about 1820, with true Mohammedan fanaticism, he made it his lifework to spread the new doctrine—that is, to say, pure Islamism.

In the year 1826 he preached a jihad against the Sikhs. In spite of great successes at first over the Sikhs and the Afghans, who also opposed him, he was finally defeated and put to death. The continuous progress of Mohammedanism in Hindostan is chiefly to be ascribed to his followers, who for a long time made

the Indian city of Patna their headquarters. By careful calculations, based on the absolutely reliable publications of the Indian Government on the "Census of India," the following increase in Mohammedanism is to be recorded in different parts of the Empire, in the period 1881-1891—in the Madras Presidency, an increase from 1,933,571 to 2,250,386 persons; in the Bombay Presidency, an advance of nearly fourteen per cent. of the population; in Assam, an increase of nearly thirteen per cent.; in the Punjab, of ten per cent.; in Bengal and the Northwest Provinces, of from seven to eight per cent. The whole of British India, inclusive of the tributary states, contained, in the year 1881, 250,150,050 inhabitants, of whom 49,952,704 were Mohammedans; and in the year 1891, 280,062,080 inhabitants, of whom 57,061,796 were Mohammedans.

The striking increase among the Mohammedans beyond the natural growth of population represents, according to Dr. Jansen's calculations, 0.406 per cent. for this period of ten years. From this it may further be calculated (as has been done by C. Y. O'Donnell, one of the English census officials) that, in about five hundred years, the whole of India will be an entirely Mohammedan country. This tremendous progress, in which, besides the above-mentioned Wahhabis, some other sects take an active part, notably the Faraizis ("followers of the divine precepts"), closely resembling the Wahhabis from a dogmatic point of view, is entirely the work of a peaceful proselytization. How much may be accomplished by these means is also shown by three million conversions to Mohammedanism, mentioned by the French writer De Lanessan for a period of ten years (about 1870-80).

It is easy to explain the fact that India, the land of strict caste, should be a fruitful soil for the intensely democratic religion of Islam. The most numerous are naturally the conversions of people of the lower castes. On this subject let us consult one of the best judges of the religious condition of India, T. W. Arnold, who says:

"The insults and contempts heaped upon the lower castes of Hindus by their co-religionists, and the impassable obstacles placed in the way of any member of these castes desiring to better his condition, show up in striking contrast the benefits of a religious system which has no outcasts, and gives free scope for the indulgence of any ambition. * * * The tyranny of caste tolerance is very oppressive. To give but one instance. In Travancore (West coast of India), certain of

the lower castes may not come nearer than seventy-four paces to a Brahmin, and have to make a grunting noise as they pass along the road, in order to give warning of their approach."*

We shall speak of these points again in another connection.

Proportionately great has been the increase of Mohammedanism in Burmah, where from 1881 to 1891, the number of Mohammedans increased from 168,881 to 210,049, representing nearly twenty-five per cent. of the population.

In the Malay Archipelago, also, the movement started by the Wahhabis in this century produced both an inward revival and an outward increase of Mohammedanism. The progress of the faith is there all the greater because the natives regard it as an opposition to the encroaching Occidental influences. The number of Mohammedans in the entire Malay Archipelago is reckoned at 31,042,000 out of 44,627,000 inhabitants. In the Chinese Empire, again, Islamism has made steady progress in this century. The number of resident Mohammedans (according to the estimate given in "The Statesman's Year-Book") was computed at 30,000,000 in 1882, while in 1897 the figures are put at 32,000,000, which is considerably more than the proportional increase. One of the best judges of China, M. Vassilief, depicts the constant progress of Mohammedanism in the year 1866 in the following words: "Having entered the Celestial Empire by the same paths as Buddhism, Islamism will gradually succeed, as is not doubted by Chinese Mussulmans, in taking the place of the doctrine of Sakya-Muni."

In other Mohammedan parts of Asia, such as Asia Minor, Syria, Persia, etc., no progress of Mohammedanism is to be observed other than the natural increase in population, and this is quite natural in a country, like Persia for example, in which there are only a very small number of non-Mohammedans. In Russian Turkestan alone a slight decrease of Mohammedanism is to be noticed, which may chiefly be ascribed to the systematic Russification of those districts.

Mohammedanism is, however, making a triumphal progress at the present day through the "Dark Continent." It will be interesting to note some of the chief movements of Islamism, especially in West Africa. Almost all these movements may be traced to Wahhabite influence, whether it be that their moving spirit has

*Arnold, "The Preaching of Islam," page 220.

come into contact with the teaching of these Puritans, or that newly founded orders have embraced Wahhabite doctrines in a new form, and preach these fanatically to the heathen.

In the first half of our century was founded the Mohammedan Fulah kingdom, in the neighborhood of the Gambia River, by Danfodio, which led to a great spread of Mohammedanism. Danfodio, himself a Fulah negro, had learnt the Wahhabite doctrines on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and he preached the "pure faith" in his native land on his return. He succeeded, by means of his personal influence, first in converting the scattered Fulah tribes to his teaching, and next in uniting them in a powerful kingdom under his dominion. Above all, he understood how to rouse the religious zeal of his subjects, so that the Fulahs henceforth belonged to the most active among the Mahommedan missionaries. So, also, the founding of the city of Sokoto, now the centre of a flourishing Mohammedan kingdom, in a district still almost entirely heathen at the beginning of the century, was the work of Danfodio. So, again, in 1837, Adamana was founded by the Fulahs on the ruins of several heathen kingdoms. The Fulahs bore the victorious banner of Islam westward as far as the ocean; and, at the present day, four powerful Mohammedan kingdoms in Senegambia and the Soudan still bear witness to the missionary zeal of Danfodio. What the warlike Danfodio had outwardly subjugated, was inwardly established by the priests, merchants and teachers; they taught the newly-won heathen to love and reverence the Mohammedan faith as a higher state of well-being.

Even in districts where Christian missions seem to have gained a firm footing, Mohammedanism obtains an increasing number of followers. Thus, in the beginning of the year 1870, Islamism was entirely unknown in Sierra Leone and Lagos, the two chief English settlements, while now about a third of the entire population profess the religion of Mohammedanism.

The chief share in these almost unexampled missionary successes is due to individual religious associations, or brotherhoods, which aim in their rules at the propagation of Mohammedanism as well as at the inward purification of the religious life of the faithful. In the western part of North Africa, especial activity is shown by the Kadriyah, who had established themselves as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century in Timbuktu, but

who were first stirred to the zealous propagation of Mohammedanism by the movement which originated with the Wahhabis and was supported by Danfodio. Their missionary work bears an entirely peaceful character; it is founded merely upon personal example and good teaching, upon the natural influence of the teacher over the pupil and upon the spreading of higher civilization.

Another religious order, the Tijaniyah, which also, on the whole, shows Wahhabite tendencies, engaged in the spreading of Mohammedanism with the sword in the fifties, under the leadership of a negro named Umaru'l-Haji, particularly in the region of the Upper Niger and Senegal. But the real inward conversion only took place when, laying aside their swords, the victors began to be teachers of the subjugated heathen in the truest sense of the word; and, according to travelers' reports, this peaceful work is being carried on without interruption at the present day.

About the middle of this century, a still later order, the Senussis, of Algerian origin, penetrated into Northern Africa, and, notwithstanding their short existence, can boast of remarkable success. For example, the whole tribe of the Baele, settled on the east of Borku, have been won to the faith of Islam through the labors of the Senussis, while members of this brotherhood may be met with throughout Africa, and even far beyond the limits of the continent.

In order to give some idea of the immense spread of Mohammedanism in these regions, it suffices to mention that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the exception of Timbuktu, there was scarcely a Mohammedan settlement in the region of the Niger, while in the year 1897 from forty to fifty per cent. of the entire population were Mohammedans; and at the present day the Mohammedan sphere of influence reaches as far as the northern frontier of the French Congo State.

Approximately, the southern limit of Mohammedanism in 1800 may be taken at twelve degrees North, while this limit has now advanced to about eight degrees North. As regards space, the spread of Mohammedanism in the course of the nineteenth century has not been so large in the interior of Africa as in the western regions; but the absolute Mohammedanizing of the kingdoms of Kanem, Bagirmi and Wadai is principally the work of this century. South of these three powerful kingdoms, we find

a large number of heathen negro tribes which afford the potentates of Wadai and Bagirmi welcome material for their slave raids.

In the eastern Soudan, in the early part of the nineteenth century, the conversion of the heathen to Mohammedanism had made but little progress, until, in the year 1835, a certain Muhammed Uthmanu'l-Amir Ghani entered these regions with the object of spreading the faith of Islam. He had come from Mecca, and after crossing the Red Sea had arrived at Dongola. From this point his journey was simply a triumphal progress. Everywhere the Nubians flocked to him as followers, and the regal pomp of his appearance made a powerful impression on the people, the report of his miracles also procuring him crowds of adherents. In Kordofan, where he remained for a considerable time, his missionary work among the heathen began. Many heathen tribes still inhabited this neighborhood and that of Sennaar, and among these Muhammed Uthman gained great successes through his preaching. It was at this time that Muhammed Ali, the founder of the present Egyptian dynasty, was endeavoring to gain possession of the Eastern Soudan, and the Egyptian troops supported the peaceable missionary labors of the active brotherhoods with all the more energy, because by their means they hoped for a speedy pacification of the new regions. But the religious zeal once aroused in this manner was later to become dangerous to Egyptian rule. It is well known that, after a persistent agitation had shown itself for some time among the Mohammedan inhabitants of the Egyptian Soudan, suddenly in the year 1881 a hitherto obscure fakir, Muhammed Ahmed, who had been leading the life of an ascetic on the island of Aba in the White Nile (13° 30′ N.), proclaimed himself as the expected last Prophet, the Mahdi ("the one guided by Allah"), who was chosen to purify Islamism from corruptions, and spread its dominion over the whole world. Muhammed Ahmed was a Nubian from the province of Dongola. In his youth he worked at the trade of boat's carpenter near Sennaar. But he soon forsook his trade, attended a school in the neighborhood of Khartoum, and, after being initiated into the mysteries of the alphabet and the knowledge of the Koran, he established himself as an ascetic (fakir) on the White Nile, and had soon earned a reputation for great sanctity. It would take too long to give a detailed description

here of the tremendous successes attained by this dauntless man with unexampled rapidity. Notwithstanding all the exertions of the English and Egyptian troops, they could not succeed in checking the rising, and on January 26th, 1885, the Mahdi's predatory troops penetrated into the long besieged city of Khartoum, where a terrible slaughter began. The heroic defender of the city, Gordon Pasha, here met his death. Only last year, in 1899, have the English troops succeeded in defeating the Khalifa Abdullah, the successor of the since deceased Mahdi, at the battle of Omdurman, and subsequently the news reached Europe from the Soudan that the Khalifa's army had been annihilated in another battle, and that Abdullah was among the slain. Thus at last has the death of the universally lamented Gordon been avenged, and the Mahdist movement finally quelled, as is hoped. Mighty as were the political disorders brought about by the rising of the Mahdi in the Eastern Soudan, the progress of Mohammedanism here has been but small. Mahdism has scarcely spread southwards beyond the old limit of the faith. The principal reason for this will probably be found in the fact that the perpetual wars of the Mahdi and his followers scarcely allowed of time for active propaganda, and the blood-thirsty character of the whole movement was not qualified for peaceful progress. It is true that we possess no unprejudiced testimony on the condition of Mohammedanism in those regions, as for the last twenty years the Soudan has been absolutely closed to all Europeans.

Still further eastwards, on the coast of the Indian Ocean, we come upon old Mohammedan territory—the Galla, Somalis, Zanzibaris, etc. In striking contrast to the religious fervor displayed in the Mohammedanizing of West Africa, here there is scarcely any progress to be noted. Only among the inhabitants of Bondei and the Wadigo in German East Africa is an advance in Islamism reported. Notwithstanding, in the East the southern limit of Mohammedanism lies about fifteen degrees south. The cause of the want of progress of the Arabian religion may probably be found in the greater indolence of the East African negro tribes. It must also be remembered that this is the region in which the Arabs used to make their slave raids by preference, a circumstance which, as was seen above, has probably hindered the advance of Mohammedanism in the negro regions south of Wadai.

In round numbers, at the present day, the Dark Continent

contains 80 millions of Mohammedans to about 200 millions of inhabitants. "It is hardly too much to say that one-half of the whole of Africa is already dominated by Islam, while, of the remaining half, one-quarter is leavened and another threatened by it."

These numbers speak for themselves. Mohammedanism is on the way to a total conquest of the Dark Continent. What a tremendous advance in civilization Mohammedanism brings to the negro! Let us hear the eloquent description of R. Bosworth Smith, one of the best judges of the African races*:

"The worst evils which prevailed at one time over the whole of Africa, and which are still to be found in many parts of it, and those, too, not far from the Gold Coast and from the English settlements,—cannibalism and human sacrifice and the burial of living infants,—disappear at once and forever. Natives who have hitherto lived in a state of nakedness, or nearly so, begin to dress, and that neatly; natives who have never washed before begin to wash, and that frequently, for ablutions are commanded in the Sacred Law, and it is an ordinance which does not involve too severe a strain on their natural instincts. The tribal organization tends to give place to something which has a wider basis. In other words, tribes coalesce into nations, and, with the increase of energy and intelligence, nations into empires. Many such instances could be adduced from the history of the Soudan and the adjoining countries during the last hundred years. Elementary schools like those described by Mungo Park a century ago spring up, and even if they only teach their scholars to recite the Koran, they are worth something in themselves, and may be a step to much more. The well-built and neatly-kept mosque, with its call to prayer repeated five times a day * * * becomes the centre of the village, instead of the ghastly fetish or Juju house. The worship of one God, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient and compassionate, is an immeasurable advance upon anything which the native has been taught to worship before. The Arabic language, in which the Mussulman scriptures are always written, is a language of extraordinary copiousness and beauty; once learned, it becomes a lingua franca to the tribes of half the continent. * * * Manufactures and commerce spring up, not the mute trading or the elementary bartering of raw products which we know from Herodotus to have existed from the earliest times in Africa, nor the cowrie shells, or gunpowder, or tobacco, or rum, but manufactures involving considerable skill, and a commerce which is elaborately organized. * * * As regards the individual, it is admitted on all hands that Islam gives to its new negro converts an energy, a dignity, a self-reliance, and a self-respect which is all too rarely found in their Pagan or their Christian fellow-countrymen."

And, if we inquire the manner in which Mohammedanism attains its almost unexampled successes, we are amazed at the

*"The Nineteenth Century," p. 798, seq.

simplicity of its methods. The propaganda takes place without attracting the attention of the world. Islam does not send forth its missionaries into heathen lands, like Christianity, with the prescribed task of inducing the largest number possible to embrace their own faith. The emissaries of Mohammedanism are the travelers, the merchants, who, while engaged in lucrative commercial transactions, implant their civilization and their faith. From the first, the population mistrusts the missionaries sent *ad hoc* into their midst. They cannot comprehend the object of the coming of the stranger; the people have no confidence in him, and therefore oppose his undertakings. It is otherwise with the Mohammedan merchant; he does not seek to impose his religion upon the people, but wisely waits until they come to him to beg for enlightenment, for it is with nations as with children: what is given them they despise, while they eagerly desire what is apparently withheld from them.

At the same time, the *soi-disant* Mohammedan missionaries display far greater tact in the choice of their methods, as they manage to vary these according to the peculiarities of the nations with whom they have to deal. They bring civilization to the African savages. They found cities and populate them with Mohammedan colonists, whom they transport from other districts; so, for instance, they took advantage of the great famine which threatened to depopulate the land of the Wanyikas on the Zanzibar coast, to display Islamism as the religion of love and beneficent actions. They also occasionally win new followers to their faith by liberating them from the bonds of slavery. Thus, the founder of the Senussi order once purchased a whole caravan of slaves, chiefly natives of Wadai, and had them instructed individually in the faith of Islam. He then gave them their freedom and sent them back to their own country. These converts naturally gained crowds of new followers to the faith.

On the whole, Mohammedanism shows a marvelous adaptability. Where Mohammedans find an ancient civilization, as, for example, in China, they avoid either wounding or provoking those of a different belief, and manage to adapt religious ordinances to old customs; they include the old feasts in their calendar, and take an active share in all the doings of their fellow-citizens of a different faith. Their tact is also shown by small concessions in external arrangements. In China, for instance, they are

careful not to build their mosques higher than the other temples, and therefore the mosques are not adorned with minarets in that country. By the power of their eloquence their preachers have brought it to pass that in China, even in Government circles, Mohammedanism is regarded as uniting the best points of Confucianism and Buddhism. One of their chief methods of propaganda is the school, as has been remarked above. Here they educate future generations in their own views.

The main reason for the great successes of Mohammedanism, especially among the uncivilized heathen of Africa, consists in the great simplicity of the religion in question. "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Prophet of God." The convert need only believe these two sentences, and he is at once a Mussulman. After learning this simple confession of faith, he then needs only to fulfil the following five practical duties: (1.) Recital of the Creed; (2.) Observance of the five appointed times of prayer; (3.) Payment of the legal alms; (4.) Fasting during the month of Ramadhan; and (5.) The pilgrimage to Mecca.

And every convert has equal rights with all other members of the great community. In regard to the faith there are no distinctions; for did not even the Nubian, Muhammed Ahmed, rise to be the Mahdi, the Messiah of the Mohammedans?

But not only externally, in the number of the faithful and in the magnitude of the territory under its influence, has Mohammedanism considerably increased, but it has undergone a kind of regenerating process in its inner life, at least in certain important localities, which promises to supply it with new strength for the struggles of the coming century.

Mention has been made already of the strong influence produced by the reformatory movement of the Wahhabis upon the inner life of Mohammedanism. Almost innumerable are the recently founded brotherhoods at work in Mohammedan territory in the Wahhabite tradition, either by the power of word, example, or by the might of the sword, or even by the union of both, as shown by the example of the powerful Danfodio. And when anywhere, from whatever reasons, an insurrection takes place against the authority of the state, the movement always arises from ideas of reform, generally from a puritanical point of view. If the leaders of these movements have no such motives, and should they only be striving for personal power, they still cloak their am-

bitious ends with the pretext of holy zeal for the faith, as was done by the adventurer Rabah, the all-powerful ruler of Wadai from 1890 till his death in 1897. The reformer who preaches against luxury and externality of belief is always sure of gaining a hold on the masses. But that these reformatory ideas, which are springing up on every hand on Mohammedan territory, should really *produce* a revival of the religious life, is shown again by the increase of the many religious orders, which can be statistically proved.

Even among the usually skeptical Persians a movement full of true religious enthusiasm, the so-called Babism, has gained a large number of devoted followers. The tenets of Bab, the founder of this sect, who died as a martyr for his creed in the year 1850, are closely akin to the doctrines of Christianity. "All men are our brothers, therefore let us do good to all, as the sun shines upon good and evil alike." Only such an intensifying of the Mohammedan creed could have the effect of raising the inwardly degenerate Persians to the rank among the Mussulmans which is due to their exceptional mental gifts.

That which holy enthusiasm for religion is striving to effect from within, is being brought into the life of Islamism from without. It was mentioned at the beginning of this article that the encounter between Mohammedanism and Western civilization could not fail to produce an effect upon the former. But the powers that had slumbered in Mohammedanism for so many years did not come to life merely in the form of a conscious reaction against foreign ideas. The many advantages of modern culture, the technical knowledge of our century, were too apparent to be denied by the more reasonable of the Mohammedans. They began to realize that, if they desired to oppose the West, it could only be done with the help of the weapons of Western civilization; that they must learn from the Frengis, the Europeans. One of the most enlightened Mussulmans of our century, Muhammed Ali, the founder of modern Egypt, deserves to be especially mentioned here. As Danfodio and the Mahdi strove to spread the holy faith with fire and sword, so Muhammed Ali's reformatory activity in Egypt is of lasting value to the further development of enlightened Mohammedanism. These three men may indeed be taken as typical specimens of the different forms of activity shown by Islamism in the nineteenth century. Muham-

med Ali came to Egypt as a simple Turkish captain, and by means of his remarkable gifts, his mental superiority, and utterly untiring energy, often indeed united with barbarity, he contrived in a few years to make himself master of the country, and finally to shake off the intolerable yoke of Turkey. He had learnt to value the advantages of Western culture; and everywhere, in his government, in the organization of the army, in the care for commerce, in sanitary provisions, in the administration of justice, we see him earnest in introducing European ideas. It was he who, rightly appreciating the influence of the press on the people, started an Egyptian newspaper, the first in the Mohammedan Orient (1828). The recognition of the utility of European civilization has slowly but surely made its way, and it is worthy of notice that in most cases the Mussulman becomes no mere outward imitator of the Frengi, but manages to preserve his individuality, even while he takes the good as he finds it.

We see that there is a fermentation going on in Islam from one end to the other. Externally, as well as internally, Mohammedanism has made immense progress during the past century; we see how, perhaps with a presentiment of a conflict near at hand, it seeks to become acquainted with the benefits of modern culture; we see how in Africa mighty regions become tributary to it. It is possible that if, in the coming century, some gifted man succeeds in inspiring these tremendous masses of Mohammedans with *one* aim, we shall have a hard battle to fight. Let us hope that Western civilization and European politics will succeed in leading the powers active in Islam into peaceful paths, and fit them to take part in the one great aim of humanity—the spread of true civilization.

OSKAR MANN.

ghty-sixth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 171: No. 6.

Rec'd
DEC 6 1900
B. P. L.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

December, 1900.

Modern Government . . . . . HONORÉ DE BALZAC
The Election of 1900 . . . . . W. J. BRYAN
Future of the Anglo-Saxon Race . Lord CHARLES BERESFORD
Monarchy and Republic in Italy . . . RICCIOTTI GARIBALDI
Christianity at the Grave of the Nineteenth Century, FREDERIC HARRISON
The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty . . . . . MARK B. DUNNELL
Native Troops for our Colonial Possessions, Major L. L. SEAMAN
Jubilee of the Printing Press . . . . . CHARLES WHIBLEY
New York and its Historians.—II. Mrs. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER
Memories of Max Müller . . . . . MONCURE D. CONWAY
The Submarine Boat and its Future . . . JOHN P. HOLLAND
Progress of the American Woman, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON
Madame Bernhardt's "Hamlet" . . . . ELIZABETH ROBINS
The Great Religions of the World.—IV. Brahmanism, Sir A. C. LYALL, K. C. B.
The New Historical Romances . . . . . W. D. HOWELLS
Christmas Carols . . . . . NORA HOPPER

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

LONDON:
M. HEINEMANN, 21 Bedford St., W. C.

PARIS:
BRENTANO'S, 37 Avenue de l'Opéra.

gle Number, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, $5.

United States Mortgage & Trust Co.,

59 CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK

Capital $2,000,000 **Surplus $2,250,000**

Transacts a General Banking Busine

Allows interest on Deposits subject to check
Is Legal Depositary for Court and Trust Funds
Acts as Fiscal Agent for Cities and Corporations

Buys and Sells Foreign Exchange
Issues Commercial and Travelers' Credits avail
in all parts of the world

Loans Money on Bond and Mortgage
Issues First Mortgage Trust Gold Bonds
Acts as Trustee, Registrar and Transfer Agent

Transacts a General Trust Busines

OFFICERS

GEORGE W. YOUNG.....President
LUTHER KOUNTZE.....Vice-President
JAMES TIMPSON.....2d Vice-President
ARTHUR TURNBULL.....3d Vice-President
CLARK WILLIAMS.....Treasurer
WILLIAM P. ELLIOTT.....Secretary
RICHARD M. HURD.....Asst. Secretary
CALVERT BREWER.....Asst. Treasurer
ALEXANDER PHILLIPS.....Man'g For'n Dept.

DIRECTORS

Samuel D. Babcock

Wm. H. Baldwin, Jr.	Gustav E. Kiss
Frederick O. Barton	Luther Kountz
C. Ledyard Blair	Charlton T. Le
Dumont Clarke	Richard A. Mc
Charles D. Dickey	Theodore Morf
William P. Dixon	Robert Olypha
Robert A. Granniss	Charles M. Pra
G. G. Haven, Jr.	James Timpson
Charles R. Henderson	Eben B. Thoma

George W. Young

Copyright, 1906, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO. All rights reserved.
Entered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails, as second-cla

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXIX.

DECEMBER, 1900.

MODERN GOVERNMENT.

BY HONORÉ DE BALZAC.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE VICOMTE DE SPOELBERCH DE LOVENJOUL.

This theoretical study of the system of constitutional monarchy is the only completed article found in that portion of Balzac's papers which fell into my hands at the death of his widow.

The author intended this work for the "Rénovateur." Only a few years since, a happy chance led me to discover the interesting letter addressed to M. Laurentie, the editor of that review, announcing the despatch to him of the paper in question. Here is this unpublished letter:

"Aix-les-Bains, 7 September, (1832).

"Sir: My mother will forward to you on my behalf a rather lengthy article, entitled 'Modern Government.'

"If you do not find it possible to insert it in the "Rénovateur" exactly as I have written it I wish that you would be careful to return it to her. In that case I shall turn it into a pamphlet. If it suits you, I should like you to have the whole of it put into type and to send me the proofs at Aix, in Savoy. Have the proofs taken on thin paper. You need not send me the manuscript, and if you put the proofs in an envelope they will reach me safely by mail, and I will promptly return the corrected proofs to you. There will be only eight days' delay.

"Accept my best wishes. DE BALZAC."

This letter furnishes much valuable information. First, it shows that it was from Aix-les-Bains, during the master's sojourn there, in September, 1832, with the Marquise de Castries, that he sent his

Copyright, 1900, by The North American Review Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

study to the "Rénovateur," a review founded that same year by a group of Legitimists, having at their head the Duc de Fitz-James, the uncle of his travelling companion. Balzac collaborated with them seriously from the publication of the second number. In fact, in two months from March 31, to June 2, 1832, he had published, in the "Rénovateur," the following articles: "On the Projected Destruction of the Monument to the Duc de Berry;" "A Woman's Life," and "The Situation of the Royalist Party."

This period was certainly that of his most ardent Legitimist propaganda. At this moment the author of the "Country Physician" counted certainly upon entering the Chamber with the support of the entire party, and neglected nothing to prepare himself a sensational entrée. But we know that this plan succeeded no better than many others formed by the writer. It often happened, with his plans for the future, as with the plots of his romances, that the conception without the execution satisfied this great visionary. It may be noted also, that Balzac in his letter announces his intention of publishing the article as a pamphlet if the editor should reject it. But, like his desire of entering politics, this project remained a dead letter. However, this separate publication would have been the realization of a plan which he had begun to carry out in the previous year. I refer to the promise of the master to publish at intervals of three months a series of political studies, the first of which had appeared in April, 1831, with the title, "An Inquiry Into the Policy of Two Ministers," purporting to be, according to the signature, "by M. de Balzac, Eligible Elector."

Whatever the reason, the "Rénovateur" did not publish the essay on "Modern Government," and Balzac issued it neither in another review nor in pamphlet form.

It is, doubtless, to the reasons for this decision that he alludes, in the letter written to his mother in the month following the sending of the manuscript to M. Laurentie, a letter which certainly refers to the observations of the editor of the "Rénovateur," transmitted by Madame de Balzac to her son. In fact, this very definite sentence occurs in that letter: "I am much disgusted with M. Laurentie."*

Two reasons may have prompted the return of the manuscript of "Modern Government."

One may have been the change of the "Rénovateur" from a weekly to a daily publication and the consequent refusal of the author to authorize the division of his work into minute portions. Or it may have been that the management of this exclusive tribune of Legitimist opinion were unwilling to accept the responsibility for all the governmental theories of the great writer.

The other reason, in my judgment more probable, has for a starting point an affair of gallantry. In the notice prefixed to the unpublished version of the "Confession of a Country Physician," we give an account of his failure to win the affections of the beautiful Marquise whom he went to meet at Aix. We shall not repeat it; but that disappointment was probably the real reason why he never published the following pages. Balzac, sick at heart, detached himself from the group of Legitimitists, and, while openly continuing to be a royalist and a partisan of absolute monarchy, he no longer collaborated with the

*See Letter xcv in the published correspondence.

journals devoted to these ideas, and deprived them almost entirely of the services of his pen.

At the present time, certain opinions expressed in this essay may seem antiquated or even puerile. But, before condemning them as such, we must go back to the year 1832, and reconstruct the governmental conditions which existed in France at the time these pages were written. Whoever does this will be struck by the depth of political insight displayed by Balzac. It must also be remembered that, in this case, the very nature of his work forced Balzac to occupy a position quite different from that of his habitual conception.

Finally, one must be astonished to see how, with regard to the present and the future, Balzac in these lines reveals once more the extraordinary faculty of divination which has justly entitled him to be regarded as a seer.

VICOMTE DE SPOELBERCH DE LOVENJOUL.

In investigating and discussing in this paper the principles underlying a representative form of government, we would be neither the dupes nor the accomplices of those who proclaimed the revolution of 1830, and even before examining its structure, we desire to express our opinion, right or wrong, of the new form of national existence.

The immediate outcome of representative government is to vest power in a ministry which is subject to constant criticism. What, then, is the result of ministerialism? A dynasty of prime ministers, the creatures of the two Chambers and of public opinion. As to public opinion, let us suppose that it is never mistaken, and is never imposed upon. Now, because the President of the Council will come directly from the counting-house, from the lawyer's office, from municipal offices or from the magistracy, because there are to be no more Bourbons, to use a general term for royalty, does it follow that a court and courtiers, the two everlasting plagues of which the people complain, will no longer exist?

If you had given to the late Casimir-Périer ten years of life, of power and of office, you would have had a lesser Richelieu, without the purple, a tyrant of low degree, but surrounded by his body guard, his sycophants, his court, his courtiers, by a very Empire, of an inferior sort, disguised under a mask of legality. He would have received his solid majority every five years. He would have kept his power by a system of double entry, opened accounts on his own terms, and organized his despotism on a basis of "debit and credit." Instead of cutting off heads, he would have negotiated loans. Dangerous men he would have

bought over. Insensibly, his influence and his creatures would have pervaded all the machinery and all the offices of the government. His grand chamberlain would have been some obscure clerk, his captain of the guard a valet, like the Barjac of Cardinal de Fleury. France would have suffered all the evils of a court, without its polish or its patronage of art, a patronage always neglected by men intent wholly on their own interests. The government would have made one step further toward that popular egoism whose development leads nations to political indifference and insures their subjection.

The Camarilla never spares itself, especially when it is exalting an authority as petty as itself. Observe the editor of a newspaper—that power which we have only lately created—the manager of a theatre or of any enterprise which invests its director with any influence whatever. Close at hand you will find some little Camarilla interested in dancing attendance upon the man of action, dazzling him with exaggerated ideas of his success, profiting by his mistakes—into which, indeed, for that very reason, he is deliberately led—and always bent on lulling him to sleep by telling him the same thing over and over again, like women, who, with time, patience and insistence, end by corrupting the strongest character.

Constitutional ministerialism will never escape from this dilemma—one which is not conducive to the results some people expect from it.

Or else the nation will be subject for a long time to the despotism of a man of talent and revive royalty under another form, without the advantages of heredity; it will pay out unheard of fortunes periodically. Or the nation will change ministers frequently. And then its prosperity will be a physical impossibility, because nothing is more disastrous in the administration of affairs than a change of systems. For each minister has his own system, and it is only natural that the most mediocre man should think himself competent to create one, good or bad. Then, too, a transitory ministry cannot devote itself at the same time to the intrigues necessary to the maintenance of its position and to the affairs of state. It arrives at power as does a wayfarer at an inn, extricates itself from difficulties by a loan, increases the debt, and passes on just as it is beginning to learn something of the science of government.

Thus the alternatives are either a Napoleon without the sword, Napoleon in the guise of a lawyer, or the vicious circle of the Dupins, the Lafittes, the Louis, the Périers and the Barrots; either the despotism of a citizen king, or the elevation to power, by a movement of the constitutional tide, of men of worn-out capacity, popular rubbish, of whom the people have become tired, whom they destroy by raising them to power.

By and by, the public debt, the balance sheet of stupidity, increases. Bankruptcy arrives, but the blame falls upon all instead of upon one. And a time will come, if this system continues, when the bondholders will become a sort of aristocracy upon whom a suffering people will wreak a terrible vengeance. The bond will be the badge of an idle class which will be hated as were the nobility in 1790.

What will bring about the crisis? The principle of constitutional election extended to everything—a principle which is anti-governmental, and upon which it is now proposed to rest every act of authority.

Of old, electoral methods yielded excellent results in the Church, in which, at a remote period, one finds an example of a perfect government, which embraced the whole world, and only fell from the weakness of its base. Rome was not a territorial power, but the church formed a body of superlative intelligence, animated by one purpose, perfectly honest with itself, knowing well what it wished, absorbing all dignities, and no longer fearing them because it had assimilated them—an example by which modern rulers profit but little.

Will you find these principles, productive of a good election, in the ignorant mass constituted by our election laws, which have extended electoral rights indefinitely through hatred of privilege and the love of an impossible equality? Those who compose the existing electorate are always prone, in their choice of representatives, to put themselves in opposition or hostility to authority. The law brings together the mediocrities of the country, and all they can do is to produce a perfect counterpart of the elective body, for there is nothing to raise them above that level. Compare the *Corps Legislatif* so calumniated by Napoleon with the Chamber of 1832. Study each name, weigh the men and draw your own conclusion.

Now, suppose all the electoral arrondissements possessed of

the loftiest virtue, divest them of local attachments, make each comprehend that its deputy ought to be the deputy of France, render them deaf to all petty departmental rivalries, concede to them an admirable understanding of the need of the country for lofty character and great talent; grant a Chamber of men of distinguished capacity. What would be the result of all that? The Senate of Venice. The ministry will be the purveyors of the Republic. Each member will make a desperate effort to perpetuate himself and his family in his office, without ever wearying of his own particular share of tyranny. The Council of Ten, or the Committee of Public Safety—some kind of directing power—will be restored under some legal appellation. At the head of this oligarchy will be a powerless Doge, who will marry his daughters to bourgeois Kings, and forward their trousseaux economically by the *Messageries,* and the people will sink under this despotism strongly organized in their own name.

What a fatal instinct, then, is it which the people obey in wishing to govern themselves? Is it possible? That in the Middle Ages a subject community should gather its people together to conquer liberty of their persons and property, should administer, by the election of a few magistrates, a territory of a few square leagues—this phenomenon of popular action may be be understood. In such a case, the general interest is like a family interest. Each citizen has a perfectly clear conception of it. Let Marseilles, let Normandy, le Forez, the Lyonnais and Dauphiné declare themselves republics and manage their affairs by an elective council, we shall understand, even to-day, constitutionality within a limited area. There despotism is impossible, for the citizens are always present, as in a small town where everything is open to view there is an unerring police and a healthy public opinion which must be obeyed. But that a great country, with four or five capitals, with as many opinions as departments, should wish to advance in the path of greatness, to prosper, to conquer its natural limitations by the uncertain and indolent action of parliamentary discussion; by the election of men of purely local reputations; by an essentially fickle system of delegations, with ability on a lease of three, six or nine years; by a scheme of procedure almost consular, whose acts are scrutinized by the crowd before they have achieved any result, by the crowd which amused itself with the nutshells of the Camp of

Boulogne, and only understood them twenty years after the fall of the inventor, whose genius they had in turn ridiculed, adored, cursed and wept—is it not a flagrant absurdity, great national folly?

Less extensive than France, England has enjoyed prosperity, has conquered a third of the world, under the leadership of her House of Lords, to which the Commons were subordinate, by an admirable arrangement which the Reform Bill tends to overturn. The Commons wish to be the Lords; but the Lords were permanent in their composition, while the Commons are constantly disbanded and renewed by popular election; and consequently the government will vacillate constantly.

Despise the folly of the masses, and yet continue to give them a share in the government! Once, France threw off her cavalier, when she was sinking under him with fatigue, refusing to take another step under his spur. The Emperor being dead, all his ideas are understood. This French civilization which he conceived, all those needs of Europe which he divined, which he desired to satisfy, everything has been adopted. There is not a man who does not bear himself as heir of his genius, who does not continue it on a small scale. His *"Mangeons les Russes pour qui ils ne nous mangent pas"* will soon be the watchword of European diplomacy, and his continental system will be the weapon of Europe against England, if the British Empire should fail to appreciate the bounds that ought to limit commercial prosperity.

The Restoration was established in the midst of storms. Apart from some errors, which time has done justice to, it set our feet in the paths of English Toryism. It urged the danger of the suffrage and the press, but it was always in the hands of the people, who dominated it through the taxes. Then without reflection, at the bidding of some men, who are now in despair over their work, the elder branch succumbed. And, as I write, the ruling classes are employed in an effort to make the nation think well of the ordinances of Charles X. The press made the Days of July, and the suffrage is undermining the government of the *Juste-Milieu,* which has influence nowhere.

After nearly twenty years of constitutional experiments, no minister, coming from the opposition, or created by the elective principle, has succeeded in regenerating the government. They have all had the genius to resort to borrowing, and not a voice

has been raised in the subservient Chambers against this national act of suicide, so foolishly prolonged by the succession of old men who have been raised to the ministry. No young man has appeared to boldly break up the machine, and throw aside the worthless pieces. The ministries have devoted themselves to ideas when they should have considered interests; they have been occupied with interests when they should have been trying to render ideas inoperative.

The tribute in men and in money, which so disturbs our citizens, is a matter which has its limit, which no government can overstep. It is impossible to exact of the people what it cannot give. To add a fraction of a sou to the taxes, beyond what the state may reasonably levy, would be to draw blood from a skeleton. To-day, therefore, no apprehension on this score can be tolerated. In the thirteenth century everything yielded to the power of money, and in all times, and in all countries, money has been and will be the safeguard of the nation against power.

The one question is, what is the least sum to be exacted and the best means of employing it. On this score, hitherto, the advantage has not been with the popular form of government, and with the ministerialism which results from it. A temporary minister has no time to work out a reform. He has no interest in increasing the taxes, and every incentive to reduce them. A popular minister is either the humble servant of particular interests, or else he rebels against the principle to which he owes his place, like Louis Philippe against the Hotel de Ville. A ruling power which is called in question has no effective existence. The man who asks himself, "Shall I be in office to-morrow?" can have little thought for the greatness of his country.

There have not been trumpets enough wherewith to blare forth the criticisms of the extravagance of the Legitimist monarchy, which, in 1814, at Fontainebleau, paid the debts of every one and the expenses of the Revolution, which France had not prevented. To-day, however, the people are silent over the expenditure of a thousand millions, for which the ministry of war should give account in glory, in conquests, or in tranquility. But they are trifled with in the name of France instead of in the name of the King. He has a book in his coat of arms. I suppose it is the Ledger. Happy people! Surpassingly glorious!

If the defense of the country should be committed to the

national guards, what is the use of the army? If the country is represented by a single assembly—since the peerage is attached to the electoral chamber by a cord, with which it is made to perform all the necessary evolutions at the pleasure of the deputies—what is the use of a king? July has been false to itself. They should have created a government entirely elective, without paid officials, without an army. Every citizen should have been a soldier, every rich man an administrator or a magnate. That would have been logical. There would have been only the debt to pay, so much art the less, and one family of citizens the more. Only this government, except for the name of Liberty inscribed on its banner instead of that of the Czar, would have perfectly resembled the Muscovite régime, and in developing the egoism of the masses, through the egoism of petty individual well-being, would in time have rendered the people entirely indifferent to patriotic sentiment.

But this masterpiece of government is not fully disclosed. It makes common cause with liberals, self-styled patriots, interested in turning the Restoration to their own profit, men degenerate and corrupt, whose dupe the nation has been, and who have plunged it into foreign and civil war, into debt and into disrepute with other governments. Thus have they who ridiculed the mountebanks of the Restoration given France those of the Empire. Poor France! She has been the victim of doctrinaires, she is the prey of bankers and attorneys, and she has been visited with the seven plagues of Egypt under other names. The last increased her debt without either glory or profit, and vitiated representative government by substituting for it an absurdity, which begins at the throne, and descends to the mayor of the village. The doctrinaires coolly say that it is an epoch of transition. Admirable sarcasm!

To resume: Constitutional government is relatively more costly than any other form, precisely because under it everything is legal. It permits of as many injustices to individuals as a monarchial government, because authority is administered by an individual. Only these wrongs are committed by the masses. As to its use of power, ministerialism, in its actions and behavior, is as immoral as the most immoral court. Barras is the base counterpart of Louis XV. The germ of the Narcisses, the Tigellinuses, the sycophants, sprouts around every one in authori-

ty. One year of the most energetic of all popular governments, and Robespierre had his chief cook, his master of ceremonies and his gentlemen of the chamber. Certainly, Oliver Cromwell was not lacking in this respect. If he had had his court of Lords, his dynasty would perhaps be still reigning in England.

Finally, from the aims avowed by constitutional government, it is evident to candid minds that, in a short time, it will change its character when the assembly is intelligent and powerful; or, if the assembly is composed of mediocrities, it will ruin the nation. It leads to despotism or to destruction.

The great question which occupies our epoch, so brilliant, so learned, so intelligent, and which checks it in its march of progress, is, then, a question of words. We believe a constitutional government possible, not for an indefinite period, because the testimony of experience is against the prolonged existence of material prosperity; but it may be that its mechanism skilfully put together assures it a longer existence than any other kind of government. To-day Machiavelli would have entitled his book not *"The Prince"* but *"Power."* Power, a moral being, the creature of reason, bound to remain strong and united is something greater than the Prince studied by the celebrated Florentine. Progress has been made. So that this mode of government has its own peculiar Machiavellism, its machinery, its organs, its ideas, whose consequences must be accepted, and which we shall attempt to examine.

If, since the revolution of 1789, the conditions of the acquisition and the exercise of power have completely changed, the foundations, the objects of government, have not altered. That was a transformation of the very element, whose component masses were, by the force of circumstances, rearranged in a new and more rational order. The social order is perfect when it is naturally co-ordinated. Three distinct classes are clearly outlined, and these three divisions are found in human society everywhere, from the borough to the city, from the city to the country, from the country to the capital, from the capital to the nation. They are inevitable, and no social constitution, existing or conceivable, can permanently mould them into equal units.

These three classes are: The mass of the poor and ignorant, the middle class, and the aristocracy; the latter including those raised to eminence by wealth, ability or intellect. These three

classes are the permanent basis of a nation; and, to-day, to establish a perfect and durable government, provision must be made in it for satisfying their interests and ideas, for these two are the only means by which groups of men express themselves.

Such is the new problem which the inevitable march of the ages has proposed to every government, and which has changed its nature and its laws. Genius consists in governing in obedience to these conditions.

Whether under a purely monarchical form, or under a form entirely democratic, the ruling power, being a constant harmonizing of the interests and the ideas of the body governed, ought to be strong and united, because it is the action of the body itself, and no action is possible with restrictions. To organize authority in such a way as to weaken it is to admit the necessity of a principle and at the same time to deny it. From such a government nothing but disturbances can result.

If the masses express themselves only by interests and ideas, the ruling power has only two sorts of enemies—the men who represent interests that are not recognized, and those who champion opinions hostile to existing order. These enemies may be honest or treacherous; they may claim the recognition of real interests, of correct ideas, or lead astray and alienate the masses by the advocacy of fictitious interests or false opinions.

These theorems, of whose correctness each one must judge for himself, being admitted, it is easy to deduce from them the fundamental principles and the highest maxims of the science of government.

Property, its orderly maintenance, its transmission, has given birth to social order and all its laws. It is the basis of authority and the object of its action. It is therefore natural to follow the demands of property in order to discover the duty of power.

By virtue of this principle, it is evident that the mutual interests of the middle class and of the aristocracy unite them in a natural contract, by which they guarantee to each other the possession of their advantages over the poor and ignorant class, which is stronger than the other two classes only numerically, and which, unrestrained, would overturn the social order to no purpose—for, at length, the social order would recover its former equilibrium.

Therefore, the franchise, a share in the government, ought

never to be placed in the inexperienced hands of this third class. But the other two classes are bound to insure its well-being by supplying it with work and wages.

Here, many questions, raised by writers full of tenderness for the unfortunate, and ready to overthrow the existing order to realize an Utopia, present themselves. There are men who preach philanthropy, the spreading of the light, humanity, morality, progress, civilization, etc. They are either scoundrels, who wish to ruin the State for their own profit, or genuine apostles. If they are sincere, they ought to dress the wounds of the poor man with their own hands, try to instruct him, to teach him economy and relieve him. Either they will weary of their labors, or they will persevere. In either case, neither their zeal nor their opinions are dangerous. But, if the orator is a knave, he must be silenced at any cost, bought, bribed, or persecuted. He merits equally a prefecture or a prison. He is a man capable of office or a fool.

As to primary instruction and the spreading of the light, it does not matter whether it is proscribed or encouraged. Whether or not learning is brought to the door of the indigent class either by the Brother of Christian Doctrine or by a radical teacher, it will never be absorbed except by the individual whose instinct and ability call upon him to rise out of the sphere of misfortune.

There will always be men foreordained to continual mechanical toil, and such men will read neither the newspapers nor Voltaire.

That which is exacted, not by humanity nor by philanthropy, but by the interest of the State, and which is an admitted principle of civilization, is that social laws shall give every opportunity to the man of ability, in whatever class Heaven may have placed him at birth, to rise to the place destined for him. Then, again, the poor man should be relieved from direct taxation, and the taxes on the articles he consumes should be moderated so as to be imperceptible. Military service should be exacted only from this class; that is a means by which it may raise its men of energy, and it increases the patriotic sentiment of the class. But let the army have no special privileges. The army is an instrument of government, and of civilization, as well as of defense. Those special branches of the army which demand learning will absorb the ambitions of the middle class, as the ranks of the other corps

will, with benefit to the country, attract men of energy from the mass of the proletariat.

If the army had been thus constituted, the throne would not have fallen in July, 1830, nor would the army have lost seven hundred men in the struggle. What interest had the non-commissioned officers in defending a government which would reward them only with woolen epaulettes! Now, the petty officers make the army. The Restoration made its soldiers apathetic, and by an almost inexplicable fatality the *Juste-Milieu* has committed the same blunder through its regulation for advancement. Under Louis Philippe, the Duc de Dantzig, Michel Ney and Lannes would not have been generals. This state of things is unfortunate in any kind of government.

The acquisition of property by the poor class is not a source of danger in a country a third of which is untilled, and whose commerce has not revealed a quarter of its possible development. The division of the land is a chimera, with which some statesmen foolishly disquiet themselves, since all property pays taxes and its transfers are assessed. Besides, the vices and the misfortunes of the poor, of the working man, of the proletarian are justly considered social perils; whereas the peasant who is an owner of property is a friend of the government. Finally, the properties of the Peerage could easily be subjected to special regulations.

Neither weapons nor power, then, in the hands of the people! Ask of them neither commands nor ratifications. Sovereignty is a tragic farce, in which the people should never have the opportunity of playing a part. Keep them always between laws at once strong and flexible, strong to resist the densely stupid part of the population, flexible to give oportunities of advancement to men of energy and talent. Let every facility be given to him who wishes to rise to a higher sphere.

With the middle class begin political interests and ideas. There was the danger in 1789; there was the danger in 1830; there will be the danger with every government which does not give the middle class a large share in its action, and allow it to breathe freely in the political atmosphere.

The intestine revolutions of a country are caused only by ignoring the interests and ideas which arise in it. This fact suggested the idea of a popular Chamber, elective and periodically

renewed—elective that it may represent property in all its forms, and periodically renewed to give scope to new interests, and to prevent the assembly from becoming dictatorial or oppressive.

The assembly, then, is the mouthpiece of the middle class. Now, that the middle class be permanently satisfied, it is necessary that it should furnish exclusively the members of the assembly which represents it. If the government does not bend to this necessity, the middle class, excluded from its legitimate participation in power, ceases to have confidence in the laws, and in course of time, under the pressure of circumstances which will surely arise, it will bring on a revolution. The Restoration made this mistake. There was a whole aristocracy among its deputies, and often the elective Chamber defended the throne, and encroached upon the prerogatives of the Chamber of Peers.

The elective Chamber is not the government. It is a means of government and must be rendered as harmless as possible.

Thus, for the representation of the middle class, it is necessary to condition accession to legislative power according to the value of the elector's property, taking his possessions as indicative of his intelligence. Consequently, many degrees of suffrages; electors at one hundred, two hundred, three hundred, five hundred, a thousand francs paid in taxes. Create five or six colleges. Give more deputies to the greatest aggregate of interests, so that the college of electors at a thousand francs would choose two deputies where the college at a hundred francs would elect one. But allow no double vote. That is a privilege, and the middle class has a horror of privileges. Its prejudices must be respected. From the moment when you have to depend only upon your intelligence and your ability to raise yourself from one college to another there are no longer any privileges. The law is just; it is the same for all.

The elective assembly can organize itself so that the royal power has neither scope nor influence in it. The government which tampers with the ballot blunders. It is much wiser to accept a Chamber which has been freely elected.

One of the greatest mistakes of the Restoration was to have intrusted the throne to the electors. It was at once pitiable and ludicrous that a government with between thirty and forty thousand officeholders and eighty thousand electors fell as the result of a general election. It should have asked from the men

in office not certificates of confession, but the cards of electors. The ministers have had the means of corrupting the elective principle, and they have struggled against it. They were either blind men or simpletons.

From these facts we draw a sort of axiom for representative government. It should choose its employees from the lowest electoral classes; for, the higher classes being of necessity on its side, by virtue of the regard for order which springs from the possession of much property, the share of office given to poor electors makes them friends of the government because it gives them a better comprehension of its strength, its ideas and its difficulties, and they do not seek to overthrow it.

With a Chamber thus constituted, a ministry must have a majority if it is not incompetent. First, let us lay down the principle that all majorities can be bought and sold. A Chamber is won either by fear, or by glory, or by money, or by ideas. These are the means of government. Robespierre bought his majority by the aid of the executioner, and paid for it with severed heads. Napoleon stifled the voice of his with the thunder of cannon. Louis XVIII. knew perfectly well the worth of the consciences which permitted him to violate the Charter in regard to election. Certainly, the conviction of the two hundred and twenty-one would not have cost a milliard, and France would have gained by it, for her tri-colored rag has already cost two, and Europe skillfully applies to us the system Napoleon applied to England. "In fifteen years," he said, at St. Helena, "I have increased her debt by as many milliards, and pushed her so far toward her ruin."

There was the blunder of Polignac. He should have accepted the Chamber. He was too honorable, too timid, or too stupid; let him take his choice.

Admit a true principle. No Chamber is hostile to power; but individuals are inimical to the ministers, for politics have to do only with men, and all men have passions. Reckon up the sum total of ambitions cherished by the middle class, lasting political ambitions. Examine it. Collect exact statistics of the fluctuating mass of men between twenty-five and fifty. Deduct the men whose ambition is satisfied by a notary's commission, by the presidency of a tribunal, by an industrial fortune. Eliminate those whose capacity is exhausted in the pursuit of their

own welfare. Leave out those who fail of their desires from lack of persistence. Finally be exact. Sound the depths of the middle class. You will not find five hundred ambitious politicians, and among these five hundred men there will be scarcely twenty who have talent, scarcely twenty who are dangerous; and among these forty joined together, there will be one or two Brutuses to work destruction. The rest will be content with some high office, or with court favor. The one set have violent passions and give way before a little gold; the others are carried away by sentimental considerations.

All the constitutional scaffolding, which alarms kings, comes to a question of men. If a man of great talent presents himself, give him the management of affairs of state. It must necessarily be done. Power extinguishes a little man. It is deplorable to think that this principle was unknown to the fallen dynasty. M. le Marquis Lafitte, Comte Casimir-Perier, Marshal Foy, Chancellor Dupin were the supporters of legitimism. A treacherous enemy desires power; let him have it for a moment, and he is forced for the rest of his political life to sit upon the ministerial bench.

But to reduce a Chamber to this innocuous condition, a government must give no cause of complaint to the middle class. Thus, liberty of conscience, of thought, of person and of commerce must be respected. The aristocracy and the Roman religion were the two causes of the Revolution of July. The middle class thirsted for equality. Louis XVIII. might have forever saved the Elder Branch if he had dared to be a Robespierre, without the scaffold. In boldly suppressing all the nobility outside the Chamber of Peers, he would have made the middle class breathe freely. Decorations, royal or imperial, titles, ancient or recent, all ought to have fallen under the stroke of a single law. He alone has been in a position to abolish the remnants of a nobility which, having neither privileges nor substantial titles, no longer existed. There was no longer a nobility, but an aristocracy and suzerains of 1,700,000 crowns. The noblesse of the provinces could do nothing for a throne which it has not defended, and made enemies for it everywhere. In 1814, in the enthusiasm of the Restoration, the king should have established a French Toryism, and cut all discontent at the root by attaching the clergy to the state, through the lofty influence of the Gallican

Church. He had only to realize, in the nineteenth century, the conception of St. Louis, in the thirteenth. The *Renovateur* should have replaced the *Conservateur*. The maintenance of the Elder Branch was entirely dependent on this idea. The middle class would not then have defied the French clergy, nor encountered nobles outside the Chamber of Peers. The peerage would have continued great and powerful. Content with equality, with liberty of conscience, it would never have suspected the throne of mental reservation and would have willingly yielded to it the censorship of the political press, if freedom of thought had been allowed to other publications. The lesson of fifteen years of the Restoration is that it is better to compromise with men, with interests, and with opinions, than to oppose them.

We have now come to the share which the aristocracy should have in the government. The peerage has not yet been considered a guarantee of equality for the other two classes, and yet it is the only institution possible to-day for recognizing and preserving, without injustice and without tyranny, the distinctions necessary to the existence of society, and which arise by virtue of a law whose constant and irresistible action it would be folly to ignore.

If politics is the art of co-ordinating social interests and passions, does it not follow that it is necessary to regulate the function of social distinctions, instead of abandoning them to their own erratic action, and to make them conduce to the greatness and permanence of the state. The hereditary peerage is conceived in this spirit. But the peerage is armed with a power which, in other ways, affects the prosperity of a country which accepts the institution and its prerogatives, as it accepts taxation, for both the peerage and the taxes are necessities. In the peerage should reside the most elevated thought, the heart indeed of the country. It is the traditional depository of those national projects which demand persistence, and sometimes a century, for their complete accomplishment. It is the peerage which represents a country to other countries. In its ranks are the highest magistrates, whom the country ought not to pay, because no recompense is adequate to their services.

The hereditary riches of the peerage should be purely territorial. A bond-holding peer is an anomaly which the Restoration, unhappily, allowed to exist while disposing of threescore

millions of bonds a year. The facts prove that no minister of the Restoration ever realized that the peerage ought to be an acting-Cabinet and a barrier between the electors and the king. Imprudent journalists, mouthpieces of ignorance, ought not to have been in a position to say, "The king will not yield," but "Will the peers yield?" The power should have been vested in them, and July would have ended with nothing worse than broken windows and plundered hotels.

The heredity of the peerage and its riches respond to two great needs of a country—its continued activity and its arts and luxury. A peerage with only life tenure gives no results, and although we make little of the lessons of history, it is well to remark that Rome, Venice and England have owed their astonishing prosperity to their hereditary senates. France is the only country whose territorial base is sufficiently large to support safely for any long period an aristocracy thus constituted. The peerage ought constantly to open its ranks to those who by fortune, intelligence or talent have risen above the surface of the nation. Its ancient glories are unquestionable. They will be accepted by the nation, because a name already made is worth more than one which is still to be made.

The peerage is the institution which the middle class will most readily allow of, if its other grievances are redressed, because, the peerage being open to men of its own class, its privileges will be curtailed. But if the institution is to be kept out of the arena of controversy, the peers should keep clear of the elections and refrain from voting. The younger children of peers and their connections will drop back into the middle class, a wise measure which the first hereditary Chamber of Peers failed to adopt. That Chamber cast its brood upon the budget, it had the malady of nepotism, and the institution was sapped by special interests. The peers should have had a more enlightened patriotism than simple citizens, but they understood neither their mission nor the laws of their existence. This understanding was impossible to a Chamber composed of old men, the survivors of different regimes and of many storms, having contradictory opinions, fanatical in their egotism and their self-love, misunderstanding each other, and having neither *esprit de corps* nor definite ideas. The restriction of primogeniture to the peerage ought to have been one of their objects. They preferred to seek popularity at

their own expense, although they could have attached the elective Chamber to themselves by proposing and promoting laws in harmony with the true principles of constitutional government.

Royalty should be generously defended and considered as beyond discussion. To leave it alone in the presence of the masses is to expose it to summary collapse. And yet the fall of Louis XVI. has not prevented that of Charles X. Singular fatality! So a popular royalty does not last; it is too quickly false to its principle. Legitimism, absurd as it may be made to appear, is a principle which would have to be invented, if it did not already exist. It is the seal of hereditary ownership, the unseen tie which binds together the authority that covers the country and makes of it a compact system.

As to a Court, that is an entirely personal question. If a banker has his butler and his footman in his ante-chamber, surely the king may be allowed his gentlemen.

Such, in our opinion, are the general principles by which a constitutional monarchy can maintain itself and lead a nation in the path of prosperity, and unite the glory of the throne to that of the people.

There are certain administrative problems which must be solved, to reduce the cost of the government, to mask the taxes more or less skillfully, to give representation, more or less exactly to different sizes of fortunes, so that all political factors may be brought into play. But these are secondary details.

In this effective formula of government, the sacred promise of society, "To each one according to his works," is the law which applies to the most infinitesimal social ramifications, and the governing body is permanent, instead of movable as in a purely elective system. But it is easily penetrated by the waves of real and legitimate ambition. Its distinctive classes are not impassable barriers, but arenas open to all comers.

DE BALZAC.

THE ELECTION OF 1900.

BY WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

In considering an election, we are concerned, first, with what has actually happened; second, with the causes which have produced the result; and, third, with the influence which the election will exert upon the future of the country.

The first division can be disposed of in a few words. The Republicans have won a signal victory, a much greater victory than the preliminary polls made by either party indicated. At the time this article is written, the returns are not sufficiently complete for careful analysis; but, generally speaking, as compared with 1896, the Republicans lost in the East and gained in the West, while the Central and Southern States showed comparatively little change. Again, speaking generally, the Democrats gained in the large cities, and lost in the smaller cities and in the country.

More space will be required to state the reasons for the victory.

The Republicans had a great advantage in having a large campaign fund. There are certain legitimate uses which may be made of money in a campaign. Money is needed for the circulation of literature; for the travelling expenses of speakers; for securing preliminary polls, and for getting the vote registered and polled. For all this legitimate work, the Republicans had plenty of money, while the Democrats had very little.

The Republicans were also able to secure transportation for all Republican voters who were away from home. Instances are known where passes or tickets were furnished for long distances. The Democrats were not in a position either to secure passes or to pay for transportation. This advantage alone was sufficient to change the result in close Congressional districts and in close legislative districts. It is impossible at this time to calculate the effect of colonization, or the extent to which votes were purchased

by the direct payment of money or by employment for political work. There are instances where as much as five hundred dollars was offered to one man for his political service for a few days.

The Republicans had another advantage, the influence of which it is difficult to estimate, viz., the advantage which accrues to an Administration while a war is in progress. The old saying that it is not safe to swap horses while crossing a stream was used for all it was worth, notwithstanding the fact that, in this instance, it was an ocean instead of a stream that was being crossed; for imperialism is an idea of European origin. Many were led to the support of the Administration by the plea that the insurrection must be suppressed before any plan could be adopted for dealing with the Philippine question. They refused to believe that the Republican leaders contemplated an imperial policy.

The most potent argument, however, used by the Republicans in the late campaign was the argument which compared present conditions with those which existed from 1893 to 1896. To the laboring man, the Republican party would say: "Remember how many were idle during the last Administration. Do you want to risk a return to hard times?" This argument, based on the theory that a Republican Administration insures good times, was answered; but the answer did not always reach the man to whom the argument was addressed. The panic which followed 1873 occurred under a Republican Administration; the Homestead strike of 1892 occurred under a Republican Administration; and the panic of 1893, while it occurred during a Democratic Administration, came before any Republican law was repealed, and it came under an Administration as thoroughly committed to the gold standard as the present Administration. The strike in the bituminous coal regions occurred in 1897, and the strike in the anthracite regions occurred during the campaign of 1900.

The prosperity argument influenced many farmers. The crops have been better during the four years since 1896 than they were immediately preceding that year, and business in the West has felt the reaction from the prostration of 1893 to 1896. Klondike, South Africa and Cripple Creek have considerably increased the world's supply of gold; a famine in Europe and Asia added to the supply of money in this country by giving us higher prices for breadstuffs, and this has been still further enlarged by

our increasing exports; the Spanish war withdrew two hundred thousand young men from the labor market, and the Philippine war retains in the service seventy-five thousand of that number; a war loan took two hundred millions from the safety vaults, and put it into circulation for the purchase of army supplies; and the war in South Africa increased the demand for our products. These are some of the abnormal influences which have contributed to a temporary improvement in industrial conditions. The Republicans cannot justly claim credit for any of these things, and yet their party profited by all of them.

I shall speak later of the manner in which the money question influenced the campaign. To recapitulate, the Republican victory was due to money, war and better times.

The past is profitable only for instruction, and the more important division of my subject, therefore, deals with the influence which the election will exert upon the future of the country. First, what is to be the result of the use of money in politics? In every contest there are three classes of citizens to be considered. First, those who will vote the party ticket regardless of what the party has done, is doing or will do; that is, those who make their convictions suit the party platform, and stand ready to defend any policy which their party may endorse.

As an illustration of the first class, I might mention a distinguished member of the Republican party, who, when asked whether he would vote the Democratic ticket, gave vent to his partisanship by saying:

"No, a thousand times no! I'd rather go to sea in a boat of stone, with sails of iron, and oars of lead, the wrath of God for a gale and hell for a port."

In the second class will be found the independent voters who are ready to support the ticket which comes nearest to their ideals; and in the third, the floating vote which can be influenced, directly or indirectly, by purely pecuniary considerations. Of the three classes, the independent voter is the one to whom all intellectual and moral arguments are addressed. All literature is circulated on the theory that the voters are independent, and will change their party when convinced that they have been wrong or that their party is wrong. The party which has the money to circulate literature, establish and maintain newspapers and pay the expenses of halls and speakers, has a great advantage

over a party with an insufficient campaign fund. No matter how well disposed and conscientious a jury may be, the evidence on both sides must be fairly presented before an intelligent verdict can be rendered. In any close contest, therefore, the party having the largest campaign fund has the best chance, although the money is spent in ways which are considered legitimate.

No time need be wasted in the condemnation of the illegitimate use of money. No one will attempt to defend the colonization of voters, the employment of repeaters or the purchase of votes.

But it is worth while to consider why such large campaign funds are now used by the Republicans, and how such funds are collected, together with the remedy to be employed for the protection of the public against the improper use of money in the elections. The magnitude of the fund which can be collected depends upon the interest which the great corporations feel in the result, and upon the imminence of the danger to the privileges which they are enjoying. Prior to 1896, the moneyed element of the country was divided between the two leading parties; but, even then, the Republican party had a considerable majority among the bankers, railroad magnates and manufacturers. In 1896, the Republican party secured the support of practically all of those capitalists who thrive through governmental favoritism, or in the absence of necessary restraining legislation. The Republican campaign fund that year surpassed any fund employed in previous campaigns, but the immense amount then employed would have failed of its purpose but for the coercion practiced by money loaners and employers of labor. Since 1896, the consolidation of wealth has gone on with a rapidity never before known. The following are a few of the large combinations which have been formed within the last four years:

The American Agricultural Chemical Co., organized in 1899, has an authorized capital of $40,000,000, and controls twenty-two of the largest fertilizing concerns in the country.

The American Hide and Leather Co., organized in 1899, has an authorized capital of $35,000,000, and controls about seventy-five per cent. of the upper leather output of the country.

The American Linseed Oil Co., organized in 1898, has a capital stock of $33,500,000, and controls over eighty-five per cent. of the linseed oil properties of the United States.

The American Steel and Wire Co., organized in 1899, has $90,000,000 of stock, and controls about eighty per cent. of the nail and wire products of the United States.

The American Thread Co., organized in 1898, has a capital stock of $12,000,000, and consolidated fourteen large thread companies in New York and New England.

The American Tin Plate Co., organized in 1898, has $50,000,000 of stock, and controls about ninety-five per cent. of the tin plate output.

The American Window Glass Co., organized in 1899, has $17,000,000 of stock, and controls about eighty-five per cent. of the output.

The American Writing Paper Co., organized in 1899, has $25,000,000 of stock, and controls over seventy-five per cent. of the output.

The Continental Tobacco Co., organized in 1898, has a capital stock of $100,000,000, and controls the leading plug tobacco factories of the country.

The Federal Steel Co., organized in 1898, has an authorized capital of $200,000,000, and is a consolidation of several railroad, steamship and manufacturing companies.

The International Paper Co., organized in 1898, has an authorized capital of $45,000,000, and controls eighty-five per cent. of the output of newspapers.

The National Biscuit Co., organized in 1898, has a capital of $55,000,000, and controls one hundred and sixteen plants.

The National Salt Co., organized in 1899, has $12,000,000 capital, and controls ninety-five per cent. of the output of salt.

The National Tube Co., organized in 1899, has a capital stock of $80,000,000, and controls ninety per cent. of the output.

The Rubber Goods Manufacturing Co., organized in 1899, has a capital stock of $50,000,000; the Standard Rope and Twine Co., organized November 8th, 1896 (five days after the election), consolidated twenty-two large cordage mills and fixed the capital stock at $12,000,000; the Union Bag and Paper Co., organized in 1899, has a capital stock of $27,000,000, and controls ninety per cent. of the paper bag business; the United States Envelope Co., organized in 1898, has a capital of $5,000,000, and controls ninety per cent. of the output of commercial envelopes; and the United States Cast Iron Pipe and Foundry Co., organized in

1899, has an authorized capital of $30,000,000, and controls the principal cast-iron pipe factories.

All of these trusts, and many others, had a pecuniary reason for supporting the Republican ticket, for they have not only enjoyed immunity during the present Administration, but they had every reason to expect further immunity in case of Republican success; while the Democratic platform and the Democratic organization were outspoken in their condemnation of private monopolies, and the candidates were pledged to aggressive measures for the extermination of all combinations formed in restraint of trade.

The alarming feature of a contest between the trusts and the victims of the trusts is that the former, enjoying great profits out of the system, are able and willing to contribute liberally to perpetuate the system, while the people at large are not always able to calculate the amount of the extortion, and are therefore slow to apply a remedy. Since the election the meat combine at Chicago has raised the price of meat. One paper estimates that the increase will amount to thirty-nine millions in one year. If this estimate is correct, the beef combine alone could afford to contribute fifteen millions to the Republican campaign fund, for this would be less than ten per cent. of the amount it could realize in four years from the increase before mentioned. Such a campaign fund would be sufficient for all legitimate purposes, and leave enough to purchase every floating vote in the United States and to colonize all the doubtful States. On the day before the election of 1900, the stock of the Standard Oil Company was worth six hundred and twenty-five dollars per share, the par value being one hundred dollars. According to report of Henry Clews & Co., the Standard Oil Co. paid twelve per cent. dividends from 1891 to 1895. In 1899 it incorporated under the laws of New Jersey, and controls two-thirds of the output of oil in the United States. This year its dividends will aggregate about fifty per cent. on the capital stock. The Standard Oil Co. alone, by contributing a small percentage of its profits, could so finance the Republican Committee as to secure a victory for that party in any close election. I have mentioned two trusts, whose contributions might be enormous. There are several others, any one of which out of its profits could supply a campaign fund ten times larger than it would be possible to raise from the people, who are the victims

of all the trusts. Can any one doubt that such conditions will result in increasing injustice to the masses, and in fabulous fortunes for those who stand at the head of the monopolies? Is there any remedy for the improper use of money in elections? Yes, there is a remedy; a statute making it a penal offence for any officer of a corporation to contribute corporation funds to a campaign fund, limiting the amount that can be legally expended by candidates or committees, and compelling the publication of the names of contributors to campaign funds, together with the amounts contributed. Such a law would help, and yet such a law would be a dead letter unless enforced, and such a law would not be enforced unless the conscience of the people was aroused.

Until four years ago, everybody denounced the trusts; but, during the late campaign, the Republicans spent more time warning the people not to hurt the good trusts than they spent in pointing out a remedy for the trusts which were admitted to be bad. The work of education must continue, until the great majority of the people recognize that a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.

A combination which controls a great industry is objectionable on moral, economic and political grounds. In ethics, it is impossible to distinguish between the disreputable highwayman who holds up his victim upon a country road, and risks his life to secure a small amount of money from one person, and the eminently respectable trust magnate who stands by the highways of commerce, and, by means of monopoly and without personal risk, collects an enormous amount from seventy-five millions of people.

From an economic standpoint the trust is equally subject to criticism. It is the natural tendency of monopoly to increase the price of the article and to lower the quality; for, when the stimulus of competition is removed, the manufacturer will no longer seek to offer to the public the best article at the lowest price. The employee becomes the vassal of the employer when there is but one employer for his skill, for he cannot leave without sacrificing the experience of a lifetime.

The political objections to a private monopoly are scarcely less serious than the moral and economic objections. Daniel Webster said: "The freest government cannot long endure where the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property

in the hands of a few, and to render the masses of the people poor and dependent." When hundreds of thousands of workingmen must go down on their knees each morning, and, addressing their petition to trust magnates, say, "Give us this day our daily bread," a government of the people, for the people and by the people will be a thing of the past.

The Republican leaders did not attempt to defend the party's record on the trust question. The trusts supported the Republican party, and the enormous rise in the value of trust stocks since the election indicates that the trusts are preparing for a saturnalian feast. We can only hope that the excesses which are likely to follow so complete a victory will arouse a protest sufficiently pronounced to overcome any influence which money can exert.

The argument put forth by Republicans in defence of trusts has been already seized upon by socialists, who argue that if monopolies are necessary they must be owned by the people. The voters who rejected the conservative remedies proposed by the Democratic party have aided those who advocate still more radical measures.

The most surprising feature of the campaign was the indifference manifested by many Republicans to the attack on governmental principles heretofore regarded as sacred. The party in power is clearly committed to a colonial policy so repugnant to our history, our traditions and our political maxims that there was no substantial effort made by Republican leaders to defend the party's position. Where a defense was attempted the gist of it was about as follows: "We did not want the Philippine Islands; they came to us by accident; but now that we have them, we cannot honorably let them go; besides, it looks as if it was God's work; and then, too, there is money in it."

Destiny, Divinity and Dollars! The destiny argument is a subterfuge. Bulwer's description of it is the best I have seen. In speaking of William of Hastings, who laid his sins at the door of destiny, he says:

> "'It is Destiny!' phrase of the weak human heart! 'It is Destiny!' dark apology for every error! The strong and virtuous admit no Destiny! On earth, guides Conscience, in Heaven watches God. And Destiny is but the phantom we invoke to silence the one, to dethrone the other!"

The destiny of the American people must be determined by

the American people themselves. No circumstances can justify an individual in doing wrong; neither can circumstances justify a nation in doing wrong. If American principles are good, we should continue to observe them; if they are bad, we should abandon them; but, whatever we do, we should do as a matter of choice and not hide behind the pretence that we are the victims of blind necessity.

It is hard to believe that any one acquainted with the Scriptures would defend a war of conquest as a matter of religious duty, and yet many have imagined that they saw the hand of God in the tragedy now being enacted in the Orient.

The doctrine that we are commanded by the Almighty to sacrifice our own citizens and slaughter Filipinos, in order to establish a carpet bag government over a distant people, is on a par with the doctrine that kings are divinely appointed to govern their subjects, and, as a corollary to this theory, divinely commissioned to kill their subjects if they do not like the government which the kings provide. Lincoln properly described this doctrine when he said:

> "Those arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying, that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of king-craft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument."

But, while the partisan Republican may plead destiny as a reason for endorsing the policy of imperialism, and while the pious Republican may throw the blame upon Providence, the more candid of the Republican leaders boldly preach the doctrine of commercialism, and advocate an imperial career on the ground that it will expand trade and add to the nation's wealth. This is by far the most influential argument given in defence of imperialism.

The partisan has little influence with the party management, because, while he loudly endorses imperialism to-day, he would condemn it with as much emphasis to-morrow, if the Administration should change its policy. Neither are the Republican leaders influenced by those who now advocate the spread of Christianity by the sword, for the Republican party is not being conducted as

a missionary society. The dollar argument, however, has influence. The same powerful financial interests which protect industrial trusts at home will attempt to force the nation to join the international land-grabbing trust. The same unseen, but well-nigh irresistible, force which can compel the Republican party, when dealing with American citizens, to trample upon the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, can also compel it, when dealing with the unknown inhabitants of a distant land, to repudiate the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. To admit that the nation can permanently pursue the imperial policy now mapped out by Republican leaders, would be to admit the probability of the overthrow of the Republic, for the nation could not long remain half Republic and half Empire, half free and half vassal. Hope of relief is to be found, first, in the fact that a full development of the Republican scheme will alienate independent Republicans, who are devoted to the principles of the fathers, and who have thus far been deceived as to the purpose of Republican leaders; and, second, in the fact that an imperial career will impose increasing burdens upon the taxpayers, and thus alienate those Republicans who can be reached only through the purse. The same greed which has already led to a violation of the promise made by Gen. Miles to the Porto Ricans, and which is leading to a surrender of the Declaration of Independence in order to force our sovereignty over the Filipinos, is likely to lead to a repudiation of the pledge made to Cuba. A joint resolution passed by Congress will hardly restrain a party which scoffs at traditions and disregards the limitations of the Constitution.

A government resting upon force instead of consent always needs the support of a large army, and the Republican party cannot long conceal its purpose to permanently increase the military establishment. The President in his message of November 5th, 1898, said:

> "The importance of legislation for the permanent increase of the army is therefore manifest, and the recommendation of the Secretary of War for that purpose has my unqualified approval. There can be no question that at this time, and probably for some time in the future, one hundred thousand men will be none too many to meet the necessities of the situation."

A Republican House of Representatives passed a bill carrying out the President's recommendation, and the Republicans in the

Senate favored the bill; but they were compelled to accept a compromise, offered by Senator Gorman, limiting the increase to two years. That an increase in the standing army is intended by Republican leaders is well known, although in the late campaign no one with authority to speak for the party discussed or defended the President's recommendation. Imperialism is an expensive luxury; if the burden of a colonial system is thrown upon the subjects, it will cause an insurrection; if it is thrown upon the American people, it will cause a political revolt.

The ship subsidy bill, which was kept in the background during the campaign, will receive an impetus from the Republican victory, along with other schemes for the expenditure of public money for private advantage.

The pocket nerve, which, at this time, seems to be the most sensitive nerve, is liable to be touched by the extravagance of those who have come to regard the government as a sort of Santa Claus, who turns every day into Christmas.

There remains for consideration the third and, as I believe, most influential cause of the Republican victory, viz., the fear of a change. The fear of a change is merely a political expression of the conservatism which, to a greater or less extent, exists in every person. This fear was increased by the fact that the country, for the last few years, has been experiencing a reaction from the panic which occurred under the last Administration; and this fear was still further aggravated by the threats of the financiers. I have seen letters written by bank officials during the campaign, refusing to loan money for the time being, but promising accommodation in case of Republican success. It is difficult to estimate the influence of the pressure that can be brought by the banks upon their debtors, for most business men are compelled to borrow, and a failure upon the part of the banks to extend loans might mean the closing up of business at a great sacrifice.

Some imagine that this fear of a change is due to the fact that the Democratic party as now organized favors bimetallism, but it is an argument always used to a greater or less extent by the party in power, and it has done service for the Republicans in many campaigns. The protected interests always used that argument against a reduction of the tariff. The party out of power cannot criticise the party in power without proposing a change

of policy, and the greater the privileges bestowed upon corporations by the party in power the greater will be the forces arrayed against a change. At present, the interstate commerce law is practically inoperative. The interstate commerce commission, composed of Democrats and Republicans, has repeatedly asked for legislation which will enable the commission to protect individuals and localities from discriminations, and the public at large from excessive rates. The Democratic party advocated an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law, and nearly all the railroads threw their influence to the Republican ticket. The railroads are on the side of conservatism; they have what they want and are opposed to a change. According to present methods of taxation, the poor pay more than their share, and the rich pay less than their share, of the expenses of the federal government. We favor an income tax which will make people contribute according to their possessions, instead of according to their wants. The rich object to an income tax, and most of them threw their influence to the Republican ticket. They are on the conservative side; they have what they want and are opposed to a change. The national banks have secured from the Republican party a law which provides for the gradual retirement of the greenbacks and the substitution of bank notes—a law which contemplates a perpetual debt, and makes it possible for the financiers to force an issue of bonds whenever there is an accumulation of idle money in their vaults. The Democrats are opposed to this system; they prefer a government note to a bank note, favor the payment of the national debt as rapidly as possible, and believe that the Treasury Department should be administered in behalf of all the people, and not in the interests of those who handle money and trade in fixed investments. The national banks, therefore, as a rule, supported the Republican ticket. Having secured a large part of what they wanted, they became conservative and opposed a change. But these forces, powerful and influential as they are, would have been impotent but for the fact that they were able to play upon the fears of a multitude of people whose interests were on the Democratic side. For instance, the railroad employees, all over the country, are opposed to government by injunction and to a large standing army; they feel the effects of the trusts, and have no interest in the exploitation of distant islands; but, during the last four years, the crops have been better; and

that fact, together with the recovery from the panic, not to speak of the natural increase in population, stimulated railroad traffic. A responsible official of one of the leading railroads threatened to cancel a large order for railway equipment in case of Democratic success, and his threat appealing to the apprehension of his employees doubtless had some effect.

Savings bank officials in some instances attempted to influence their depositors; while many of the Republican leaders, unwilling to openly defend the trusts, and unable to justify colonialism, spent their time in shouting against free silver. When, in 1896, the money question was the paramount issue, the Republicans used the tariff question to alarm those who worked in the factories, just as they, this year, insisted on discussing the money question, when a graver and more important question was to be settled. In 1896, we met and answered the arguments made by the Republicans in favor of their monetary system, and they were compelled to resort to coercion to win; but in this campaign we could not make the money question prominent, because to have done so would have turned attention away from the question of imperialism, which we regarded as paramount.

To consider this election as decisive of the money question, would be as absurd as to have regarded the election of 1896 as decisive of the tariff question. It would be more reasonable to regard the late election as conclusive upon the question of imperialism, or upon the trust question, both of which were discussed more by our people than the money question. But, as a matter of fact, an election is not necessarily conclusive upon any question. The tariff question was prominent in the campaigns of 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888 and 1892, and entered into the campaigns of 1896 and 1900, and yet no tariff reformer believes the tariff question settled. Prior to 1896, all parties declared in favor of bimetallism, although many of the leaders in the Democratic and Republican parties favored the gold standard. In 1896, all parties were pledged to bimetallism, but the line was drawn between independent and international bimetallism, while the last campaign involved other and more serious questions. If any person is disposed to believe that the campaign of 1900 turned upon the money question, let him watch Republican legislation, and he will see that the party in power construes the result as an endorsement of Republican policies upon several other subjects.

The increased production of gold has lessened the strain upon gold, and has to some extent brought the relief which Democrats proposed to bring in a larger measure by the restoration of silver; but there is no assurance whatever that the gold supply, even with the new discoveries, will be sufficient to maintain the level of prices. Favorable conditions have given us an abnormal share of the world's supply of gold, but the scarcity of the yellow metal abroad is already leading to the export of gold, while the increase in the issue of bank notes is evidence that we are still short of money here. The Republicans defend the gold standard, not by logic but by giving it credit for better times. When prosperity fails, the gold standard will lose its charm.

Back of all the questions which have been referred to, lies the deep and lasting struggle between human rights and inhuman greed. If greed triumphs, its victory will transform our government into a plutocracy and our civilization into barbarism.

Those who believe in equal rights before the law, and desire a government which rests upon the consent of the governed and deals justly with all who are under its jurisdiction, must continue the contest in triumph or defeat. Success may be the measure of enjoyment, but it cannot be the measure of duty.

W. J. BRYAN.

THE FUTURE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE.

BY LORD CHARLES BERESFORD.

THE great Empires of the East, the people who made them and defended them, the memorials of their triumphs, have all in turn disappeared. We can scarcely trace in the fellaheen of Egypt, or in the villagers of Persia, a single vestige of the mighty men of the pre-Christian ages. The Babylonian is no more. The Mede has disappeared. In the modern Greek it is hard to discover the heroes of Athens and Sparta, nor in the familiar organ-grinder do we recognize the noble Roman. The Greeks and Italians of to-day have many good qualities, and may yet play an important part in the world's history, but it is difficult to regard them as the pure descendants of the Athenian and the Roman.

The monuments of these bygone Empires consist of a few hundred scattered blocks of marble and dilapidated statues, a few worn inscriptions, and a few tons of dusty relics, over which the archæologist argues, speculates and guesses. The civilization these kingdoms have handed down, some of their discoveries, many of their laws, traditions of their history, and fragments of their customs, these alone survive. The sun rises, the sun sets. Between its rising and going down history is made, men are born and die, and fame is forgotten. Nations pass into the night of obscurity, and the names of kings who seem to fill the world in their own day are not even known to those who come after.

The tide of nationality, of Empire, of prosperity, has ever flowed from East to West. Not among the ruins of the old, but in the fruitful new soil of the Western world the Anglo-Saxon people have grown up, spread and multiplied, and they have cast their seed into the four corners of the earth. There are those who say that the knell of dissolution has been heard, that the

waves of night will soon encompass the British Empire, and that the foam of their crest has already reached the shores of the United States. That is the question which I have been asked to discuss in the following pages—whether the Anglo-Saxon will follow the path of degeneracy, as other nationalities have done, or whether there is some vitality in the blood and in the heart of the dominant race of to-day which will keep it from decay and preserve it from the fate of its predecessors.

To understand the problem properly, it is necessary to examine the origin of the Anglo-Saxon race, and to compare it with the races which have so signally failed to hold their own in the battle for existence. The great weakness of the nationalities which have been engulfed by the irresistible march of time has been the despotism which underlay their governments, the corruption which sapped their liberties, the luxury and indolence which ate into their vitality, and the remarkable fact that they became worn out and vicious, while the countries they had conquered, and the dependencies they had absorbed, at last broke away, embued deeply with the vices and but few of the original virtues of the sovereign state.

The Anglo-Saxon race cannot hope to escape the temptations and the trials which always follow in the train of success. But the race has had the immense advantage of being constantly invigorated by new blood. To the little "isles of the north and the west" came in turn Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Danes, Angles, Saxons and Normans. Each left on the shores of the new country some of its more adventurous spirits, who mingled with the Celtic inhabitants, and in the course of time the whole were welded into a vigorous, hardy race. It is this race which we call the Anglo-Saxon people, and which now spreads all over the globe, penetrating to the most remote regions of the earth. The process of adding new blood, and refreshing the corporate whole, did not cease with the Norman invasion. The British have from time immemorial held out an hospitable welcome to all who sought liberty and progress, and freedom from that worst of all tyrannies, ecclesiastical tyranny. Her sons who sailed across in the Spanish wake to the shores of the New World carried this love of the stranger with them, and in the United States to-day we see the old principle of incorporation going on; the race ever enriching its blood with that of the best and most

enterprising of other nations—the men who are cramped by the restrictions of the decadent Old World, and who would be the breeders of revolution and anarchy if they did not find under the Anglo-Saxon flag the freedom which enables them to settle down as law-abiding citizens.

There is one curious and pleasing feature in this absorption of new blood by Anglo-Saxondom, whether it be in the United Kingdom, in the United States or in any of the British colonies, where the process is going on. In a very few years, a generation at the outside, the new-comers are more Anglo-Saxon than the original stock, more keenly patriotic and more ready to resent any attack on the liberties of their chosen homeland. It is not necessary to go very deeply into the question, but in passing it may be noted that the foreign element of the second generation in the States, and sometimes of the first, are noted for being sturdy defenders of the Monroe Doctrine, and cherish more bitter memories against the old country in the Fourth of July celebrations than pure-bred Americans. Again, one other instance may be found on the British side. Many of the Canadians who are shedding their blood so freely in South Africa are the descendants of men who resented as strongly, and fought as bitterly against, British supremacy as the Transvaal and Free State Boers are fighting to-day. In the near future, the sons of the men who are struggling against civil freedom and education in South Africa and in the Philippines will be in their turn sturdy defenders of Anglo-Saxon tradition, were the whole force of the Old World oligarchies to endeavor to stifle the progressive Anglo-Saxon race.

It is the extraordinary capacity for absorbing and assimilating the progressive forces of other nationalities that has kept the Anglo-Saxon race moving with the times, and which will long postpone any decadence such as has befallen its predecessors. It is this infusion of fresh blood which has kept alive the fearless energy, sturdy determination, versatile ability, peculiar aptitude for self-government and the unresting spirit of enterprise which characterizes the great Anglo-Saxon people. These characteristics which guide the brother nations have brought them to their present dominant position in the world. The British Empire comprises 11,712,170 square miles of territory, soon to be increased by the unity of South Africa. The United States, within

its own borders and the islands lately added to its territory, rules over 3,692,125 square miles. Thus together the Anglo-Saxon race owns, controls or dominates 15,404,295 square miles—very nearly one-fourth of the total land surface of the globe. The population of the British Empire in 1898 was returned at 385,280,000. The United States population, with its newly added territory included, will probably show, at the census due this year, nearly 80,000,000 of inhabitants. The two combine over 465,280,000 of inhabitants, and this total is more reliable than the estimated 400,000,000 of the Chinese Empire. The Anglo-Saxon race, therefore, includes under its immediate sway over a fourth of the population of the world.

No race that has preceded it has ruled nearly one-fourth of the earth's surface and over one-fourth of its population.

While territorial expansion may be deprecated because of the added burdens for defense, and the greater tax on the national resources; while it should not be forgotten that expansion of trade is more useful than extension of acres, yet increase of territory and population is one of the necessary penalties of Empire. The United States had no wish to incorporate Cuba and the Philippines into her dominions. Great Britain had no wish to interfere with the independence of the South African Republics. The force of the circumstances, the irresistible march of events, the demands of liberty and justice and civil freedom were in each case all-powerful. Of course, there will always be well-meaning people who knock their heads against solid facts, and denounce on principle everything that their own country does. That is one of the drawbacks of party government; but the system of party, which gives facility for criticism, has so many safeguards against worse evils that the Anglo-Saxon may well elect to stand by his political methods.

Those who denounce the land hunger of the Saxon race, who in days gone by attacked Great Britain, and to-day are equally aggressive on the Philippine question, forget that the whole history of the Anglo-Saxon rise and development is to be found in this extension of boundaries. How else did the 120,979 square miles of the British Isles swell to 11,000,000 square miles, and the 1,378,981 square miles of the United States territory under Washington increase to its present dimensions of 3,692,125 square miles under McKinley?

The Anglo-Saxon race has added to its territories by conquest, treaty, purchase, annexation and discovery; and a long list of Presidents in the United States, as Senator Depew pointed out a few months ago, amongst whom the names of Jefferson, Polk, Pierce and even Monroe himself are to be found, have followed in the footsteps of British sovereigns and Parliaments in increasing the area over which the flags of liberty, equality and progress have been unfurled.

But the advancement of the race is not confined to the limits of its world-wide possessions or the numbers of its ubiquitous people. Since the world began never has such a commercial race flourished on the face of the earth as the Anglo-Saxon. The bulk of the merchandise of the four quarters of the globe floats under the Union Jack, or is owned by the country which flies the Stars and Stripes. The race has the keenest commercial instincts, and by superior intellect, honesty in dealing, and special aptitude for trade it has long held all comers at bay.

This superiority in trading which is so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon is one of the most promising features of the race, which points to continuance of prosperity and increase of Empire rather than to decadence. Few of the races that preceded the Anglo-Saxon were traders. They were chiefly military nations. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians were, it is true, great merchant adventurers, and Solomon's galleys penetrated to the remotest coasts in search of trade; but, in these isolated cases, the merchant was not sufficiently alive to the necessity for defending commerce against the cupidity of poorer but more military rivals. The Anglo-Saxon has so far, chiefly owing to the mixture of blood in his veins, kept alive side by side both the military and the commercial spirit; and it is this unique combination of talents which offers the best hopes for the survival of the Anglo-Saxon as the fittest of humanity to defy the decaying process of time.

. . . . . .

There are rocks ahead, however, which may yet wreck the Anglo-American barque. With moderately fair skies and smooth seas the supremacy of this great race has been built up, and with success have come all the evils which are so historically associated with the fall of the Empires and Nations of the past. In the

Motherland, the corruption of money has wrought fearful havoc in the ranks of Society. In the United States, there are ominous mutterings of the coming storm. The Plutocrat is gaining power each day on both sides of the Atlantic, and the Democrat is likely to be crushed under the heel of a worse tyrant than a King who wore the purple, or any Ecclesiastical Dignitary who set up claims to temporal power.

British society has been eaten into by the canker of money. From the top downwards, the tree is rotten. The most immoral pose before the public as the most philanthropic, and as doers of all good works. Beauty is the slave of gold, and Intellect, led by Beauty, unknowingly dances to the strings which are pulled by Plutocracy.

There was one good point about the old order of kingly supremacy and infallibility. It was its birthright to be the protector of chivalry, manliness and purity. Sullied as it was by many crimes, the ideal was always there, and each generation it brought forth fresh shoots. But what shall we say of the new order of Wealth, of the greed for gold which is its mainspring, of the way in which those who by birth and education should be the sternest protectors of the race, abandon all and fling themselves on the shrine of the Golden God?

This is the danger which menaces the Anglo-Saxon race. The sea which threatens to overwhelm it is not the angry waters of the Latin races, or of envious rivals, but the cankering worm in its own heart, the sloth, the indolence, the luxurious immorality, the loss of manliness, chivalry, moral courage and fearlessness which that worm breeds. This danger, which overthrew Babylon, Persia, Carthage, Athens, Rome and many other mighty nations and races in the past, now threatens the race to which we belong; but to it we oppose what they never possessed, on anything like the same principles or to the same extent as we—the power of democracy. "The voice of the people is the voice of God," says an old Latin proverb, and in the main that is true. The masses may err, they may misinterpret their own wishes. They may need powerful and educated leaders, able to guide popular sentiment into the right channels, and to prevent it doing damage by overflowing its banks, but the voice of the people in the end is right, because in the mass they are neither self-seeking nor self-serving; for it is impossible for a mass to be swayed by purely

selfish interests. To the masses we must look for the regeneration of the State and the rescue of the race.

If ever—which God forbid!—democratic feeling in the Anglo-Saxon people should be unheeded, and those who are their leaders should continue to play with the moral sentiment of the people, democracy will resent it, and the consequences will be more terrible than any upheaval in France or elsewhere; for when once democracy overflows, like a river which has broken its banks, it becomes a scourge and an evil, and goes farther than is just or right. The mob begin by asking for justice and right, and end by demanding a scapegoat and a martyr.

Apart from these dangers, which are not peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon people, but are common to all successful nations upon whom the sun of prosperity has shone, there is no reason why the race which owes its conception to the little islands in the North Atlantic should not continue to grow and increase its prestige and its power, until it fills the earth with its shadow. The principles of liberty, justice, equality and all-round fair play which are instinctive in the Anglo-Saxon are such a remarkable contrast to the motives which animate most of those who envy him, that there is great hope that the ultimate issue of events will tend to recruit to the Anglo-Saxon the best of all nations, as it has done in the past. As the nations grow more intelligent, more advanced, the quality of the individuals who detach themselves from their original stock and become attached and incorporated into the Anglo-Saxon race increases in value.

Mutual self-interests have long drawn the two divisions of the race together; ties which have so often been referred to that it is unnecessary to dilate upon them here unite the British Empire and the United States. Sentiment has increased those ties in the last few years, but the national fear of the results of alliances or tightly drawn bonds of any kind has hitherto been a great obstacle to United Anglo-Saxon action. Both the great branches of the race are proud of their isolation, and loth to entangle themselves even with each other. The signs of the last two years, however, prove that a new motive, and a more powerful one than has ever gone before, is now making for Anglo-Saxon unity. This is the common recognition of the same high principles and purposes, and the same determination to carry them out at all costs. Never was this more clearly shown than in the struggle of

the United States for liberty and progress on behalf of the Philippines and Cuba, and the British struggle for the same principles in South Africa. In each case the feeling of the world outside the Anglo-Saxon countries has been bitterly against the chief combatants. In each case the object pursued has been misrepresented, vilified and sneered at by foreigners, but in each case the mutual understanding and sympathy of the other branch of the race has been freely and generously given, and the exhibition of that sympathy has been sufficient to deter a hostile combination against Anglo-Saxon interests and principles. If British sympathy preserved the United States from foreign interference during the war with Spain, it is none the less true that the reason why Continental rage against the British people has not been converted into action during the troubles in South Africa is the fear that an Anglo-American combination might result, and that such a combination would not be wholesome for the other aspirants after military glory.

The Right Honorable Arthur Balfour, M. P., has well expressed this unity of principles which is so powerful a lever in bringing the component parts of the race into touch. He pointed out that, in addition to our domestic patriotism and our Imperial or American patriotism, we also have an "Anglo-Saxon patriotism, which embraces within its ample folds the whole of that great race which has done so much in every branch of human effort, and in that branch of human effort which has produced free institutions and free communities. . . . It cannot be that those who share our language, our literature, our laws, our religion, everything that makes a nation great, and who share in substance our institutions—it cannot but be that the time will come when they will feel that they and we have a common duty to perform, a common office to fulfill, among the nations of the world."

The strongest practical proof of the patriotism which exists in the heart of the British and American nations is the fact that both nations possess Volunteer Armies and Navies; and, if necessary, the whole manhood of either nation would volunteer for the defense of their country or to vindicate its honor. All other nations have recourse to conscription in order to maintain their defensive forces.

Co-operation must be the keynote of the Anglo-Saxon race if

in the future it is to fulfill its high destiny in a worthy fashion. As long as the heart of the nations of two great Anglo-Saxon countries is sound, and beats true to those ideals of liberty and progress which are the most cherished talismans of the race, the future before the race is safe enough; but before the Anglo-Saxons can play their part properly in the world's history they must purge themselves of all that belittles their fair fame, and help each other to carry out those lofty ideals which have ever kept us a race of sailors and soldiers, as well as a race of merchant adventurers.

We are a practical, common-sense people, and it does us no harm to have infused into us from time to time a little of that Celtic temperament which is so easily kindled into warm enthusiasm. The Anglo-Saxon race has held its own where its predecessors have failed because of its cool, calm, almost phlegmatic and critical way of regarding all questions, but it is just as well to remember that it is the spice of enthusiasm, of adventure and daring which is also an admixture in our blood that has kept us steadily striking out in fresh directions, ever increasing the world's knowledge and our own importance. The law of life is progression. Nothing stands still. In reality the molecules of the hardest rock are in perpetual motion. To appear to stand still is to begin to go back. There are no signs of such a retrogressive movement in the Anglo-Saxon race; and, therefore, we may look confidently forward to its future and hope and pray that there is something, after all, in the visionaries' prophecy that through that race "all the nations of the world shall be blessed."

CHARLES BERESFORD.

MONARCHY AND REPUBLIC IN ITALY.

BY RICCIOTTI GARIBALDI.

THE period that followed the Wars of Liberation found Italian political parties in a very confused state.

The Piedmontese or monarchical elements, by the introduction of a numerous class, whose only aim was to utilize the vast field for jobbery and speculation presented by the creation of a new state, with all its resources still untouched, was gradually being converted into the conservative party of to-day, which still holds in its hands all the great administrative offices of the state and all the royal and political patronage.

The Republican party, that, under Mazzini, had worked such wonders of propagandism, and which had given birth to the party of action represented by the Garibaldians, by its jealousy towards those who constituted the latter, and by its habit of acting and thinking in the spirit of the arrogant pretence that "there is one God, and I am His only prophet," drove most of the leading men of this section of the party into the arms of the monarchy.

The Republican party, thus weakened by the loss of its more active and practical members, between the years 1870 and 1890, was reduced almost to the condition of being merely a political expression.

That portion of it that had accepted the monarchy became the so-called Liberals.

Able as they had proved themselves to be in the patriotic struggle for the liberation of Italy, they were utterly incapable as a governing class, and though they, for a long period, held the reins of government in their hands, yet in reality they were only the puppets of conservative coteries, and now may be said to be disappearing from the political field.

During these years of misgovernment, characterized by the

corruption and peculation of the conservative elements, a steady rising tide of discontent had been created in the public mind, which at last found vent in the appearance of the Socialists and a renewal of activity on the part of the Republicans, though the renewed energy of these last was mostly expended in fighting against the spreading influence of the Socialists, whom they looked upon as interlopers.

The hatred between these two parties has promoted the safety of the monarchy, and would have continued to do so, but for the harsh action of the military tribunals under the last Pelloux Cabinet during the Milan riots—riots that surprised the revolutionary parties as much as the Government itself. This action, being directed against both the Republican and Socialist chiefs, forced them into each others arms.

The consequence was the birth of the league of the popular parties, in which the Socialists, from being purely economic theorists, careless as to what form the government might have, so long as they were allowed freely to ventilate their ideals, became even more anti-monarchical than the Republicans themselves.

In fact, during the late funerals of the dead King, while many Republican members took part in them, the Socialists completely abstained.

The union of these two forces giving a greater probability of success to any revolutionary movement that might take place in Italy, naturally attracted the attention of the great Roman Catholic organization ever hostile to the monarchy, but which, though not officially taking part in the political life of the country, owing to the Papal *"Non expedit,"* yet having always indirectly given its support to the conservatives, and fully conscious of the strong anti-clerical feeling existing among the revolutionary parties, had everything to fear (now that foreign interference in favor of the Papacy has become a thing of the past) from a successful revolutionary movement.

Contact between the Reds and the Blacks was impossible as long as the question of the temporal power existed.

But when it was found that the Vatican renounced all pretensions of this kind, in case of a change of form of government in Italy, that it accepted a clear and well defined division between the civil and religious powers under the same conditions, and that in return it only demanded that its Head should be placed beyond

the influence, and no longer be subject to the action, of Italian political parties, by having its position guaranteed by some form of international agreement, the Republican leaders, who more especially represent the Garibaldian programme, acquiesced in a *modus vivendi,* which, while it set their minds at rest as to any danger to the territorial integrity of the country, freed them from the incubus of perpetual priestly encroachment by bringing to their aid all the civil powers of other Catholic countries that suffer from the same affliction.

As a question of practical politics, they asked that priestly influence should no longer be exercised against the Italian aspirations of the *irredenta* provinces, Trent and Triest; and while they did not ask any support for their candidates in the political elections, they required that such support should also be denied to the conservatives.

As a matter of fact, such has been the case. The Catholic clergy on the other side of the Adriatic have ceased, in a great measure, to be so actively aggressive against Italian interests; and in the last general elections the popular parties won many seats on account of the Catholic influence ceasing to support conservative interests.

In this way a future is being prepared which will be beneficial to our country, and which will probably not be without serious influence on the Catholic question all over the world.

Monsignor Ireland, whom I had the pleasure of meeting here in Rome, and who gave me the impression of a man of great capabilities, certainly allowed his American energy to overcome his priestly caution, when he bluntly asked that non-Italian Roman Catholics should have a greater participation in the government of the Church, and that all pretensions to temporal power should be abandoned.

Holy Mother Church does not like to be brusqued in any way, consequently the Monsignor got, to use a popular Roman saying, his head well washed.

But if he had had the inclination, certainly he did not want the opportunity to study the respective positions of the Vatican and the growing anti-monarchical feeling in Italy. He would soon have discovered, as perhaps he did later on (if the interview published in the *New York Herald* towards the end of 1899, between an American journalist and a prelate can be placed to his

account), that the proposed solution of an Italian internal question would result in the very things he asked for.

The raising the Vatican *curia* question to the position of an international understanding would open the door to a much greater participation of non-Italian Roman Catholic influence in the government of the Church, a thing impossible in the present state of affairs, as the Italians could not permit any foreign preponderance in an organization which, in Italy, exists only by permission of the Italian Parliament.

This point was touched in a masterful manner, and with the approval of Italian public opinion, by Crispi, when, on the occasion of the last conclave, the Cardinals proposed holding it out of Italy. He at once intimated that, if such a plan were carried out, the Italian Government would at once occupy the Papal Palaces.

And the question of temporal power would, in this case, also disappear.

The Socialist party is powerful on account of its intense activity and the favor its theories meet with among the lower classes, but it has against it the feeling of repulsion felt by the middle classes.

The Republicans are weakened by the incapacity of their leaders and by their want of party discipline, but they have a good hold, both on the lower and middle classes, and, through their Garibaldian traditions, on the younger portion of the population of the country.

During the last general elections these two parties doubled their numerical strength in the Parliament, and registered about a fifth of the total number of members.

This means that, eliminating the members elected by Government influence, and the large number elected for local, not political reasons, the anti-monarchists are in Parliament of about equal strength with the monarchical conservatives, only that these last appear to be in a majority because they have the support of the local members, who would to-morrow be as good Republicans as to-day they are conservatives.

But it is a curious paradox that the monarchy at present only exists through the non-interference of its bitterest enemies; for, if the Pope to-morrow raised the veto of the *"Non expedit,"* the enormous amount of influence brought to bear on the political

elections would at once place the monarchical faction in a hopeless minority.

After the disastrous battle of Adua in Abyssinia, King Humbert is reported to have said: "I have only my army left," and this is pretty nearly the position of the monarchy at present, notwithstanding the wave of sympathy, more dynastic than monarchical, called forth by the atrocious death of that King; for the conservatives have always considered the crown as a useful tool, and when it has attempted to kick against their fetters, they have openly talked of a deposition.

Thus, King Humbert, a man of kindly disposition, but of no strength of will, was gradually reduced to being a mere cypher, and that he foresaw what would be the probable end is proved by the now open secret that he was careful to save out of his Civil List, and place securely in the English three per cents, one hundred millions of francs as a provision for his family against future contingencies.

The execrable assassination of King Humbert has not modified the position much; it has simply produced a suspension of hostilities, the general attitude being one of expectation and observation towards the young King.

"He is an unknown quantity," one of the most knowing political men of Italy said to me a short time ago.

In fact, the monarchical papers have only been able to discover in him two qualities—one, that he has a considerable will of his own, and the other, that he is a distinguished numismatist.

It is certainly a most critical moment in the life of the Italian monarchy.

If Victor Emanuel III. remembers that, if he wears the Iron Crown, it is mainly owing to the popular elements—for history has revealed that the Piedmontese school of diplomats, with Cavour at their head, looked upon the struggle for the liberation and unity of Italy rather as a means of aggrandizing the Piedmontese monarchy than as the realization of a high ideal, the reconstruction of a great nationality, of which, in fact, they were rather afraid—and if he exercises the strength of will he is said to possess to free his crown from the state of bondage in which it was under Humbert, and make it take its true position of mediator between the different political schools, using his influence and royal prerogatives in favor of those classes that most need com-

fort and guidance, the monarchy in Italy may yet have a long lease of life, for patriotism is a strong quality in the Italian heart, and he would find sincere, if unexpected, support from sources now hostile to him and his crown.

But, naturally, his bitterest enemies will then be those who have hitherto used the crown as an instrument to further their own ends, and who, looking upon his childless condition as a danger to the monarchy, do not hide the possibility of his being replaced by some other member of his family.

And it would be a curious thing if the anti-monarchists should one day be obliged to defend the crown, acting on the principle that "a devil you know is always better than one you don't know."

But everything is possible in this country of ours, where, a few months ago, we saw the revolutionary members of Parliament actually defending the Statute of the Kingdom against its natural friends and supporters, the monarchical conservatives.

In fact, the young King at present is like a man on a tight rope; the slightest slip will precipitate matters, and it depends very much on his cool-headedness and nerve whether the monarchy will remain or not what it is at present—graphically described to the writer of the present article by an English statesman, when he said: "We look upon the monarchy in Italy as a house of cards; the first hostile breath of wind will blow it down."

RICCIOTTI GARIBALDI.

CHRISTIANITY AT THE GRAVE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY FREDERIC HARRISON.

WE are entering on the last lap of another hundred years, as the centuries encircle the growth of nations in swift revolving eras. Let us ask: "Is life growing nobler and purer? Does religion inspire the heart? Are we coming nearer to the just, the loving, the beautiful, the true? As we look back over the nineteenth century, is it so glorious an advance upon the eighteenth, or, indeed, upon the seventeenth?" In population, in huge cities, in area of dominion, in wealth, in material prosperity, in mechanical inventions, in physical discoveries, in all forms of material resources—in these, the advance has been portentous. But is humanity measured by these material things, by power, by wealth?

I am not making any barren comparison of one century with another. And I doubt if, even within the narrow limits of a single nation, the general progress of mankind can be turned back, unless in rare and exceptional cases. I am a convinced believer in the gradual improvement of civilization, when we judge it by areas and epochs sufficiently wide and typical. In all progress there are oscillations, partial degenerations, and local or temporary ailments. But I must profess my conviction—and I hear the same confessed by the best men and women, day by day—that our immediate generation has been sinking of late to meaner ideals, to coarser ways of life, to more vulgar types of literature and art, to more open craving after wealth, and a more insolent assertion of pride and force.

As I look back over the present reign, it seems to me clear that the later years have a lower tone of truth and of honor than that we remember in the earlier and middle years of this period. With all the blunders, wrongs and delusions of the earlier times.

our people had some finer inspirations, and more generous impulses for ends which were not wholly selfish or mercenary. In my boyhood there began that long, complicated and indefatigable series of movements to improve the condition of the people, to lift up the burdens of the poor, to reform our entire financial system in the interest of the masses by casting the burdens on the rich—the long labor to secure Free Trade, cheap food, factory legislation, legislation for the rescue of the young, for the education of the people, Poor Law reform, sanitary reform, law reform—causes associated with the names of Peel, Cobden, Bright, Gladstone, Shaftesbury, Brougham, Russell, Stanley, Chadwick, Forster, Mill, and many more. I am not referring to any special legislation or agitation, nor do I say that it was all wise, or wholly disinterested. I mean that all these various changes in our political and social system were pressed on with an unselfish desire to make the world better, with a genuine enthusiasm for what was good and right in itself, which has more or less died out of us to-day.

The great religious upheaval associated with the name of John Henry Newman was a thing both deeper and more spiritual than the petty squabble to-day about vestments and incense. There was a generous sympathy with the independence of nations, and practical abhorrence of international oppression. We felt to the heart the griefs of Poles, of Hungarians, of Lombards and Venetians. The heart of the people was wrung to its fibre by a brotherly interest in the great crisis of the United States. The Crimean war, even if it were a blunder and an illusion, was entered upon with a genuine resolve to protect the weak against the strong. I am far from pretending to justify or extol all that was done in the first half of the present reign. But in those days what stirred the heart of our people were those strivings after well being, peace, and freedom at home and abroad, and not the ignoble passion to domineer and to grasp, to pile up wealth and to make a bigger Empire, to beat our rivals in trade and in arms.

Nor is it only that our national sympathies and enthusiasm have grown colder and coarser, but there has come over us a positive turn for vulgarity of thought, manners and taste. We seem to be declining on what the poet calls "a range of lower feelings and a narrower heart" than of old. It is a common observation that the widowhood and retirement of the Queen have been fol-

lowed by a deplorable decline in the simplicity, purity, and culture which marked the dominant society in the days of her married life. Fashion, as it is called, is now at the mercy of any millionaire gambler, or any enterprising Monte Cristo from across the seas. Victorian literature is declining into the "short story" and the "problem play," taking its heroines from among women with a past and its heroes from the slums. In prose and in verse, the favorite style is the Cockney slang of the costermonger, the betting ring, and the barrack canteen. The reek of the pot-house, the music hall, the turf, the share-market, the thieves' fence, infects our literature, our manners, our amusements, and our ideals of life. The note of the "smart" world is to bluster about guns, war-ships, race-horses, and Rand shares, in the jargon that is current at a race-course.

Any general debasement of tone must have some determining cause. And the causes of this debasement are, as usual, somewhat mixed, and are partly material and partly spiritual. To begin with the material, it cannot be denied that a great change came over the world when it witnessed the triumph of the Bismarckian policy, by which the map of Europe was transformed thirty years ago. The defeat and dismemberment of Denmark, followed by the defeat of Austria and the reorganization of Germany, and this crowned by the overthrow of France and the conquest of two of her provinces with a huge sum of money, raised Prussia in seven years from the fourth place of Continental Powers to the acknowledged primacy in the first rank. But it did much more. It started a wonderful development of financial, commercial and colonial expansion. For the first time in this century, war had been made "to pay." Industry had been nourished by war. A tremendous war was followed by unexampled national prosperity. It was a policy avowedly of "Blood and Iron," of force and ambition, of might without right. It mocked at moral considerations as foolish sentiment. Its creed was the good old rule, the simple plan—"Take what you can." "To the victors the spoils!"

The previous wars in Europe, since the fall of Napoleon, had all been professedly waged to protect some people from oppression, for defence against aggression, not of avowed offence and conquest. And they had all been the sources of distress and heavy burdens even to the victor. But here was a series of three

wars in succession, which were hardly disclaimed as wars of conquest, which had been followed by prosperity in leaps and bounds, and had raised the nation in eight years to the primacy of Europe, of a kind that might demand a century of progress in less violent ways. From the grossly material point of view, it was an astonishing success. Upon Prince Bismarck's death, the repulsive side of the reviews of his career lay in this, that no one thought anything of the question if it were right or wrong, just or unjust, beneficent or retrograde; to them all it seemed, however barbarous from the point of view of morality and civilization, a splendid and typical success. To doubt this was "unctuous rectitude."

Bismarck set the fashion in statesmanship; he did not long wait for imitators and rivals. One after another, the nations of Europe started rather poor copies of the Blood and Iron invention. It was taken up like a new machine-gun. Disraeli was one of the first to try the new weapon. He started the Jingo fever in the Turko-Russian war, the "forward" policy in Afghanistan and Cyprus, and he added to the historic crown of England the tawdry paste jewel of Empire. He founded Imperialism, which has grown since like a Upas tree, and has poisoned Conservatives, Whigs and Radicals alike. Mr. Gladstone himself, with many reserves and various excuses, fell under the spell of it at last, and Mr. Gladstone's successor is now one of the chief prophets of the new Mahdism. British statesmen, to be just, were shy of resorting to the "Blood and Iron" weapon in Europe; but they made an excessive use of it in Colonial and Oriental regions. And in Egypt, the Soudan, in Central Africa, on the Congo and the Niger, in Uganda, in Chitral, Burmah and China they raised the cry, year after year, of Imperial expansion and trade profits, new markets and the Union Jack.

The whole world followed the Bismarckian lead. Russia, from whom, perhaps, the famous Chancellor originally imported his great idea, had an irresistible destiny in that direction, as the largest, most populous, least civilized nation in Europe. Austria, even, added to all her difficulties by another big annexation in the Balkan peninsula. Italy, in spite of her bankruptcy and dynastic weakness, must needs clutch at a province on the Red Sea. France could not be left out, and must make the tricolor wave over part of Siam, Tonquin, Madagascar, the Niger, and at last the Nile. Japan, and even little Greece, took up the Imperial

mania. And at last the United States forsook their settled rules and policy, and are starting an Empire across the ocean.

And then Mammon would not be behind Moloch, but resolved to show that Blood and Iron meant good business, as well as glory. Gigantic speculations were started in all parts of the planet, railways across whole continents, mines which produced the income and wielded the resources of an average State, plantations and settlements as big as many a great kingdom. And all these were put upon a footing that was half military—like an ocean liner constructed to be used as an armed cruiser. Trade and business, war and conquest, were mixed up in equal shares. Under some charter, or other guarantee of complicity, from the State, the adventurers issued forth to fill their pockets, to beat down rivals, and extend the Empire in a kind of nondescript enterprise, which was partly commercial, partly imperial, partly buccaneering, but wholly immoral and perilous to peace. It was somewhat like those piratical enterprises under Drake and Raleigh, in the days of Elizabeth, when the Queen and her courtiers took shares in buccaneering adventures to plunder the people of Spain without declaring war.

The opening of the vast continent of Africa by missionaries, hunters and prospectors set all Europe on fire, much as the discovery of the wealth of the West Indies and South America led to the wild scramble for trans-Atlantic empires in the age of Elizabeth. European nations rushed in to fight for the spoils and enslave the natives. And, as usual, the English people secured the lion's share of the loot, with abundant jealousy and hatred from their distanced competitors. Ruby mines, diamond mines, gold mines, ivory, rubber, oil, or cotton served from time to time to attract investors and to float gigantic adventures. As if the very Spirit of Evil had been commissioned to tempt our generation, like as Job was tempted in the poem, the era of this Saturnalia of Blood and Iron in Europe was the moment when enormous discoveries of precious stones and metals were revealed to the gloating eyes of avarice and ambition. The pair fell upon the mines like furies, the one shouting out Gold, the other Empire, and aroused a national delirium for wealth and dominion. Already, the Spirit of Evil seems to have begun his work of slaughter and loss, as when Job in his distress cried out, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away." But are we so sure

that death and loss will be made good to us in the end, as amply as it was made good to Job?

These various events all coincided with the last quarter of the century now about to end. If we needed a date for this great change in our national and industrial life, I would take, as a symbol, the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India. It was a mere form, without direct effect in itself. But it served as the baptism of the new Imperialism. The British flag henceforth represented an Empire of conquest and annexation, on the lines of that Russian Empire which, in the middle of the century, Europe had combined to check and humble. The Imperial title was a bauble in itself; but it symbolized the ambition of the men who arranged it. Cyprus was seized out of mere bravado. On the Imperial banner was inscribed the famous motto, *"Peace with Honor;"* on the obverse of which scroll was deeply graven, *"War with Disgrace."* And the vulgar thing with a vulgar name, which is the new religion of the Imperialist, was bred in a Cockney music-hall. The Transvaal was annexed by a snatch decree; the Zulu war followed; then the Afghan war and the "Forward" policy of our ardent proconsuls and the Young India party. Governments and parties changed; but not the policy. Egypt was seized; and in eighteen years it has cost us no less than six campaigns. Burmah was conquered and annexed. The rush to the diamond mines is hardly thirty years old; the rush to the gold mines about half of thirty; the Charterland is not ten years old, and it has led to two or three wars, including the Raid.

Analyze its degrading effects on the mind and temper of the nation. Compare the early part and the middle of the reign of the Queen with the last two or three decades. Who will dare to say that its close can compare with its promise—in poetry, in romance, in literature, in philosophy, or in science? Allow what we will for the personal equation whereby the elder naturally looks back to the memories of the *temporis acti*, grant all the tendency we have to be slow to recognize latent genius in the budding, still it would be dishonest to claim for recent years an intellect as powerful and as solid as that which we knew in the middle of the reign. I insist on no particular writer, I rely on no special school. Names will occur to all—Dr. Arnold and his son, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Macaulay, Carlyle, Thackeray, Dickens, Bulwer, Disraeli, Hallam, Milman, Freeman, Froude, Ruskin, the

Brontës, George Eliot, Kingsley, Trollope. All the work, or all the best and permanent work, of these was completed and had passed into the fabric of English literature before the Imperialist era began some twenty-five years ago. Have their successors quite equalled them?

It is the same story in more abstract things—in philosophy, in sociology, even in pure science, the special pursuit of our age. Charles Darwin, Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Professor Owen, Thomas Huxley, John Henry Newman, Pusey, Keble, Grote, Whewell, Kelvin, Lyell, Thirlwall, Buckle, Wilberforce, Jowett, Maurice, Bagehot, Martineau. Two or three out of the forty names I have mentioned survive in extreme old age; but even of these their principal work was completed at the date now taken. I do not deny that many men of high distinction are living and working still, and that there are still with us men of great promise, of whom much is expected. But taking, as a test, influence upon the age and European reputation, the last quarter of the present century cannot compare in its intellectual product with the three earlier quarters of this century.

It would be futile, of course, to admit the current nonsense about "decadence" or "the end of the century"; for the tone of a nation does not degenerate of its own motion, nor by the date of the calendar. It has a cause, and the cause is plain. No! when Imperialism set in about a quarter of a century ago, we all took to a much more practical, combative, and materialistic view of life. We were told to get rich, to fight, to win the game, and the game was something solid and substantial. To be weak was to be miserable, as Satan told the rebel angels; to be poor was to be a failure; to make no conquests, no prizes, no fortunes, was to own oneself a poor thing. Competition ruled everything—education, sport, industry and literature. To win prizes we had to be up-to-date, and we grew year by year more up-to-date. We fell more and more under the rule of the newspaper press; and the press grew more and more noisy, braggart, bustling and smart. It got so furiously up-to-date that it even announced events before they had happened, and smashed books before they had been read. We all had to live in a perpetual rattle, which was something like a fair or a race-course, and something like an army of volunteers on a bank holiday. The reveries of the imagination became less easy, and fell out of fashion. The pace became kill-

ing. Stories became shorter and shorter, and no one had time for a long book. The "boss," the "gold-bug," the "syndicate" were terms imported from across the seas, and with the terms came the things. The press fell into the hands of the "bosses," then "society" fell; and soon the State itself began to be run by the millionaires, much as if it were a railway or a trust in the United States.

All this combined to materialize, to degrade, the national life. It is not so much that we have glaring examples of folly, vice, extravagance, brutality, and lust. There are such examples in most ages, and they may be personal, independent of any general cause. The gloomy feature of our time is the wide diffusion of these evils amongst all classes, and, what is far worse, the universal dying down of high standards of life, of generous ideals, of healthy tastes—the recrudescence of coarse, covetous, arrogant, and braggart passions. We who live quiet lives, far apart from what calls itself the great world, have no direct experience of these things; but we cannot resist the common testimony of those who know that, during the reign of the Queen, wanton extravagance in dress, in living, in gayeties, has never been so crazy as now, with such sordid devices to scrape together the means for extravagance, such open sale of rank and person by those who claim to lead society and to dictate taste.

In such a world, it is inevitable that the intellectual and aesthetic aims should become gross and materialized. The drama runs not merely to vice, but to morbid, sneaking forms of vice, to unwholesome melodrama, to a world of smart harlots and titled debauchees. The least vicious, but most vulgar, symptom of this decadence, is the prevalent fondness of men and women of fashion for the slang of the gutter and the slum. Popular novels, songs, and plays are composed in the jargon current amongst costermongers and thieves. Romance tends to vignettes of sensationalism, to the more cancerous forms of debauchery, and to prurient maunderings over sex problems. It may be true that there have been ages more vicious and brutal than our own; and, no doubt, the last years of the Victorian epoch are no worse than the Georgian epoch of Hogarth and Fielding. That is not my argument. My contention is, that there is to-day, as compared with the middle of the present reign, a sensible debasement of tone.

I have spoken of the material and practical causes of this

deterioration of the age. I will say a few words as to its spiritual and intellectual causes. All important changes in the world of action are preceded by profound movements in the world of thought. The intellectual "reversion" to a poorer type, in these recent years, is due to a certain despairing return to the cloudy intuitionalism which, fifty years ago, had fallen into discredit. Forty or fifty years ago, the schools of Bentham and his followers, as presented in the *Westminster Review*, of James Mill and John Stuart Mill, of Professor Bain and George H. Lewes, of Herbert Spencer and his followers, of Grote and Cornewall Lewis, eminently that of Charles Darwin and the popularization of the philosophy of evolution, and, finally, the critical examination of Scripture, which was made common knowledge in "Essays and Reviews"—all these had established their ascendant in the world of serious thought, and raised hopes of almost indefinite progress and authority. It was an intellectual emancipation which had some kinship with that of the last century, in the age of Hume, Adam Smith, Voltaire, and Diderot. We may call it the Avatar of Evolution and of Logical Demonstration. And under it a brilliant efflorescence arose—in philosophy, in science, in economics, in sociology, and in real religion.

The philosophy of Evolution and of Demonstration promised, but it did not perform. It raised hopes, but it led to disappointment. It claimed to explain the world, and to direct man. But it left a great blank. That blank was the whole field of religion, of morality, of the sanctions of duty. It left the mystery of the Future as mysterious as ever, and yet as imperative as ever. Whatever philosophy of Nature it offered, it gave no adequate philosophy of Man. It was busy with physiology of Humanity; it propounded inconceivable and repulsive guesses about the origin of Humanity. Charles Darwin thought that "he was generally, but not always, an Agnostic." Stuart Mill fluctuated between a religion of Duty and a very attenuated and sterilized Theism. And Herbert Spencer solemnly announced that the object of religion could only be the Unknowable. Hesitations, doubtings, double acrostics like this about the very central truths of life and duty, naturally caused plain men and women to turn away in disgust. Here we say that certain intelligible, rational ideas about the religious problems of Man's highest nature form the very key-stone of philosophy; that the philosopher who

fails to answer these problems, so as to convince his questioners, will convince them ultimately of little else. Evolution and Neo-Christianity failed to give any answer; called themselves "Know-nothings," prophets of the Unknowable; had not made up their own minds, and did not think it mattered much whether they did or not. The result was a wide and general discredit to the entire philosophy of Evolution and the entire Theology of Neo-Christianity.

No precise date could be given to this reaction, nor did it take any single or definite form. No new type of philosophy took the place of the discredited methods. Within the last twenty years these latter have been gradually losing their hold; and vague, thin kinds of Spiritualism from time to time found acceptance. There was nothing like a new system, or even a definable tendency, except a kind of metaphysical fogginess which uses grandiloquent phrases as if they were real things. If we took any date as a mark, it might be found in the burst of welcome when Mr. Balfour's graceful book on "The Foundations of Belief" appeared about five years ago. There was nothing either new or solid in the book, except the pathetic dreaminess with which cynical pessimism and incurable doubt about all Truth was shown to lead up to practical support of the Orthodox Creeds. That the guides of public opinion announced this stale scepticism as giving new life to philosophy and religion, was indeed evidence how deeply the orthodox creeds were undermined, how ready was the philosophy of the day to clutch hold of any cloud that seemed likely to release it from sober study of the earth. All this was a sort of theological "confidence trick." The philosopher says to the simple inquirer: "You are so very little sure of any belief, and are so likely to lose it altogether in this Babylon of ours, that you had better trust me with your faith, and I will put it away safe in the Bank of the Church of England."

A maudlin philosophy based on nothing but vague aspirations, hopes, and possibilities, so that all the central problems of Life and of Man ended in the general formula, "After all, perhaps there may be;" this spread a dry-rot through the mental fabric. There is to-day plenty of activity, of ingenuity, of prettiness, of skill, as there is in any silver age; but of robustness, originality, inspiration, is there to-day as much as we have known and felt a generation or two ago? Take the decade which closes this cen-

tury, can any man pretend that it equals in power either of the middle decades of the century (1840-1860) in poetry, in literature, in science, in philosophy? A shifty and muddle-headed kind of Spiritualism has mentally made cowards of us all.

And, finally, to take religion, which we are often told displays so striking a revival. In ceremonial, in ecclesiastical celebrations, in clerical organization and activity, no doubt the progress is manifest. The rites of the Churches, the dignity of worship, the parade of Church societies, are in full activity. The Churches were never more "in evidence" than they are to-day. Their pretensions were never higher; their rolls never fuller; their patrons never more illustrious. Is vital religion more general, more effective? Is genuine belief in the creeds more definite and clear? Is Christianity more truly a civilizing, a moralizing force? Who will dare to say so? By vital religion I do not mean conventional phrases about getting to Heaven. I mean religion that can purify, direct, and inspire Man's life on earth. By genuine belief in the creeds, I mean literal acceptance of the three creeds in the Book of Common Prayer in their plain sense. When I ask if Christianity is a civilizing and moralizing force, I ask if it prevents us as a people from injustice and oppression, and as men and women from the pride of life and the lusts of the flesh.

We have been dwelling to-day on the evil things in our modern life, on the chase after money, the rampant love of gambling, the extravagance, the coarseness, the materialistic spirit growing on all sides. What have the Churches done to purify and check all this? Who would care if they did try? Who would believe them in earnest in doing so? What were they doing and saying yesterday? They were offering up, from ten thousand altars, prayers to the God of Battles to bless our arms, that is to enable us to slaughter our enemies and possess their land. Not a voice comes from the official churches to raise a doubt as to the justice, good faith, and Christian charity of those who have thrust England into a wanton war of spoliation. Not a word is breathed from their pulpits of respect for the brave civilians who are defending their homes and their freedom. These republicans, we are told, gather round their hearthstones, whole families together, fathers, sons, grandsons, kneeling down in prayer—they do sincerely believe in their God and his readiness to hear them—and their wives, sisters, and daughters arm them for the front: and ere they engage in

battle, their camp rings with hymns of prayer and praise. At home, our own preparation for war is sounded in slang from drinking saloons, which is echoed back in pale and conventional litanies from the altars of the State Church. This is how Christianity works out in practice at the close of the nineteenth century.

This State Church and the Creed, to the husk of which it still clings, never seem so hollow or so corrupt as in the part they play in some national crisis, such as an unjust war. Whilst sober men of all parties and opinions can feel some doubt or even searchings of heart; whilst soldiers, statesmen, and the public are open to remonstrance; the only order of men which is ever ready to supply the majority with hypocritical glozings is the official priesthood. It sinks till it becomes the mere domestic chaplain of the governing class—a sort of black police that has to stand by the government, right or wrong. "Theirs not to reason why," as the poet says. It was an Archbishop who told us, the other day, that God Himself "made battles." Improving upon the old Hebrew war-songs about the God of Battles, we are now told that the God of Mercy is the author of war, as a means of grace toward a higher morality. Why, no medicine man, no witch-finder in Central Africa, hounding on a savage chief to exterminate a neighboring tribe, would utter a more atrocious blasphemy!

A Church, a Creed, which can chant such a requiem as this over the grave of the Nineteenth Century needs trouble us no more. It is left, henceforth, to faith in humanity to do what it can to curb the passions of the strong, who are thirsting to crush the weak; to teach what is the true glory of civilized men; to preach the Gospel of Peace, which the apostate preachers of Christ have turned into a by-word, and have made a war cry. These high priests of the New Imperialism have forsworn their own religion and forgotten their own sacred books. Let them turn back in their Bibles to the story of Ahab and Naboth, and reflect that it was the apostate priests who leaped upon the altar, and called from morning even until noon, saying, "O, Baal, hear us!" But it was the task of the true priest to say to the King in his pride, "Hast thou killed and also taken possession?"

FREDERIC HARRISON.

THE HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY.

BY MARK B. DUNNELL.

It is the misfortune of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty that it does not carry its justification on its face. It is a product of history and not a special creation of the reason. Considered superficially, it seems to sacrifice important American interests. Considered in the light of its historical origins, it is clearly a triumph for American diplomacy. It cannot be fairly judged by one unacquainted with the history of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, or of the Constantinople treaty of 1888, upon which it is, in part, based. One of the primary objects of the pending treaty is, to remove the serious obstacle to the construction of a canal by our government presented by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. It has been, too hastily, assumed in many quarters that the pending treaty is the only honorable escape from the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and that therein lies its sole justification. Indeed, the treaty is in grave danger of being killed by its friends. The apologists of the administration are unwisely urging the ratification of the treaty on the ground of necessity, rather than of national self-interest. We are gravely assured that it is not a question of national advantage, not a question of expediency, but a question of treaty obligation. We are told, in effect, that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is not voidable, and that, consequently, we must accept the pending treaty, not because the policy of neutralization which it embodies is desirable in itself, but because that is the only policy which England, standing on the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, will permit us to pursue.

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 between the United States and Great Britain prohibits either Power from extending its dominion over any portion of Central America, or from exercising exclusive control over any canal across the American isthmus; and provides that the two Powers "shall extend their protection,

by treaty stipulations," to any such canal. Every line of this treaty has reference to a canal constructed by private enterprise, and, by necessary implication, prohibits the construction of a canal by either the signatory Powers as a national enterprise. This construction of the treaty is confirmed by the negotiations which preceded its execution. The intervening years have proved conclusively that the canal cannot be constructed by private enterprise. We have waited half a century for such a canal to come into existence. Does the sanctity of treaty obligations demand that we shall wait indefinitely? The treaty has no reference to existing conditions, and there is no prospect of its becoming operative within a reasonable time by the construction of a canal to which it would be applicable. The object of the treaty was to facilitate the construction of a canal, while existing conditions are such that the practical effect of the treaty is to prevent the accomplishment of that object. The contention that we can not honorably terminate a treaty which, if allowed to remain operative, would indefinitely bar the construction of a canal demanded by our interests and the commerce of the world, is grostesquely absurd. The sanctity of treaty obligations demands no such sacrifice. Again and again, during the present century, the Powers of Europe have disregarded treaties on the ground of a material change of circumstances. International morality demands that a treaty should not be lightly set aside; but the enlightened opinion of the world recognizes that treaty stipulations should not be permitted to restrict the free play of national development, nor to check the progress of civilization. But while we should be justified by European precedents in notifying Great Britain that we should no longer consider ourselves bound by the treaty, it would be unwise to do so, because some of its provisions are still advantageous to this country. It is the high merit of the pending treaty that, while it secures our exclusive control of the canal, it preserves so much of the old treaty as prohibits either Power from extending its dominion over any portion of Central America.

The Clayton Bulwer treaty is not the only one standing in the way of our acquiring exclusive military control of the canal. The treaty between Spain and Nicaragua, of July 25th, 1850, provides that "the Spanish flag and merchandise, as well as the subjects of Her Catholic Majesty, shall enjoy on the transit the same advantages and exemptions as are granted to the most favored na-

tions;" and, on the other hand, Spain agrees to guarantee the neutrality of the canal and "to keep the transit thereby free, and protect it against all embargo or confiscation." In the treaty between France and Nicaragua, ratified on January 10th, 1860, it is stipulated that "the Republic of Nicaragua binds itself to grant France and French subjects the same rights and privileges in every respect, as to transit and the price of transit, as well as all other rights, privileges or advantages whatsoever relatively to the passage or employment of troops, or relatively to any object whatever, which are to-day or may be hereafter granted or given to be enjoyed by the most favored nation;" while France on her part agrees to protect the neutrality of the canal. The treaty between Spain and Costa Rica, of May 10th, 1850, gives to the Spanish flag and merchandise "free transit" upon any canal through the territory of Costa Rica, on the same terms as "the vessels, merchandise and citizens" of Costa Rica. The treaty between Italy and Nicaragua, of March 6th, 1868, insures to Italy the same rights in the canal as the most favored nation. In the treaty of June 21st, 1867, between the United States and Nicaragua, is found the following provision:

"The United States hereby agree to extend their protection to all such routes of communication as aforesaid, and to guarantee the neutrality and innocent use of the same. They also agree to employ their influence with other nations to induce them to guarantee such neutrality and protection."

This treaty is still in force. In the treaty of February 11th, 1860, between Great Britain and Nicaragua, is found an identical provision for a British guarantee.

While they are by no means unvoidable, these treaties cannot be ignored by our government; and their existence constitutes a strong reason for the ratification of the pending treaty, with which they harmonize. In their report on the pending treaty, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations says:

"It is not what remains of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty which makes this convention necessary, so much as the identical treaties of the United States and Great Britain with Nicaragua in pursuance of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which were concluded in 1860 and 1867."

The Committee seems to have been strangely ignorant of the fact that this treaty of 1860 between Great Britain and Nicaragua expired on June 11th, 1888, on notice given by Nicaragua in conformity with its terms. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty is not

"necessary" for any reason. Existing treaties, instead of making the pending treaty necessary, afford only one of many reasons for adopting the policy of neutralization. If we reject neutralization and adopt the policy of fortification, we must first address ourselves, if we select the Nicaragua route, to the not impossible task of removing the diplomatic obstacles presented by these treaties. Assuming the consent of the local government, there is no insuperable obstacle to our military control of the canal. It is purely a question of expediency. Respecting inter-oceanic canals, international law is silent. No one questions the absolute control of Great Britain over the Crinan and Caledonian Canals, or of Germany over the Kaiser Wilhelm and Elbe-Trave Canals, or of Greece over the Corinthian Canal. If we should construct a canal in territory over which we had first acquired unqualified sovereignty, our right to control it would be equally absolute.

It is frequently urged that the neutralization of the Suez Canal constitutes a precedent, which we are morally, if not legally, bound to follow by ratifying the pending treaty. This contention is unsound, because of the radically different character of the two canals. We should ratify our canal, if at all, solely as a matter of self-interest, and not out of deference to a European precedent of remote relevancy. From the very first, the Suez Canal was clothed with an international character, and the original concession contemplated a neutral canal. It is a private enterprise, conducted by foreigners of various nationalities, in territory subject to international control, and under a concession from a government too weak to afford adequate protection, and itself subject to international supervision. Its shareholders and bondholders are found in every country of Europe; and, while its management is predominantly French, its largest stockholder is the British government. On the other hand, the American canal will be exclusively national in character. It will be a purely governmental enterprise, conducted by one of the great Powers in territory over which it will exercise exclusive jurisdiction. It will have no international character, save such as may be imposed upon it by the voluntary action of our government.

Egypt is the land of political fictions. Technically, the Khedive is the well-nigh absolute ruler of Egypt, under the suzerainty of the Sultan. In reality, the authority of the Khedive is only nominal, while the actual powers of government are exer-

cised by England. Above the Sultan, above the Khedive and the British government, is the Concert of Europe, exercising an ultimate supervision. The situation is still further complicated by the fact that all the civilized powers enjoy in Egypt the right of exterritoriality. Ever since 1839-1841, when the European Powers intervened to check the victorious career of Mehemet Ali, Egyptian affairs have been subject to international control. Each successive British government has acknowledged that the sanction of the Concert of Europe was essential to any important political action it might wish to take in Egypt. This complex international status of Egypt gave to the Suez Canal a corresponding international status, which rendered impossible any exclusive control by either France or Great Britain. Many times before its neutralization in 1888, it was treated as a subject of international control. In 1871, the European Powers united in abortive negotiations for the purchase of the Canal and for its management by an international commission. In 1872, Lord Granville laid down the principle that the Canal Company could not be allowed to be the judges of their own concession. In 1873, the European Powers joined in a demand for a revision of the rules to determine the tonnage of vessels passing through the Canal. In 1875, England purchased the private shares of the Khedive. At once, the other Powers asked for explanations and were formally assured that England had no exclusive designs, and that she recognized fully that important affairs of the Canal came under the cognizance of the Powers. In 1877 occurred the war between Russia and Turkey. On May 6th, 1877, Lord Derby wrote to the Russian Ambassador as follows:

"Should the war now in progress unfortunately spread, interests may be imperilled which they (Her Majesty's Government) are equally bound and determined to defend, and it is desirable that they should make it clear, as far as at the outset of the war can be done, what the most prominent of those interests are. Foremost among them, is the necessity of keeping open, uninjured and uninterrupted, the communication between Europe and the East by the Suez Canal. An attempt to blockade or otherwise to interfere with the Canal or its approaches would be regarded by them as a menace to India and as a grave injury to the commerce of the world. On both these grounds any such step—which they hope and fully believe there is no intention on the part of either belligerent to take—would be inconsistent with the maintenance by them of passive neutrality."

Prince Gortchakoff replied, on May 18th, 1877:

"The Imperial Cabinet will neither blockade, nor interrupt, nor in any way menace the navigation of the Suez Canal. They consider the Canal as an international work, in which the commerce of the world is interested, and which should be kept free from any attack."

The Arabi rebellion gave Europe a sharp reminder of the insufficiency of a merely Egyptian guarantee of the neutrality of the Canal, and did even more than the Turko-Russian war to hasten an international neutralization. In 1882, England intervened to suppress the rebellion. Her warships and transports entered the Canal and used it as a base. The intervention was undertaken at the request of the Khedive, and had the approval of all the Powers save France. Mr. Gladstone was very explicit in acknowledging the right of the Powers to a voice in the matter. England took the position that she was simply performing an international police duty, which naturally rested upon her by reason of her predominant interest in the Canal. She did not act alone, however, until France had timidly declined to coöperate.

On July 23d, 1883, in a speech in the House of Commons, announcing the withdrawal of a scheme to parallel the Suez Canal, Mr. Gladstone said:

"I wish to announce that we cannot undertake to do any act inconsistent with the acknowledgment, indubitable and sacred in our eyes, that the Canal has been made for the benefit of all nations at large, and that the rights connected with it are matters of common European interest."

As a result of the British occupation of Egypt, there developed among the Continental Powers, and especially in France, a strong sentiment in favor of the neutralization of the Canal. It was felt that neutralization was the only means of preventing the Canal from falling under the exclusive control of Great Britain. England saw that some form of neutralization was inevitable; and, in order that the form finally adopted might fetter her future action in Egypt as little as possible, she took the lead in the negotiations. Accordingly, on January 3d, 1883, Lord Granville sent a circular dispatch to the British Ambassadors at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome and St. Petersburg, outlining a scheme of neutralization. The following are the material passages:

"One result of recent occurrences has been to call special attention to the Suez Canal; firstly, on account of the danger with which it was threatened during the first brief success of the insurrection; secondly, in consequence of its occupation by the British forces in the name of the Khedive, and their use of it as a base of the operations carried on

in His Highness' behalf, and in support of his authority; and, thirdly, because of the attitude assumed by the Direction and officers of the Canal Company at a critical period of the campaign.

"As regards the first two of these points, Her Majesty's Government believe that the free and unimpeded navigation of the Canal at all times, and its freedom from obstruction or damage by acts of war, are matters of importance to all nations. It has been generally admitted that the measures taken by them for protecting the navigation and the use of the Canal on behalf of the territorial Ruler, for the purpose of restoring his authority, were in no way infringements of this general principle.

"But to put upon a clearer footing the position of the Canal for the future, and to provide against possible dangers, they are of opinion that an agreement to the following effect might with advantage be come to between the Great Powers, to which other nations would subsequently be invited to accede:—

"1. That the Canal should be free for the passage of all ships, in any circumstances.

"2. That in time of war a limitation of time as to ships of war of a belligerent remaining in the Canal should be fixed, and no troops or munitions of war should be disembarked in the Canal.

"3. That no hostilities should take place in the Canal or its approaches, or elsewhere in the territorial waters of Egypt, even in the event of Turkey being one of the belligerents.

"4. That neither of the two immediately foregoing conditions shall apply to measures which may be necessary for the defence of Egypt.

"5. That any Power whose vessels of war happen to do any damage to the Canal should be bound to bear the cost of its immediate repair.

"6. That Egypt should take all measures within its power to enforce the conditions imposed on the transit of belligerent vessels through the Canal in time of war.

"7. That no fortifications should be erected on the Canal or in its vicinity.

"8. That nothing in the agreement shall be deemed to abridge or affect the territorial rights of the Government of Egypt further than is therein expressly provided."

This scheme was not acceptable to France; and much time was consumed in an unsuccessful attempt to frame a convention acceptable to both France and England. Finally, it was decided to refer the whole matter to a commission. On March 17th, 1885, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Russia and Turkey signed at London a Declaration, of which the following is a passage:

"Whereas the Powers have agreed to recognize the urgent necessity for negotiating with the object of sanctioning, by a Conventional Act, the establishment of a definitive regulation destined to guarantee at all times, and for all Powers, the freedom of the Suez Canal: It has been agreed between the seven Governments above named that a Commission composed of Delegates named by the said Governments shall meet at Paris on the 30th March, to prepare and draw up this Act,

taking for its basis the Circular of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty of the 3rd January, 1883. A Delegate of His Highness the Khedive shall sit on the Commission, with a consultative voice."

In conformity with this Declaration, the Suez Canal Commission convened at Paris on March 30th, 1885. Although an agreement upon many important points was soon reached, it was found impossible to reconcile radical differences of opinion respecting the area to be neutralized, the defense of Egypt and the mode of enforcing the agreement. The last meeting was held on June 13th, 1885. During the remainder of the year, events in Eastern Roumelia absorbed the attention of Europe. On January 6th, 1886, the French Ambassador at London informed Lord Salisbury that France had consulted the other Powers with a view to the resumption of negotiations, and that they had all expressed a willingness to concur in any solution of the questions remaining unsettled that might be acceptable to both France and England. Protracted negotiations between the two governments followed, the points of difference being few but radical. As to the area to be neutralized, France wished to prohibit all acts of war and "all acts directed immediately to the preparation of an operation of war" not only in the Canal itself and its ports of access, but also in its approaches and the territorial waters of Egypt. England objected to the inclusion of the approaches of the Canal and the territorial waters of Egypt, and urged that to forbid "all acts directed immediately to the preparation of an operation of war" would unjustly prevent preparations for the defence of Egypt. In thus seeking to restrict, so far as possible, the area to be neutralized, England was not actuated solely by a disinterested regard for Egypt, but was wisely seeking to safeguard her own future interests. She foresaw that her occupation of Egypt might be permanent, and, consequently, wished to keep as much territory as possible free from the neutralization, in order that it might, in the future, be utilized by her as a military base. On the other hand, France sought to neutralize so much of Egypt that England would have no motive for making her occupation permanent. The treaty shows that England carried her point. As regards the right to embark and disembark troops and munitions of war in the Canal, France wished the treaty to read: "Vessels shall not disembark or embark troops, munitions or materials of war in the Canal and its ports of access." England contended that the

prohibition should be limited to time of war and to active belligerents, that it should apply only to the Canal, and should not extend to the ports of access. Her object was to reserve the right to embark troops for the defence of India prior to a declaration of war, and disembark them in case of a temporary blockade of the Canal. France was intent on preventing England from gaining any military advantage from her occupation of Egypt. England succeeded in restricting the prohibition to time of war, and in making provision for a temporary blockade of the Canal. Throughout the negotiations, England was strongly opposed to a thoroughgoing neutralization of the Canal, that is, to a joint guarantee of its neutrality. Lord Granville cautioned the Delegates to the Canal Commission to avoid the use of the term "neutrality" in connection with the Canal, and instructed them to adhere to the term "freedom" or "free navigation," as used in the circular dispatch of 1883. The Delegates replied:

> "There is no ground to apprehend any inconvenience from the use which may have occasionally been made by the Delegates of the word 'neutrality,' inasmuch as there has been a common accord from the first that the term, as applied to the Canal, had reference only to the neutrality which attaches by international law to the territorial waters of a neutral state, in which a right of innocent passage for belligerent vessels exists, but no right to commit any act of hostility."

The language aptly describes the Constantinople treaty. The Powers agreed to treat the Canal as neutral; they did not agree to guarantee its neutrality. An agreement between France and England was finally reached and a draft treaty signed by M. Flourens and Mr. Egerton at Paris, on October 24th, 1887. The definitive treaty, which included certain amendments suggested by the Sultan, was signed at Constantinople on October 29th, 1888, by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Russia, Holland, Italy, Germany, Spain, Austria and Turkey.

It was the fault of England that a more effective form of neutralization was not adopted. If she could have had her way, there would have been no agreement whatever, for she was content with the practical control of the Canal which she enjoyed by virtue of her superior fleet and her position in Egypt, Gibraltar, Malta, Perim and Aden. The treaty was a futile attempt to reconcile irreconcilable interests. The Egyptian question and the Canal question were so related that no satisfactory solution of the latter was possible. England went into Egypt in 1882 to protect

the Canal; she remains there to control it; and, so long as she remains, it is idle to talk of its neutralization.

As Mr. Curzon pointed out in the House of Commons, on July 12th, 1898, the treaty of Constantinople has never become practically operative, owing to the following important reservation originally made by Sir Julian Pauncefote on June 13th, 1885, at the last meeting of the Suez Canal Commission; repeated by Lord Salisbury, on October 21st, 1887, only three days before the treaty was signed on behalf of Great Britain and France, and carefully brought to the attention of all the Powers concerned when the acceptance of the treaty was recommended by the British government:

"The Delegates of Great Britain, in presenting this text of the treaty as the definitive system destined to guarantee the free use of the Suez Canal, consider it their duty to formulate a general reservation as to the application of its provisions in so far as they would not be compatible with the present transitory and exceptional state of Egypt, and might fetter the liberty of action of their Government during the occupation of Egypt by the forces of Her Britannic Majesty."

Furthermore, the treaty was executed with the understanding that England's occupation of Egypt should be temporary; and it was expressly provided in Article XII. that none of the signatory Powers should acquire any territorial advantages with respect to the Canal. The retention of Egypt by England, in violation of this understanding and express stipulation, renders the present status of the Suez Canal very uncertain; and this uncertainty will continue until there is a final solution of the Egyptian question. Even if the treaty of Constantinople were now in force, it would be of slight practical value because it does not cover the Red Sea and its approaches. All of the Delegates to the Suez Canal Commission of 1885 were agreed that the relation of the Red Sea and the Canal was such that both should be included in an act of neutralization to make it practically effective, and yet England peremptorily refused even to discuss a proposal of Russia looking to that end. England has always been a consistent and resolute enemy of an effective neutralization of the Suez Canal and its approaches. Doubtless, she has acted wisely for her own interests, but she has certainly estopped herself from urging us to neutralize our canal as a matter of international comity.

The Hay-Pauncefote treaty provides "that there shall be no discrimination against any nation or its citizens or subjects in

respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise." This is our historic policy, never departed from except in the ill-advised Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty of 1884, which President Cleveland had the wisdom and courage to withdraw from the Senate. Such a policy would inevitably lead to retaliatory discriminations against us in every part of the world, and thereby defeat its own object. It would also render probable the construction of a second canal. A guarantee of equality of tolls is, of course, a condition precedent to an international neutralization of the canal; for no self-respecting nation would agree not to attack a canal in which it was liable to discrimination. Even Secretary Blaine saw the futility and inexpediency of a policy of discrimination. He assured Lord Granville that the United States sought no narrow or exclusive commercial advantage, and that "the same rights and privileges, the same tolls and obligations for the use of the canal, shall apply with absolute impartiality to the merchant marine of every nation on the globe."

Much confusion of thought has arisen from the different senses in which the term neutralization is used. The practice of neutralizing objects is of modern growth, and it is, therefore, not surprising that international law does not afford an exact and unvarying definition. Indeed, the term is generic in its nature, and consequently no definition can be very illuminating. In its generic sense, neutralization is an international act, whereby an object is clothed with the attributes of permanent neutrality. A neutralized state is one which has entered into an agreement with the great Powers not to engage in war save for the defense of its own territory, receiving, by way of compensation, a guarantee from such Powers to respect its territory and protect it if attacked by others. Thus, Switzerland was neutralized in 1815, Belgium in 1830, and Luxemburg in 1867. Neutralized persons and things are such as have been exempted by international agreement from hostile attack. Thus, the wounded in battle, military doctors, nurses, ambulances and hospitals were neutralized by the Geneva Convention of 1864. Theoretically, an object cannot be neutralized unless all the Powers unite in the neutralization. Practically, it is sufficient if all the great Powers unite, or all the Powers directly affected. Neutralization is a matter of voluntary agreement. We cannot neutralize our canal without entering into an agreement with the European Powers, nor can we arbitrarily dic-

tate the terms of the agreement. We may, if we choose, build and fortify the canal as a purely American enterprise, and defend it against the world as we do our other property. The European Powers would have no right to object under the rules of international law. But the canal would be no more exempt from attack than any other American property, for there is no rule of international law exempting inter-oceanic canals from attack, although unfortified. Neutralization is not a product of international law, but of special international agreement. If we had an army and a navy superior to the combined armies and navies of the rest of the world, we could not alone neutralize the canal, although we could protect it and thereby effect the same result. It is important to remember that neutralization and protection are not the same thing, although they may, conceivably, have the same effect. Neutralization changes the legal relations of sovereign states to one another, and to the object neutralized, in that they cannot exercise belligerent action, where they would otherwise be free to do so, without rendering themselves liable to punishment at the hands of neutrals. The rights and obligations of sovereign States cannot be thus radically changed without their free consent. The United States and Great Britain could not alone neutralize the canal; and hence the Hay-Pauncefote treaty provides for the adherence of all the Powers.

A canal may be neutralized either by excluding the warships of all belligerents or by allowing them free passage indiscriminately. In this scheme for the neutralization of the canal, Secretary Blaine adopted the former policy as respects all foreign warships. In all our existing treaties regarding the canal, provision is made for the free passage of belligerent vessels without discrimination. This policy has so many advantages that Secretary Hay was wise in adopting it as the basis of the pending treaty. The primary function of an inter-oceanic canal is to afford a speedy and uninterrupted passage for vessels of every description. Any exclusions that might be made would not only be vexatious in themselves, but would involve the exercise of an arbitrary power incompatible with a state of neutrality. Furthermore, the tolls to be derived from belligerent vessels are enormous, and a canal is primarily a business enterprise. The chief objection, however, to the exclusion of belligerent vessels lies in the practical difficulty of determining the existence of a state of

war. No declaration of war is necessary, and acts of hostility are not conclusive evidence. Sometimes a government intentionally refrains from publishing its intention. During 1884-1885, France carried on warlike operations against China while refusing to admit the existence of a state of war. The determination of this question with reference to the free passage of the canal would necessarily have to be made by our government quickly, and often upon indefinite or conflicting information.

The neutralization of the canal would be of advantage to this country for a number of reasons.

(1.) It would relieve our government of the burden of protecting the canal from attack and blockade. Remote from our shores and peculiarly vulnerable, the canal would be our weakest point in time of war. It could not be defended by fortifications alone. We should need a larger fleet than the combined fleets of our enemies. The control of one of the *foci* of the world's commerce would be so incalculably important that our enemies would surely make the canal their first and main object of attack. No European Power would ever hope to subjugate the American people, but it might reasonably hope to seize and hold the canal.

(2.) It would save the American people many millions of dollars each year, which would otherwise necessarily be spent in constructing and maintaining a navy sufficiently strong to protect the canal at all hazards. It would likewise do away with the enormous expense of constructing and maintaining fortifications.

(3.) It would leave our fleet free to operate nearer its bases and to choose freely its positions for attack or defense.

(4.) It would free neutral commerce from vexatious interference in time of war.

(5.) It would lessen the chances of intervention in any war to which we might be a party.

(6.) It would confirm our control in perpetuity. If we reject neutralization, we assume, single-handed, the duty of keeping the canal open at all times. This duty would be absolute, and the penalty for its non-performance would be an international control of the canal, deeply humiliating to our national pride.

(7.) It would avoid the loss of tolls resulting from a diversion of shipping in case of a war or rumor of war with us.

(8.) It would prevent the construction of a competing canal. A fortified canal through Nicaragua with tolls discriminating in

favor of our citizens—fortification and discrimination are twin policies advocated by the same class of men—would almost certainly lead France and the other great commercial nations to complete the Panama Canal in self-defense. This would render our exclusive military control of the Nicaragua Canal valueless. We could not charge discriminating tolls, for that would drive business to the competing canal. Neither could we prevent our enemies from sending their warships through the isthmus. Then, too, a second canal would place us at a serious strategic disadvantage, in that our canal would be subject to attack and blockade, while the other canal would be under an international guarantee of neutrality. If our canal were blockaded or destroyed, the warships of our enemy would have free access to the Pacific, while we should be barred.

(9.) It would insure free passage for our merchant vessels in time of war, if private property should ever be exempted from seizure; and under existing rules of international law it would insure the free passage of our goods in neutral bottoms.

(10.) It would insure free passage of our warships even in time of war.

(11.) It would save us from the temptation to absorb the Central American States as a means of protecting the canal. If we adopt the policy of treating the canal as an instrument of war and subject to attack, there is certain to arise a popular demand for the seizure of the entire isthmus, whenever a plausible justification may arise. Sooner or later, we should occupy the isthmus, just as England occupied Egypt for the protection of the Suez Canal. The absorption of Mexico would follow inevitably. The jingoes of the day would cry: "On to the canal! Make the canal a part of our coast line!" The military danger of a neutralized canal seems trivial, indeed, when contrasted with the grave political danger of incorporating in our body politic the unassimilable millions of Mexico and Central America, aliens in race, language, social ideals and political training.

(12.) It would strengthen the friendly relations between this country and her sister republics to the south. To the people of Central America a fortified canal would be a symbol of American aggressiveness. It would provoke distrust and enmity where it should be our studied policy to win confidence and friendliness.

(13.) It would make for peace and civilization and constitute

a leading precedent, making it forever difficult for other nations to pursue a narrow or exclusive policy in connection with future inter-oceanic canals. It would do much to save us from the burdens and dangers of militarism, and be a splendid rebuke to the narrow Chauvinism of the day.

The chief objection to a neutralized canal lies in the possibility that it might be used by a hostile fleet. It is urged that it is unreasonable to expect our government to assume the immense financial burden of constructing the canal, and then, when it is completed, to turn it over to our enemies as an instrument for attacking our Pacific possessions. The answer to this is that the danger is more apparent than real, and that it is a small price to pay for the manifold advantages of neutralization. It is scarcely conceivable that a European Power would send a fleet across the Atlantic to attack our Pacific possessions, where it would have to fight remote from its coal supply. There are no European coaling stations in the Pacific anywhere near the western terminus of the canal, and it is our fixed policy that none shall be acquired. This is a cardinal fact in the situation, and it renders the danger of a neutralized canal so insignificant that it should not be permitted to determine our policy. Again, with our naval bases at Honolulu, San Francisco, San Diego, Porto Rico, Isle of Pines, Key West, Pensacola and the Mississippi, and with our shorter lines of communication, a European navy would be at a serious disadvantage in any conflict near the canal. If we could not vanquish an enemy under such conditions, we may be sure that fortifications would not save the canal. If we were stronger than our enemy, we could protect the canal without fortifications; if weaker, the canal would be blockaded in spite of the fortifications. Finally, the pending treaty recognizes and confirms our exclusive right to police and manage the canal. Practically, this constitutes an absolute bar to the passage of the warships of our enemies. The fear of modern explosives directed by irresponsible parties would close the canal to belligerent vessels quite as effectively as fortifications. Then, too, it would be so easy for an inexplicable "accident" to happen to the canal that no commander would risk being bottled up.

The pending treaty provides for a neutral zone of only three marine miles at each end of the canal. There is no reason why we should follow the Constantinople treaty in this regard. The

reasons for limitations of that treaty have been stated, and they have no application to our canal. In the Clayton-Bulwer treaty the extent of the neutral zone was left to future negotiation. Accordingly, on April 30th, 1852, Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, and Mr. Crampton, the British Minister to the United States, agreed that the neutral zone should "extend to all waters within the distance of twenty-five nautical miles from the termination of said canal on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts." In the face of this precedent the British government could not object to an amendment of the pending treaty in this particular.

The Committee on Foreign Relations have recommended to the Senate the following amendment:

"Insert, at the end of section 5, of Article II., the following: 'It is agreed, however, that none of the immediately foregoing conditions and stipulations in sections numbered 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this article shall apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing, by its own forces, the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order.' "

This language is disingenuously vague. The real object of the amendment is to reserve to the United States the right to close the canal to the warships of its enemies. The Committee have adopted the language of the corresponding reservation found in Article X. of the treaty of Constantinople, but they have rejected Article XI. of that treaty, which provides that any measures that Egypt or Turkey may take in self-defense shall not interfere with the free use of the canal by neutrals, nor include the erection of permanent fortifications which would dominate the canal. In thus adopting the language contained in Article X. of the treaty of Constantinople, without the important qualification thereof contained in Article XI., the Committee have formulated a reservation so vague and general that it cannot be accepted, even by those who might be willing to concede to the United States the right to exclude the warships of its enemies. The Committee contend that "the situation of the United States on both oceans renders this amendment necessary." The similar situation of Canada on both oceans would compel England to reject the amendment. The British government, which is no less dependent upon public opinion than our own, has already in the pending treaty conceded all that it dared. Loyalty to Canada and her other Pacific possessions compels England to insist that the canal shall always be open to her warships. We cannot expect to secure

the advantages of neutralization without the correlative disadvantages.

An act of neutralization may be either negative or affirmative in its nature. In other words, the parties to the agreement may simply agree not to exercise their belligerent rights toward the object neutralized, or they may, in addition, agree to guarantee the neutrality of such object. Obviously, the latter mode of neutralization is far more effective than the former. It creates a sanction, and furnishes a strong incentive in the obligation of each party to intervene actively for the protection of the object neutralized. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty provides for this affirmative form of neutralization, and the same is true of the treaty of 1846 between the United States and Colombia, and of the treaty of 1867 between the United States and Nicaragua. On the other hand, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty is purely negative in its obligations. In effect, the two Powers merely agree to refrain from exercising their belligerent rights toward the canal; they do not agree to prevent the exercise of such rights by others. The pending treaty adopts, in substance, the language of the Constantinople treaty, and it is perfectly well understood that that treaty does not create a joint guarantee. If France should attempt to blockade our canal, England would not be bound by the treaty to assist us in preventing it. Doubtless, she would be willing to do so, under ordinary circumstances, for the protection of her own commerce, but it would not be a matter of treaty obligation. If, under the treaty, England is a guarantor of the neutrality of the canal, she may at any time land troops at the isthmus and take such measures as she may deem expedient for the protection of the canal, without reference to our wishes in the premises. It ought to be settled by unequivocal treaty stipulation that the protection of the canal rests primarily with the United States. It may be that Secretary Hay thought it wise to leave the question of enforcement to be determined when the necessity for action arises. It is far more likely that he wished to avoid opposition to the treaty arising from popular sensitiveness as to the Monroe doctrine. The idea that an international guarantee of the neutrality of the canal would be an infraction of that doctrine is so prevalent in this country that it could not be safely ignored in drafting the treaty. Just now the Monroe doctrine is sacrosanct, and the fervor of its worshippers is directly proportioned to their

ignorance of its true meaning. The genuine Monroe doctrine takes its rise and finds its limitations in the necessity for self-defense. It is wholly self-regarding. All European activity in this hemisphere is not inhibited, but only such as is dangerous to our peace and safety. An international agreement, guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal, would be an application rather than an infraction of the Monroe doctrine, provided it did not involve a permanent European occupation and police. The Senate may consider it advisable to amend the treaty by adding a stipulation reserving to the United States the primacy in any measures that may be necessary to preserve the neutrality of the canal, and pledging the other signatories to coöperate with their naval and military forces whenever requested by the United States. Such a stipulation would recognize our rightful hegemony in the affairs of this hemisphere, confirm our control of the canal, avoid the occupation of the isthmus by European soldiers without our consent, and at the same time add a needed sanction to the convention.

MARK B. DUNNELL.

NATIVE TROOPS FOR OUR COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.

BY MAJOR LOUIS LIVINGSTON SEAMAN, M. D., LL. B., FORMERLY SURGEON FIRST UNITED STATES VOLUNTEER ENGINEERS.

THE time is at hand for the authorities of the United States to decide a military question of the gravest importance, namely, whether our island possessions in the tropics shall be garrisoned by troops sent from this country, or whether native troops shall be recruited for this purpose. Involved in this question are considerations of climate and subsistence; of vast expenses for transportation of men and food; of expenditures for wages and future pensions; of intricate hospital arrangements involving elaborate establishments, mutually dependent but thousands of miles apart. For the solution of a similar problem in China, the recent experiences of Great Britain at Wei Hai Wei are luminous in purpose and results, and most timely for immediate application to this country's needs, especially in the Philippines. It is worth while to study with the utmost care what England has done with her native battalion at Wei Hai Wei.

Forty miles to the eastward of Cheefoo, where in the year 1895, with the guns of the Russian fleet clearing for action, the treaty of Shimonoseki was ratified by China and Japan, lies the harbor of Wei Hai Wei. It is a bay formed by a sharp break in the rugged coast line, and is protected at its entrance by the island of Liu Kung Tao. Nature has been liberal to China in the matter of shelters to commerce, robbing the eastern shores of the Pacific that she might furnish the western with magnificent harbors and bays. Of these Wei Hai Wei takes easily primary rank, with its capacious, deep, mud-bottomed harbor, and its natural defences.

Wei Hai Wei (pronounced as though it were written Way High Way) was founded in the reign of the Emperor Hung Wu, of the last (Ming) dynasty, about A. D. 1399. The third syl-

lable—for there are three syllables rather than three words—means a walled military post; the first, though homophonous, means to awe, or, as we would say, to over-awe; the middle member of the name is the word for sea. Thus Wei Hai Wei is the "Terror of the Sea," so called because it was used as a base from which to subdue the pirates that infested the neighboring seas.

In the year 1883, the first steps were taken to fortify Wei Hai Wei, as a base for military operations; but the war with the French in 1884 led to the abandonment of the work before much had been accomplished. When peace came, the interrupted activity was renewed, and the rapidly growing northern ocean squadron of the Chinese navy found here its summer rendezvous, the harbor at Port Arthur, or Lü Shun Kŏn, as the Chinese call it, being far too small to shelter more than a few ships at one time. Later, two lighthouses were erected. Forts were built under German superintendence and supplied with guns by Krupp, whose agent, the late General Schnell, was instructor in gunnery in the Chinese garrison. Money was spent liberally, and excellent work was done in the way of fortifying the place, for the Mandarins got their "squeeze" not by "jerry building," but by purchasing less than was provided for, and by drawing money for the expenses of battalions which never existed. And when they did go in for "jerry building," their methods were radical. The presiding genius of the day, Li Hung Chang, found on his last inspection, made just before the Japanese sank the "Kow Shing" and so opened the war, that a fort on the far east end of the bay had been built of wood. Mighty was the wrath of the great Li, and frightful the consternation of the two generals responsible for the fraud, fellow-provincials and protégés of Li himself. They were instructed to rebuild at once, and with stone. But whence the funds? These were found in a way that was simplicity itself. A battalion was estimated for, and although it never existed save on paper, money was drawn for its maintenance. Stone was obtained speedily from the wonderful and inexhaustible granite quarries of Shih Tao, in the Shan Tung promontory, and there it lies to-day, for the Japanese war put a stop to further fortifications. And when the Chinese Government recently turned the place over to the British, the local authorities had no knowledge of the existence of this material, which was boldly claimed by a disgraced general.

On November 21, 1894, Port Arthur fell into the hands of the Japanese, who shortly began to turn their attention to Wei Hai Wei. On the 20th of January following, twenty-five thousand men were landed on the sheltered shore of Yung Cheng Bay under cover of the guns of the Japanese fleet. From this place to Wei Hai Wei, a march of more than forty miles was necessary over a country innocent of a road wider than a pack mule track, and on February 12, 1895, Wei Hai Wei was evacuated by the Chinese. Of their fleet, some were sunk and some captured. Admiral Ting, a brave officer, willing to fight, but under orders not to leave the harbor, chagrined and heart-broken, swallowed opium after signing articles of capitulation. The country around was occupied speedily and effectually by the Japanese. The treaty of Shimonoseki provided that Wei Hai Wei should remain in the hands of the Japanese until certain stipulations should be carried out, and for nearly four years Japan maintained a large garrison there, but on July 24, 1898, the Japanese flag disappeared from the harbor. For a brief time the Chinese emblem displayed its dragon swallowing the sun, shortly to find a companion in the Union Jack, and finally to disappear a few months later, leaving the British nominally, as they had been actually, in control of Wei Hai Wei, their new "sphere of influence."

It is on these historic shores that the experiment of transforming the Chinaman into a modern fighting machine has been successfully made by the newcomers, while the military experts of the world are watching the results with increasing interest. And since the policy of our own country to retain permanent possession of our new insular colonies now seems established, we, too, should be especially interested in the experiment from a military as well as an economic point of view. Wherever the flag of England floats, there you will find her defenses maintained by native guardians. The flower of her army is not consumed in colonial garrisons. In India, the Gurkhas and Sikhs, officered by Englishmen, form her military reliance. In West Africa the Houssas are her defenders. In Egypt the Baggaras, transformed by the skill of Kitchener, rout the forces of the Mahdi. In the Windward and Leeward Islands and Jamaica, native regiments (blacks) are employed exclusively; so, too, in Australia and Canada, her soldiers are mostly native born, and in South Africa, until the outbreak of the present war, Zulus, supplemented by a

small contingent of English troops, maintained her defense and security. Where, indeed, would England be to-day were it not for these native forces guarding her colonial empire, while her own soldiers are engaged in the Transvaal hostilities? Quick in her perception of this great advantage, she no sooner got possession of her new sphere in China than she at once set about organizing a means of defense by utilizing the material at hand, knowing that, if successful, she could at once eliminate two of the greatest problems besetting an army on a foreign shore, that of acclimatization, and of subsistence, with the attendant dangers of climatic and epidemic diseases.

It was my good fortune, on a recent visit to Wei Hai Wei, to meet Colonel C. H. Bower, R. A.—to whose genius has been intrusted the serious experiment of transforming native Chinese from mild-mannered Coolies to modern soldiers—to witness many of their drills, and to get from Colonel Bower's own lips his account of the work. He approached the task with many misgivings; but after six months of patient work his views changed radically. The First Battalion, Chinese Regiment, recruited during the past year, numbered at the time of my visit three hundred and sixty men, all from the Shan Tung Province, where the finest specimens of physical development of China are to be found. These men are enlisted for three years, under the regular provisions of the British Army Act, for service in any part of the world. They have been selected with the greatest care. The average height is five feet eight inches, with a chest development of thirty-eight inches, a standard higher than that of the regular British army to-day. Three companies of one hundred and twenty men each were well advanced in training. The organization of the company in detail is similar to that in the United States Army. All the commissioned officers are British, but the non-commissioned staff, with the exception of one sergeant-major, one color-sergeant, one orderly-room clerk and one armor-sergeant, are Chinese.

It is certainly wonderful what a few months' hard work accomplished in "licking these 'rookies' into shape." Colonel Bower assured me that while originally he was far from being impressed with the idea of making soldiers of the Chinese—indeed, he was decidedly prejudiced against even such an attempt—experience had convinced him of his error, and that he was now

becoming an optimist. The initial processes of drilling were tedious and required much patience on the part of the drill-master; but the men soon learned to respect their superiors and became attached personally to them; and the officers, having once gained the confidence of the men, could do almost anything with them. Discipline was maintained with but little use of the guard-room, and drunkenness was unknown.

These Chinese recruits are remarkably respectful, orderly, docile and learn their tactics well; but the greatest patience has to be exercised with them until they fully understand their positions and are brought to a realization of their responsibilities, of which, in their early days, they seem to have no understanding. For more than six thousand years the Chinaman has followed his own method, and it is difficult to make him realize the importance of precision in military affairs. For instance, when a leave of absence for seventy-two hours is given to him, he will return perhaps in ninety-six, thinking it is all right. What's the difference? He cannot be made to see it; "came back all right; three days all the same four, so long as he did come back." But when put in the guard-room for a week and made to do extra labor, his sleeping sense of duty is awakened and he does not repeat the offense. Notwithstanding that the drills at Wei Hai Wei have been very severe, desertions were unknown, although opportunity could be found easily, as the British concession or sphere of influence extends only ten miles inland. The uniform of the troops is rather picturesque: straw hats in the extreme heat of summer, to be replaced by turbans in winter; khaki blouses and breeches for the summer, to be exchanged for rough Irish frieze in winter; red cummerbunds, and putties instead of leggings, with the regular artillery boot of the British Army.

Colonel Bower was especially enthusiastic over the results of his men's musketry practice at the rifle butts. At the time of my visit, they had been trained for short range work only, one, two and three hundred yards; but their scores had been exceedingly gratifying, better even than those of the average British soldier after an equal amount of practice, to the great astonishment of all the officers of the regiment.

The cost of these troops to the British Government is another surprise. Their ration consists of one catty of rice (1.33 pounds), one-third catty of flour daily, and one pound of meat

once a week. The cost of this to the British Government is $2.15, Mexican, a month; the soldiers' pay is $8.00, Mexican, a month, making the entire cost to the Government for the soldier and his subsistence $10.15, Mexican, or $5.00 gold, a month. All vegetables and luxuries are purchased by the soldier at his own expense. The health of the men was excellent. Since the organization of the regiment, there had not been one death or a serious case of intestinal disease, although the period has included the most inclement season of the year. Colonel Bower was convinced that with a year or two more of training, his men would be equal to any soldiers in the world.

At the time of my visit, the battalion had its first experience in fighting fire. A conflagration occurred in the old city. On such occasions it is the custom of the natives to sit by supinely, watching the progress of the flames, even though a whole city may be in a blaze, or to indulge in looting. But the English officers were on the scene quickly with the Chinese battalion, a fire-brigade was organized promptly, water was passed up in buckets and the fire put under control, while the populace stood by and marvelled.

Within a year of their enlistment, these troops successfully stood the crucial test of leading a charge. In a sharp action with a vastly superior force of Boxers, the same who are now menacing the safety of the Chinese Empire in the Provinces of Shan Tung and Pi Chi Li, and about Tien-Tsin and the Imperial City, Peking, the Chinese Battalion, with their British officers, quickly routed the enemy, killing sixty and capturing a large quantity of arms. Their own casualties amounted to only two, both British officers, who were wounded. Thus they demonstrated beyond cavil their fidelity and loyalty to the new flag they had sworn to uphold, even when their opponents were their own countrymen.

Hitherto, we have been accustomed to laugh at the soldiery of China; but, indeed, the fact that her soldiery is a laughing stock on account of lack of training and bad generalship, proves nothing against the Chinaman's courage. Fortunately there can be no question of his innate bravery. For a consideration, or when convinced that he is right, he puts the fear of death entirely out of his mind. Like the negro, the Egyptian or the Malay, all the Chinaman wants is the inspiration and leadership of resolute

white officers. Conspicuous examples of their personal bravery are not lacking in the official reports of our own officers serving in the Philippines, notably those of Lieutenant Batson, of Major Bell, of Captain Sawtelle of General McArthur's staff, of Colonel Powell and Captain Durfee of the Seventeenth Infantry, and of Major Shields, Surgeon of the California Volunteers. My own observations on the firing line confirm these opinions. The Chinese drivers or litter bearers were as absolutely unconcerned under fire as though out in a snow-storm, and they obeyed their orders implicitly.

An incident illustrating the bravery of the coolie is narrated by Major Putnam Bradlee Strong. It occurred at the battle of Malolos, in Luzon. An American soldier had fallen at the front; two coolies had rushed forward with their litter, consisting of a little hammock swung from a pole, and were bringing the man back to the dressing station, when a bullet pierced the thigh of one of the litter-bearers. He continued on, however, as though nothing had happened, until he deposited his charge beside the improvised operating table. Not until some time later was it found that the coolie was wounded severely and suffering intense pain. He endured it all with the patience and stoicism of his race, and expressed surprise that attention should be bestowed upon him at all; he had expected to be left by the wayside.

That the yellow and black races make excellent fighting material, when properly officered by whites, has been proved conclusively in innumerable instances. In our own army at San Juan Hill, the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth United States Infantry and Tenth Cavalry, negro troops, led by their gallant white American officers, did as effective work as any men, regulars or volunteers, on the field. Nor did their heroism cease there. Later, when that more dreaded enemy, yellow fever, appeared in every camp, and when volunteers were called for to nurse the sick and dying and to bury the dead, it was these men of the negro regiments who responded to the call, notwithstanding that their numbers had been terribly reduced in the battle only a few days before, and the fatal pestilence was raging in their own ranks. One hundred and twelve of these martyrs succumbed to the disease, but they quavered not in the hour of danger.

Nor is this record for fearlessness in the so-called inferior races confined to our own army. What did Kitchener do with the

Egyptian peasants who for centuries had been regarded as menials and cowards? By tactics similar to those now being followed by Colonel Bower with the Chinese at Wei Hai Wei, he transformed them into cavalrymen, who not only successfully resisted but charged and broke the bloodthirsty followers of the Mahdi and defeated them with terrible slaughter. Fifteen years ago the idea of making a soldier of an Egyptian would have been ridiculed as a practical joke by military men. Training and the inspiration of leadership won the victories, and the Egyptian soldier of to-day has his place in history.

The experience of "Chinese" Gordon at the taking of the Taku forts in 1860 is eloquent in its showing of the individual bravery of the Chinaman. Large numbers of coolies were pressed into his service as cooks, litter-bearers and for transportation purposes. Arriving at the moats surrounding the forts, these slaves of duty seized the scaling ladders, rushed into the water nearly neck-deep, and in the face of a galling rifle and artillery fire placed the ladders on their shoulders from man to man, thus forming a continuous bridge supported by human pillars, and let the British army walk over their heads to the other side of the moat. Then, rushing from the water with their ladders, they ran to the walls of the fortresses, and were the first to scale their ramparts. Thus was courage inspired, and thus did it become contagious, even as panic and disaster would have resulted had the leadership failed.

Nor has Spain been without experience in the use of native troops in her colonies, in the very place where this urgent military question must be met and solved by the United States, namely, in the Philippines. One of the most formidable elements of the Spanish Army in the Philippines, upon which Spain placed strong reliance, was her native Filipino troops, of whom, when Manila fell, she had about five thousand. They were among her best disciplined and bravest troops, familiar with the country, its warfare, its dangers and its ambuscades, in excellent health and thoroughly acclimated, speaking the language of the country, free from danger of tropical diseases, and subsisting on native foods. Our failure to secure them for service under the American flag was promptly taken advantage of by the wily Aguinaldo, who, upon condition of their swearing fealty to him and entering his army, promised them immunity from their countrymen and

reward for their service. It was only a short time before the entire force was under his control, almost every soldier being made an officer in the Filipino ranks. It was in this way that Aguinaldo was enabled to create the disciplined array that was destined so long to cope with our army of over fifty thousand men.

In view of our failure to secure the trained Spanish-Filipino soldiers, and considering the suspicion that exists, and will probably continue to exist, toward us among the natives of the islands, the experiment of Great Britain with the Chinese Battalion at Wei Hai Wei is of signal concern to the United States. In our Philippine possessions there are already more than one hundred thousand Chinese, who form by far the most industrious class of the inhabitants. The Chinese mestizo (half Chinese and half Filipino) is acknowledged to be superior to the Eurasian, or to the mestizos of Oriental cross, Japanese, Hindoo or Bornese. Many of them are wealthy bankers and merchants. Others are engaged as compradors and clerks, banking houses employing them almost to the exclusion of other nationalities, on account of their quick wit, sterling honesty, industry and individual merit. As in the Hawaiian Islands, they form the most valuable element of the population. The Chinese-Hawaiian half-caste is the keenest business man and the most industrious citizen to be found in those islands. The exclusion of the Chinese laborer in that land will do inestimable damage in retarding industrial and commercial development. Despite his fanaticism when directed by ignorant rulers, he has shown his superiority over other Orientals in his untiring industry, his domesticity, and his honesty.

In the large foreign hongs of China and Japan he is the trusted employee in places requiring responsibility. When put in competition with the Bornese, the Filipino, the Singalese, the Hawaiian, the Japanese or the Indian, he invariably wins, as may be seen by his rise from poverty to wealth and influence in the cities of Singapore, Calcutta, Sandakan, Manila, Honolulu or Yokohama. It is time the world recognized that in the great race of civilization, and the greater race for the survival of the fittest, the nation that has preserved the integrity of its government for over six thousand years, that has witnessed the rise and fall of the civilization of Chaldea, Egypt, Greece and Rome; that can claim the discovery of the compass, of gunpowder, the game of chess, and the printing press, is more to be feared for its vir-

tues than its vices. The presence of the Chinaman in the Philippines, as in the Hawaiian Islands, will do more to promote the industrial development of these colonies than any other single factor. His exclusion was a diplomatic blunder to be rated with our failure to secure the army of Filipinos trained by Spain, and the discharge of the Civil Guard of Manila, five hundred strong, all of whom immediately entered the service of Aguinaldo; and the irrational rationing of our troops, which did, and is still doing, so much to invalid and decimate our army.

To attribute to climate the diseases of the tropics is an error due to ignorance and custom. The vast majority of ailments credited to climate have their origin in the use of improper foods, overfeeding, or the abuse of stimulants.

During the past two years, it has been my misfortune to see two great armies—one in our own Southern country, Cuba and Porto Rico, and one in the Philippine Islands—largely invalided, through culpable ignorance or neglect, by improperly subsisting the troops. To the eternal disgrace of our medical and commissary departments it will be remembered that, when entire regiments were suffering from stomach and intestinal catarrhs, from diarrhoea and kindred ailments (and I have seen more than seventy-five per cent. of an entire command in this condition at one time), they were subsisted on a ration of rich meats, pork and beans, tomatoes and other foods that aggravated the diseases, crowded the hospital tents, and left the men weak and emaciated, so that their return to health was a prolonged struggle. Taps and the last volley were often the only reward many a poor soldier received for his patriotism.

As represented in caloric units, the ration supplied to the American soldier in tropical lands amounted to thirty-eight hundred units, while that given to an English prize-fighter in a temperate zone, when training for the ring, amounts to only twenty-eight hundred caloric units. It is an old saying that "it is the ration that wins the battle." As furnished to the soldier, the ration was an excellent winter food, rich in the elements requisite for respiration under a low temperature; but for a tropical land, the enormous excess of carbon furnished by it to the lungs, over and above that which they could dispose of, imposed upon the liver and kidneys additional duties of elimination, producing congestions, fermentation and catarrhs, dyspepsia and lithæmia,

glycosuria and phosphaturia, interfering with metabolism, and creating conditions favorable to bacteriological development, together with almost the entire train of diseases which have crowded our army hospitals. In phosphaturia especially, the nervous system is deprived of the salts necessary for its proper function, which privation not infrequently results in mental disturbances that may end in suicide or insanity. How little the heat is directly responsible for these cases may be inferred from the extreme rarity of sunstroke in the tropics.

Dr. John Ordronaux, Emeritus Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, served with distinction thirty-eight years ago in our War of the Rebellion as a volunteer surgeon. It was at that time that the famous saying, "Beans killed more than bullets," arose. In round numbers the mortality from bullets, directly and indirectly, was one hundred thousand, while that from disease was five hundred thousand, or five to one. Commenting on this fact thirty-seven years ago, "that the ration served our troops in the South was the same in winter as in summer," Dr. Ordronaux said:

"By proper disposition of his diet, man lives as healthfully under the Equator as under the Pole. The East Indian with his rice and yams, and the Esquimo with his seal blubber and putrid fish, are both healthy enough in their respective climates, but let them once change residences without changing their diet, and what would be the consequence? The Esquimo would be attacked with putrid fever, and the West Indian would die of inanition.

"We perceive from this the absolute necessity of modifying all forms of diet in such a way as to accommodate them to the physiological requirements of varying seasons. For habit is not acquirable as against laws of chemical combination, and no man can become habituated to doing that with impunity, which, being a violation of the physiological laws of his system, is, by its frequent admonitions of pain, notifying him of the evil about to overtake him.

"As the ration bill now stands, it presents us with too contracted a form of diet for continued use. It abounds in fibrine, gluten, and fat, without, however, a sufficiency in starch, mucilage, gelatin, and acids. Aromatic herbs and spices, without which health cannot for any length of time be preserved, particularly in hot climates or seasons, are entirely omitted, while fat pork, an article contra indicated in summer both by the state of the appetite and the physiological necessities of the system, stands as the sheet anchor of its animal food."

And of what avail was this prophetic warning? The ration table of the United States Army in the Spanish-American War was substantially the same as that during the Rebellion.

From the dawn of history experience has shown that, in time of war, disease was a far more deadly foe to an army than the bullets of an enemy. In the War of the Crimea the French lost in killed 21,000, and from disease 100,000, or about one from bullets and wounds to five from disease. The English losses in that dreadful campaign ran a little higher, the proportion between fatalities from bullets and wounds and that from disease being about one to six.

In our Civil War, about the same proportions were maintained, one to five. In round numbers, 100,000 men fell on the field or died from wounds, and 500,000 perished in hospital wards from the more fatal enemy—disease.

But it has been reserved for the Spanish-American War to cause a blush of shame and indignation at the apathy and stupidity that has permitted preventable diseases to play such havoc with the army. In the campaign, the actual hostilities of which lasted from July 1st to August 12th, about six weeks, the mortality from bullets and wounds amounted to 268, while that from disease reached the appalling number of 3,862, or about fourteen to one. With proper subsistence and sanitation these proportions, for such a short service, should have been reversed.

With our military hospitals in the Philippines still crowded, despite the constant relief of their wards by shiploads returning on transports, and with the decimating policy of irrationally subsisting the troops still in force, it behooves the United States to follow the example of England at the earliest possible moment and to resort to the only reasonable course left open for the maintenance of her army in the Orient, namely the utilization of native troops. Most authorities agree that it will require a garrison of at least forty thousand men to maintain order in the Philippines even after peace is declared, but I coincide with General Lawton, who told me that he thought it would require many more than that number to bring order out of chaos, to establish law in the various provinces and to maintain its complete supremacy.

The United States now has twenty-five regiments of volunteers in the Philippines, whose term of service will expire on June 30, 1901. Most of the enlisted men will wish to return at the expiration of that time, some sooner, while some will be willing to serve longer. A majority of the commissioned officers would welcome the opportunity to retain their places permanently. I

would suggest that, at the earliest possible date, such of the enlisted men, not exceeding one-third, as desire their discharge on account of sickness or for other causes be allowed to leave the service. Then, from the third battalions of each regiment, let all the enlisted men, excepting a few non-commissioned officers in each company, be transferred to the other two battalions, thus filling them to their full strength. Enlist one battalion of Chinese, or of native friendly Filipinos (Macabees or Ilocanos), to each regiment, making the composition of each regiment two battalions of white and one battalion of native troops, with white officers throughout, and a certain proportion of white non-commissioned officers in each native company. At such time as the authorities deem advisable, transform a second battalion of white to native troops in a similar manner. Then, when the proper time arrives, and the success of the move is demonstrated, transform the third battalion of each regiment, and, as circumstances may justify, replace such of the white non-commissioned officers as may seem best for the interests of the service by native non-commissioned officers, but keep white commissioned officers first, last and all the time.

Published statistics recently furnished by Congress state that the cost of the army in the Philippines in the last year was about $150,000,000. It is easily within reason to declare that each fighting man costs the Government more than one thousand dollars, gold, a year, for pay, subsistence, cost of transportation service and medical attendance, without any calculation for his future pension claim. The pay of the American soldier in the Philippines is sixteen dollars, gold, a month. His ration costs far more, when the enormous wastage and cost of transportation is calculated. It is no uncommon incident for entire cargoes of beef to be lost in transportation across the Pacific. I know of three such instances last summer. And in calculating the cost of the American soldier, no mention has been made of the expenses of hospitals with their medical staffs, nurses, orderlies, helpers, etc., all of which add enormously to the expenditure.

The native Chinaman or Filipino can be enlisted in unlimited numbers for ten dollars a month, and can be subsisted for four dollars more. Additional expenditures for transportation, etc., might cost two dollars more, making a total of sixteen dollars a month, or not more than two hundred dollars, gold, a year, or

about one-fifth of our present expenditure, and with no danger from an everlasting pension claim in the future.

In an interview with Li Hung Chang, at his palace in Peking, some months prior to the outbreak of hostilities in China, he assured me that China would interpose no objection to the enlistment of her subjects in the American army. But if, in the present crisis, such recruits are not considered desirable, there are many friendly Filipinos to be substituted. Great Britain recruits her ranks from various tribes or castes in India, and tribal hatreds are often utilized in the pacification of outbreaks among the natives. The same policy can be advantageously followed by us in the Philippines, where the friendly tribes of Ilocanos and Macabees are the implacable foes of the rebellious Tagals.

England has a great advantage over the United States in colonial government and in colonial military affairs, in that there is not always a home party in opposition wanting to apply the Constitution to the natives, telling the discontents that as soon as their party gets control all complaints and wrongs will be rectified. The home Government acts as a unit and with a consistency that challenges the admiration of the world.

It remains to be seen whether, by the liberal utilization of native troops, we shall save the flower of our army for service at home, and preserve it from degrading conditions that, alas! too often, are brought to this country by returning troops. And it also remains to be seen whether the country shall be spared the depletion of its Treasury through extravagant expenditures caused by improvident military administration leading to enormous pension claims. The Spanish war has resulted in the filing of over twenty-five thousand of these claims already. Who can say what the number will be when those resulting from the Philippines campaign are recorded?

LOUIS L. SEAMAN.

THE JUBILEE OF THE PRINTING PRESS.

BY CHARLES WHIBLEY.

JOHANNES GUTENBERG, the five hundredth anniversary of whose birth Germany has recently been celebrating, stands, and will stand through all time, for the living symbol of the printing press. Others have disputed his supremacy, and a vain patriotism would rob Mainz of its proper glory, giving the palm now to Holland, now to France. On the one hand we are told an amiable legend of one Coster, who, walking in a wood near to his native Haarlem, amused his leisure by cutting letters out of bark, and stamping them upon paper. This earth-shaking event, says the pedant, cannot be assigned to a later year than 1426, since then it was that the wood, the scene of Coster's contemplation, was abolished. We doubt neither Coster nor his bark; we know as little of his enterprise as did Gutenberg himself. We would only point out that anecdotage or folklore is wont to precede history, and that this legend of Haarlem may be put in the same pigeon-hole with another legend, which derives the art of modelling in clay from an accidental shadow cast upon the wall. On the other hand, there seems no doubt that, as early as 1444, one Procope Waldfogel of Avignon instructed Davin de Caderousse, a Jew, in the art of writing artificially. But neither the Hebrew types of Caderousse nor the pensive walk of Coster disturb the sovereignty of Johannes Gutenberg, who remains the father of his art, as Homer is the father of the Epic, as Van Eyck is the father of oil-painting, as Columbus is the father of the New World.

Wherefore it was but just that Mainz should celebrate, with what splendor she might, her hero's jubilee. And, though Gutenberg himself, who spent his life in unrecognized poverty, would be at a loss to understand the enthusiasm of the people, it was inevitable that the feast of printing should be a popular feast. Vast

processions were unfolded beneath the shadow of the ancient church. If the costumes were archæological rather than elegant, if the emblems were sometimes a trifle obvious, the effect produced by the mingled colors, the crowded windows, the time-stained houses was of the proper century, and the soldiers of Frederic evoked a tumult of admiration. So there defiled all the arts and industries of Mainz and of Europe; Shakespeare jostled Cervantes, while Pallas Athene was not too far from Goethe; nor, in the jubilee of intellect, were the vineyards of the Rhine forgotten, and one car appositely emphasized the truth that, of the two, the wine-press is the older. And, all the while, the streets, decorated from end to end, were thronged by a motley mob of peasants and professors, of students and officers, of grand-dukes and shop-keepers. Nor was the purpose of the fête ever forgotten. The statue of Gutenberg was the end of all pilgrimages, and it was with a touching reverence that the triumphal wreaths were laid at the pedestal. All men knew whom they were honoring. How many considered the work which their hero accomplished?

Yet well does Gutenberg deserve the extravagant tribute thus paid him by a united people, since, for good or evil, his achievement has proved greater in its results than the achievement of any other man. Before all things, he came at the right moment. Invention, too, obeys the call of necessity; and it seems as though an inexorable law governs the processes of the human brain, as it governs the processes of nature. Less than twenty years after Gutenberg made his great discovery, the library of Constantinople was dispersed. What was lost it is idle to speculate, but "we may reflect," says Gibbon, "with pleasure that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism." It is an ill description of Gutenberg, a mechanic of a German town; but it is admirably true that his invention was made at the very moment when it might best deride the havoc of time and barbarism. When the spoils of Constantinople travelled west, his printing press was ready to eternize them. So little, indeed, was he a mechanic that he spent an apostle's life in the service of his art. Nor did he pursue his ambition with any thought of renown; the forerunner of all advertisers, he shrunk by choice or habit from the risk of advertisement. He, the great disseminator of knowledge, has sedu-

lously suppressed all knowledge of himself. We know as little of him as of Homer, less than of Shakespeare.. His death and his birth are alike secret, and, though there is an ugly rumor of a broken promise, we know not whether he was ever married. However, some facts may be pieced together, and the materials of a portrait are not wholly lacking.

Johannes Gutenberg, then, was born at Mainz about the year 1400. By an admirable dogmatism, June the twenty-fourth is assumed as his birth, and, assuredly, that day is as good as another to celebrate. His family—Gensfleisch was its name—was noble, and, doubtless, he received such an education as befitted his quality. Moreover, since his ancestors had possessed the right of coining money, he was familiar from his youth with the mystery of metal casting. But, in his turbulent century, patrician birth did not mean affluence, and the struggles between the nobles and the people, between the city and the Church, may have involved his family in ruin. At any rate Gutenberg, like Velasquez, assumed the name of his mother, and early left his native city. So, it is at Strasburg that we first hear of him, poor and ingenious, a man of many shifts, yet with one ambition already sketched, and even half-realized. A legal document discovers him, at law with one Jürgen Dritzehn. The case is complicated and unimportant, but it proves that Gutenberg had once hoped to make money by selling hand-mirrors at the fair of Aix-la-Chapelle, and that (which is far more important) he had in 1438 devised all the implements of what was called his "black art." Movable types, forms, presses worked by a screw—in fact all the essentials of modern printing—had by this time assumed a finished and practicable shape. It is evident, indeed, that Gutenberg could, if he would, have printed his Bible as easily in 1438 as in 1455; but money and encouragement were lacking, and the most important invention of our modern world could not supply its author with ink and paper. Yet for some years he seems to have lingered at Strasburg; at any rate, it is 1448 before he returns to Mainz, still poor and unprotected. However, supported by a just spirit of fanaticism, he pursued his unrecognized craft; and at last, in 1449, he asked the help of Johann Frist, a wealthy banker, who, not content with an irregular interest of six per cent., demanded a share of the discovery, and who, with Peter Schöffer to aid, presently set himself up as Gutenberg's rival. Nor need our admiration of Gutenberg blind

us to the real merits and splendid service of Frist and Schöffer. The exploiter commonly goes further on the road of success than the unfriended inventor; and while Frist and Schöffer played the ungrateful and graceless part of the cuckoo, they not only made money by their shrewd management—they carried their wares as far as Paris—but they produced many a masterpiece of the printer's art. However, it is not worth while to discuss the trade disputes of the fifteenth century. It is enough to record that Gutenberg persisted loyally in his task until the end of his life, that in 1465 a small office at the court of Adolf von Nassau provided him with bare necessities, and that he died, blind, in 1468.

A tragic career, truly, and embittered by all the ironies of fate. He, whose art made public the world's literature, published naught else than his own misery. The very books which we owe to his genius carry no record of his name. By every artifice of skill or chance he seems to have evaded, in his own days, the touch of fame; his very ashes are scattered to the winds of heaven; yet the years have repaired the neglect of his time, and he is revealed at last for the great artist that he was. Herein, too, we may find a sufficient compensation for his misfortune. Asking bread, he has received many a commemorative stone; but not even poverty itself could rob him of the pleasure and curiosity wherewith his own work must have inspired him. For not only did he invent his own art, he brought it by his own taste and ingenuity to perfection. He was at once finisher and forerunner; such masterpieces as his Latin Bible are no experiments; they are a culmination of a beautiful and efficient craft. His types, the first ever cut, have a dignity and splendor, which were an example to a whole school; his pages, the first ever printed, are as sharp and clear as though they had fallen from a modern press, tricked out with all the "improvements." But Gutenberg understood precisely the problem which confronted him, and he did not publish his results until they were complete. In brief, the courage of revision was his, and that is why we regard him not as a primitive, for whom excuses should be made, but as an accomplished craftsman, whose glory rests in the perfection of his design.

The mystery of his life is properly matched by the rarity of his works, and we owe Mainz a profound debt of gratitude for having gathered together such a set of masterpieces as possibly will never be seen again. Not that the exhibition gives or pretends to give

a general view of printing. There are too many *lacunae* for completeness; and, while many of the great presses of the past are forgotten, we must look elsewhere for the later triumphs of the art. But the achievement of Gutenberg and his school is admirably represented, and Mainz has illustrated for us, with excellent clearness, both the theory and practice of her famous citizen. The human mind, even when it invents a new process, cannot create out of nothing, and the source of Gutenberg's inspiration is evident. His alphabet grew out of the manuscripts, as positively as the early railway carriage was adapted from the stage-coach. Nor could the printer have found a better model. The square, stern letters of his choice were admirably fitted for their purpose, and the repetition of the movable shapes gives to the pages of his Bible a uniform aspect, which is lacking in the patient copies of the monks. And not merely did Gutenberg design a noble alphabet, he understood the other art of the printer; he could fill the space of his pages with dignity and elegance. He did not forget that the aim of printing, as of all the graphic arts, is to be decorative as well as intelligible, so that, while you may read his magnificent Bible with the greatest ease, if you have the chance, you cannot but be struck by the pictorial effect of the printed page.

But Gutenberg imposed his style as well as his craft upon his followers. The *"De Officiis"* of 1465—it is significant that, after the Bible, it was Cicero who engrossed the early printers—bears the name of Schöffer, but the mind which controlled it is the mind of Gutenberg. And what shall we say of the exquisite Virgil of 1469, except that Johannes Mentelin of Strasburg had diligently learned the lesson of the master? But if recognition had come slowly to Gutenberg, his craft travelled in a very brief space from one end of Europe to the other. A press was set up in every town of Germany; the energy of Ratdolt and Jenson carried the new invention to Venice, where they were succeeded in due course by the great Aldus himself. Now, Aldus, by designing the beautiful type known as Italic, and by discarding the ancient folio, not only set an example of elegance for all time, but placed his treasures within the reach of scholars. And he did more than this; he it was who, with Junta of Florence, first taught the classics to deride the havoc of time and barbarism. Gutenberg, in truth, showed the path, which the Italians eagerly followed, and their progress insured the eternal safety of literature. Meanwhile, if Paris

had been slow to set up a press of her own, Frist and Schöffer, with a commercial instinct whereof Gutenberg knew nothing, had sent their bagmen to the French capital; and if we may believe Lamartine, which is doubtful, Frist was accused there of selling printed books as though they were manuscripts. The fraud, however, if fraud it were, was condoned on the ground that the invention was new; and Frist was paid as much as fifteen golden crowns for a book by Thomas Aquinas. But presently Paris found her own craftsmen, and Philippe Pigonchet devised the books that to-day are eagerly sought and highly prized. Of Caxton's achievement in the designing of Gothic type little need be said. The priceless collection, hidden in Manchester, is a secret monument to his skill; and the most expensive press of modern times has paid him the tribute of imitation. That cities so wealthy as Paris and London should readily have encouraged the art of printing, is not remarkable. But it is strange indeed that, less than forty years after the date of Gutenberg's first book, the remote Cettinje should have its printing press; yet, among the curiosities to be seen at Mainz, is what the catalogue calls a *"slavisch-cyrillische kirchen druck,"* imprinted at the Montenegrin capital in 1493.

In the sixteenth century, the art was universal and universally appreciated; and, as it grew in prosperity, it forgot its origins and fashioned new laws for itself. Its development was always in the direction of simplicity; the influence of the manuscripts, so obvious in the work of Gutenberg, rapidly disappeared, and little by little an alphabet was shaped, with which, in one form or another, we are familiar to-day. Gothic and Italic alike gave way to what is now known as Roman, and printing gained in precision what it lost in character. Despite the use of movable type, there was a certain variety in the earlier styles; the letters were not all molded with a hard edge; and the reader felt that a man, not a process, came between him and his author. Moreover, though Latin and Greek had their uniform orthography, a license in the spelling of living tongues gave a personal touch to the books of the sixteenth century, for which we look in vain in the printed pages of to-day. But such works as the Bible of Stephanus, the classics of the Plantin Press, the masterpieces of Lyons, the little books of the Elzevirs, all possess conspicuous virtues of their own, however much they may differ one from the other. Who, on this hand, would disdain Plantin's exquisite "Apuleius," in which the Italic

type of Aldus is used with admirable effect? Who, on that, would not feel rich in the possession of the first editions of "Rabelais," with their suggestion of the chap-book and the pedlar's pack?

So the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought with them an accomplished precision, which did not compensate for the vanished curiosity; and the art of printing followed as closely as might be the art of literature. It became humble or palatial, according to the character of the works which it expressed, and the first edition of Pope's "Homer" (for instance) is a proper index of that poem's character. Yet, there was still scope for individual talent; and the editions of the classics, printed by Baskerville, whether small or great, are worthy their occasion. Nor need we despair of the art as it is practiced to-day, though masterpieces are difficult to discover in the rubble which now encumbers us. At the outset, the printing press was the servant of theology and literature. The Bible, as in duty bound, took the first place, while Virgil and Cicero were not long neglected; but, long ago, the art of Gutenberg was degraded to the level of a cheap manaufacture, and the books of to-day are very much alike in form as in substance. Yet, the great tradition is unbroken, and the work of Messrs Constable, in Edinburgh, or of the De Vinne Press in America, need not blush ingloriously in the presence of the ancient masterpieces.

There is a fashion in printing as in the other arts, and the fashion of to-day still sets toward Pre-Raphaelitism, if we may accept the evidence of the bookseller's catalogue. It is significant, too, that the very imperfect exhibition at Mainz gave the place of honor, among the moderns, to the productions of the Kelmscott Press—significant, because, in dealing with our contemporaries, we commonly permit fashion, or *snobisme*, as they call it in France, to do duty for judgment. So it is that Mr. Morris's books are said to represent the culmination of an art. Of course, they represent nothing of the sort; but, none the less, they are eagerly bought, and as ardently admired. Their failure, moreover, is a genuine disappointment. Mr. William Morris united to a genuine enthusiasm for typography a profound knowledge of books. Being, besides, a practical craftsman, he should have produced a set of masterpieces, which might take their place on a shelf of ancient classics, and he did no more than establish the Kelmscott Press. His first mistake was deserting the straight

path of tradition, to revert to an arbitrary moment of the past. But Pre-Raphaelitism was in his blood, and the Gothic type of Caxton allured him as surely as the primitive Italians allured his colleagues. His second mistake was to forget that simplicity and strength are the cardinal virtues of the printed page. So he crammed his books with ornament, confused text with illustration, and achieved not a sharp contrast of black and white, but a dull, mixed level of greyness. His books are unreadable, because, if the eye be busy in the separation of words from decoration, the mind cannot tire itself with literature; and because, whatever else a book may be, it is not an expensive, beribboned ornament for the drawing room table. No, if you would find the last link in the chain which binds our own time to the time of Gutenberg, you must look to Edinburgh. The edition of "Don Quixote," for instance, which the Messrs. Constable printed some two years since is neither affected nor archaistic. It does not confound the mistakes of a primitive master with excellence, and the artist who designed it remembers that he is designing not a wall paper nor an architectural embellishment, but a book. So a book it is, simple and austere, with just that suggestion of eld which should make its appearance appropriate to its author. And, as we may read it with comfort, we may look back to it with pleasure, as a fit companion for the classics printed by the masters of the craft.

"Printing," said Lamartine in a rhetorical pamphlet, "is the telescope of the soul." The image is fantastic and sentimental, yet it is not unjust. Printing it is that reveals to us "the soul" of Homer and of Aristophanes; and, once you admit the metaphor which was fashionable fifty years since, you must admit also the truth of the aphorism. Printing, then, in its best aspect, is the telescope of the soul, and it is as such that we have considered it. But printing has another aspect, which suggests neither telescopes nor souls. It has long been the servant of what is grandiloquently called the Press; it is the handmaiden of such cheap contrivances as publicity and the dissemination of news. Gutenberg, of course, could not have foreseen the terrific consequences of his invention. Why should he fear a dangerous popularity, when he could not find the wherewithal to build his press? Like many another great man, he was too deeply interested in his work, to speculate on its effect; and he sat him down to the composition of his Bible without wasting a thought upon the "extra special,"

which was most surely to follow. By a strange irony he destined his invention for the enlightenment of future ages, and though, for a few, it remains the "telescope" of Lamartine, the most of men regard it as an instrument of cheap learning and unblushing curiosity.

But the most curious circumstance is this: The world is not yet used to the printing press. The artist who invented it was born half a thousand years ago, and printing remains to-day "the black art" that it was called in 1455. The people still believe that there is some deviltry in it. How often do we hear confiding country folk murmur, "Why, I saw it in the papers," as though the mere multiplication of a statement by a rapidly running machine was proof conclusive of its truth! And the influence of the "Press" is solidly based upon this ignorance. Printing, in fact, has created power without responsibility. A statesman must some day answer for his sins, but a newspaper need but trim its sails with a little cunning, and it may defy the assaults of time and chance. There is Gutenberg's invention to aid it, and there is human credulity upon which it may trust; and, suppose it does mislead the people, the people, also, have a short memory, and inaccuracy is soon forgotten.

When Gutenberg's invention was first made public, neither kings nor ministers divined its possibilities of harm. But its power was soon apparent, and licenses and privileges were granted or withheld. Then, as newspapers became more numerous and clamored more loudly, they were partially controlled by stamps and paper-taxes, and a Free Press was chosen by the Radicals as their most valiant battle cry. After the Radical method, statement took the place of reason; and, without any argument, unlicensed printing was hung as a "palladium" (to use the cant term) upon the statue of Liberty. In vain it was urged that man, being fallible, was not to be trusted with so powerful a weapon as an uncensored newspaper; in vain it was pointed out that the possession of sufficient money for a press and a wad of paper was not a guarantee of knowledge or good feeling. The Radicals would not have it; they had made their axiom, and for them all was over but shouting, and they shouted so loudly that England, France and America rejoice to-day in a free Press. Those who argue from their inclination are confident that the cause of freedom is safe in the power of our newspapers. We may be permitted to take a less

optimistic view, and to regret the day when stamps were a check upon enterprise, and when the tax upon paper enriched the treasury.

What advantages, then, has an untrammelled Press conferred upon the world? In the first place, it has done its best to destroy sincerity, and to make privacy impossible. Once it was necessary for a man to base an opinion upon inquiry or research; he may now turn to his leading article and find an opinion ready made. He believes what he reads, as though he had discovered it for himself, and thus finds all things possible to him, save sincerity. Moreover, if only Gutenberg could return to the world, with what astonishment would be behold his art, fit for delicacy and learning, used to record the tittle-tattle of a not too refined society? Would he not feel shame at his own invention, when he witnessed the ardent ingenuity wherewith men and women intrigue to obtain press notices for themselves and their friends, the active indiscretion wherewith the journals belittle the heroes of our time? And might he not justly refute Lamartine, declaring that the printing press is not the telescope, but the microscope, of the soul?

The moral effects of printing are bad enough, but they are limited to the individual, and may pass with time. Far more dangerous, if we may believe the ambitious voice of journalism, are its political effects. We are constantly told that a newspaper, provided only it be "yellow" enough, may ensure peace or drive a country to war. If this be true, then are the dangers of life too great to be encountered; for we cannot believe that journalists are better than other men; and we should run a risk, indeed, if we confided our fortunes to a dozen bishops, say, or to a dozen lawyers, chosen by their money bags, and owing a responsibility to no man.

But, argue the newspapers in defence, it is the Press of the world which disseminates truth. Does it? If only it had an equal power to disseminate truth and falsehood, we might be content. Yet truth remains at the bottom of the well, while falsehood floats insolently to the surface. The last year has proved beyond a possibility of doubt the omnipotence of typography in the distribution of lies. Look at the press of Brussels, for instance, and discard every expression of genuine opinion. You will find remaining a mass of falsehood, which the miscreant who gave it to the compositor must have recognized for what it was. But the people saw it in the papers, and upon it framed an infamous opin-

ion. The case is by no means bettered by the assertion, which may or may not be true, that the journals of Brussels are subsidized by Dr. Leyds. If they are thus subsidized, the danger is vastly increased, since it is evident that one intriguer may force a falsehood upon a whole people; may, in fact, sow the seeds of an international enmity, whose consequences none may foresee!

But in this intrigue Gutenberg played no part, and it would be monstrously unkind to saddle him with the responsibility, let us say, of M. Henri Rochefort. The evil wrought by his invention is for the moment more obvious than the good; yet it is not too sanguine to hope that the good will outlast the evil, that the nobly printed classics, the daintily fashioned poets of the Aldine press will still endure, when the cheap newspapers of to-day are a forgotten disgrace. At any rate, we may honour the first of all our printers, because he discerned only the dignified possibilities of his art, and reflect that all the elaborate machinery in the world cannot impair his achievement, nor dim his glory.

CHARLES WHIBLEY.

NEW YORK AND ITS HISTORIANS.—II.

BY MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER.

All the destined depth and persistence of the power of Irving's ridicule, however, Verplanck could not clearly have foreseen in 1819. More impressive than his words are those of James Grahame, who was not a Dutch New Yorker, or an American of any sort, but a Scotch lawyer who never even visited this country. In 1827 he published the first portion of a long and, for its day, a remarkably good history of colonial times in the United States; and in a note to it he says:

"Founders of ancient colonies have sometimes been deified by their successors. New York is perhaps the only commonwealth whose founders have been assailed with ridicule from the same quarter. It is impossible to read the ingenious and diverting romance entitled Knickerbocker's History of New York without wishing that the author had put either a little more or a little less truth into it; and that his talent for humor and sarcasm had found another subject than the dangers, hardships and virtues of the ancestors of his national family. It must be unfavorable to patriotism to connect historical recollections with ludicrous associations; but the genius of Mr. Irving has done this so effectually that it is difficult for his readers to behold the names of Wouter Van Twiller, of Corlaer and of Peter Stuyvesant without a smile; or to see the free and happy colonists of New York enslaved by the forces of a despot without a sense of ridicule that abates the resentment which injustice should excite and the sympathy which is due to misfortune. * * * Probably my discernment of the unsuitableness of this writer's mirth is quickened by a sense of personal wrong, as I cannot help feeling that he has by anticipation ridiculed my topic and parodied my narrative. If Sancho Panza had been a real governor misrepresented by the prior wit of Cervantes, his posterior historian would have found it no easy matter to bespeak a grave attention to the annals of his administration."*

* Far from bringing Grahame the honor and profit he should have reaped, his book attracted scarcely any attention in England, and entailed upon him a loss of some £1,000. The first adequate notice of it, and the first of any kind printed in America, appeared three years after the issue of its earlier portions, in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of January, 1831. This says that "Mr. Grahame, with a spirit able to appreciate his subject, has published what we conceive to be the best book that has anywhere appeared upon the early history of America." His materials

What Grahame here says of his personal feelings is particularly instructive. There is indeed good reason to believe that, while the influence of Irving's book was helped by the paucity of veracious chronicles of early New York, it has acted as a deterrent in regard to their later production.

There have been many examples of the profound effect of literary skill combined with truth-telling—as in the rehabilitation of Cromwell by Carlyle. But probably no untruthful book ever had so great an effect as Irving's. Nothing in American literature can be compared with it excepting Peters's travesty of the blue-laws of Connecticut, and even this only remotely, for, although it was long and widely believed, the true facts were much better known in regard to Connecticut than to New York. Here, of course, we read part of the secret of Knickerbocker's power. If it had been a caricature of a well-known tale and of well-remembered persons, it would have done little harm. But it was less than a caricature—it was an almost baseless fantasy. Irving himself knew scarcely any facts upon which to build it up; and his readers, knowing as few, could not guess in how far he was over-emphasizing or under-emphasizing, or was simply drawing upon his imagination.

For example, in an early notice of Knickerbocker, printed in the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*—the precursor of the NORTH AMERICAN—it is said that to examine the book "seriously in a historical point of view would be ridiculous," but that "the few important events of the period to which it relates are, we presume, recorded with accuracy as to their dates and consequences." More illuminative even than the falsity of this statement is the artlessness of its "we presume." Very naïve also are certain comments upon Verplanck's address in the NORTH AMERICAN of 1819: "We are inclined to believe that a complete account of New Netherland and of the proceedings of the Dutch occupants while they possessed the government would exhibit their character to advantage." And the same unembarrassed lack of knowledge speaks again in that often-quoted declaration of Chancellor Kent, made before the Historical Society in 1828, which, like the

were very scanty compared with those of to-day, yet his account of early New York is juster than some that have recently been written, partly because of the wise distrust with which he regarded Trumbull and certain other New England writers. It is a pity that even in America Grahame's name and work are now so generally forgotten.

Knickerbocker caricature, has done much to discourage the study of our past—the declaration that "the Dutch colonial annals are of a tame and pacific character, and generally dry and uninteresting."

But there was another reason, in addition to its own literary merit and the general lack of historical knowledge, which helped the vogue of Knickerbocker. It expressed a frame of mind that prevailed in its time in every English-speaking community, and had thus prevailed for generations.

When the commercial life of England began to develop, Holland's was already the most flourishing in the world; when England was torn by political and religious feuds, Holland was the world's house of refuge, its only exponent of political liberty and religious toleration; and when England's naval power grew strong, Holland's was its only rival. Dread, jealousy, and envy, embittered by the hatred of religious intolerance for free speech and free thought, nourished a national antagonism to the Dutch, and, as almost always happens with such a feeling, it tried to mask itself as contempt. For generations the literature of England in nearly every branch was flavored by the national hatred for Holland, and the sentiment thus expressed was transplanted to America in the baggage of the immigrant. Puritans and Pilgrims, one might think, would have been purged of it by the weight and the nature of their direct personal debt to the Protestant Netherlands. But if they acknowledged this debt in some degree while tarrying on Holland's hospitable soil, in England they thought and spoke as abusively of Dutch tolerance as did continental Catholics and Lutherans. And in New England the Old World obligation was soon forgotten in the sense of what Puritans and Pilgrims owed to themselves; and themselves they regarded as God's peculiar people, or (to quote the words of a Netherlander commenting upon these facts), as "saints to whom the earth belonged."

To New York also the antagonistic national feeling was transferred, from New England and from the mother country. There was, of course, much friendship between New Yorkers of dissimilar blood; as I have said, party lines were not drawn parallel with lines of descent; and in non-official social life the great Dutch families kept the lead during colonial times. Yet official prestige, official influence, and the connection of many prominent New Yorkers with the governor's "court" tended strongly to the

exaltation of English ideas; and even after the Revolution had dimmed the old dividing lines and banished troops of Tory citizens, the classes that then formed the reading public had not forgotten, in their attachment to the new Republic, their sentimental and literary regard for English precedent and current example. Verplanck deplored the fact that his fellow-citizens, even before the appearance of the Knickerbocker History, had "imbibed much of the English habit of arrogance and injustice toward the Dutch character," falling in with the temper of English writers who had long been accustomed "to describe the peculiar manners and customs of Holland with a broad and clumsy exaggeration." I need hardly note that Irving's own sympathies, as shown in many of his books, turned strongly toward England, and he was a type of his large circle. Therefore, although a few Dutch New Yorkers protested against his New York book, the mood in which he wrote exactly suited the mood of most of those for whom he wrote. Naturally, his welcome in England was as warm as at home; and New England forgave his jeers at her own founders in her amusement at the more plentiful ridicule heaped upon those whom she had formerly been in the habit of calling her "noxious neighbors."

A curious little instance of the prevailing point of view was the fastening upon New York of the nickname "Gotham." This, say the dictionaries, is the name of a town in Nottinghamshire, which as early as the fourteenth century grew proverbial because of the "simplicity" or the "rusticity and stupidity" of its inhabitants. I have found in no dictionary a reference to the first application of the name to New York, although I do find a statement that its derivative, "Gothamite," was first employed by Irving in the Salmagundi papers. But whoever may be responsible for its transplantation, this evidently betrays the English spirit which, quite disregarding the facts in the case, always chose to ridicule Hollanders as Bœotians. New Yorkers have had many faults and deficiencies, but they have never been simple, slow, or stupid. Yet Gothamites they were called, with as much contempt and as little intelligence as were shown in New England when the Dutch word *boer* was translated *boor* and accepted in the modern English sense. These New World terms, indeed, are parallel in spirit to one that is still commonly used in the Old and the New World both, and in New York as well as New

England. When, to mark his dullness or awkwardness, we call a man a "Dutchman," we now fancy that we are referring to German traits, although with an incorrect word. But we are really echoing the jealousy, masked as contempt, that England long ago developed for her great rival, Holland.

Critical Letters on Smith's History were written in his lifetime by Cadwallader Colden, and Remarks on the same book by Judge Samuel Jones, but they were hardly known until published by the Historical Society. Jones's account of New York during the Revolution is better remembered, and so is Horsmanden's story of the Negro Plot of 1741, printed in 1810. But a second attempt at a full history of city and State was not made until 1824. Yates and Moulton then published one. James Macauley followed with three large volumes of a similar sort in 1829, and ten years later Dunlap with two volumes. But none of these has much merit—Dunlap's far less than his histories of the development of the theatre and of the fine arts in America. Up to his time no one had studied the old municipal or provincial records. Thus there was no basis for veracious accounts of New Amsterdam, and every chapter in the later story of New York suffered from this cause as well as from insufficient inquiry into its own foundations. But a change for the better was at hand.

Spurred by urgent petitions from the Historical Society, the Legislature began to take an interest in the mass of valuable papers which, after the Revolution, had been transferred from New York to Albany. In 1819 it ordered the translation of many of those in the Dutch language. The work was done (not very well) by Dr. Van der Kemp, a Hollander; and his product was bound in twenty-six volumes of manuscript. Then, in 1841, the Legislature authorized the investigation and transcription of all papers relating to the history of the State that could be found in England, France, and Holland, and appointed as its agent for this purpose Mr. John Romeyn Brodhead, who had been for some time attached to the American legation at The Hague. For more than three years Brodhead worked diligently at his difficult task, cordially welcomed and assisted by the French and the Dutch authorities, but coldly received and hampered by dense tangles of red tape in London. When, after his return, he arranged his transcripts, they filled eighty large manuscript volumes of very

great historical value as illumining the history of the other colonies and of Canada, and for the first time revealing the substrata of our own.

But again a singular mischance must be noted. In the State archives at The Hague Brodhead found some valuable documents, but he was told that the bulk of those relating to New Netherland were owned by its former proprietors, the West India Company. Applying at the offices of this company in Amsterdam, he learned that all its papers earlier in date than the year 1700 had been sold as waste paper at public auction in 1821; and the widest advertising failed to bring to light any that referred to New York. Thus Brodhead gleaned only twenty years too late, but with a serious diminution in the number of his sheaves; and, as in the case of the records which Stuyvesant would not permit Van der Donck to see, the things that fate chanced to suppress were again the ones that we should hold most precious now. It is indeed with covetous thoughts that we read, in a document once sent by the Dutch to the English Government, that "very perfect registers, relations, and journals" of the West India Company were then in existence. Now, excepting for certain land-patents, the records of the government of New Netherland begin only with the year 1638, and even after that time they are not complete, for all letters prior to 1646, as well as the Council Minutes for a term of four years, have disappeared. Therefore, while a true history of New Amsterdam can now be compiled, the full history of its first twenty-five years cannot be deciphered.*

The interest awakened by Brodhead's discoveries led to the arrangement and binding of two hundred volumes of domestic papers which had previously been in a disorderly condition; and in 1849 the Legislature commissioned Dr. O'Callaghan to print a series of the most valuable documents owned by the State. The result was four very large volumes, known as the Documentary History of New York, which contain, among many others, a few of the treasures that Brodhead had found. But it had already been proposed that these treasures should be translated and

* Little was written at any time about New Netherland in its mother country. Even the history of it published by Lambrechtsen in 1818 is superficial and incorrect, for, although he wrote before the dispersion of the old records of the West India Company at Amsterdam, he explains that he could not get access to them, and could not even find a copy of the Remonstrance written by Van der Donck for the people of New Netherland in 1649—the most important document of its time. Nevertheless, his book was of service as inspiring a few New Yorkers to take an interest in the past of their town.

printed in full. The matter was referred to a select committee of the Senate which, in 1845, reported favorably upon it. And one paragraph of the report is worth quoting, for very seldom indeed can a citizen of any American State have been so severely arraigned before the representatives of its people on a non-political charge:

"It is the misfortune of this State that its early founders have been held up to the ridicule of the world by one of its most gifted sons, who has exhausted the resources of his wit and satire in exposing imaginary traits in their characters, while the most polished efforts of his graver style have been reserved to adorn the Corinthian columns of the more aristocratic institutions of foreign countries."

Then the report quotes part of those words of James Grahame which I have already cited; and, it continues:

"To remove the reproach thus thoughtlessly attached to the annals of our State, it is only necessary to bring to light the true character of its early colonists, whose fatherland ranked at that period among the foremost nations of Europe in point of commercial wealth and enterprise, and before all others in the freedom of its government. * * * The traits ascribed by the mock historian to the first settlers of New York can scarcely be supposed to have characterized such a people; on the other hand, the manly virtues they displayed amid the toils and hardships of colonial life * * * deserve a very different commemoration at the hands of their descendants and successors."

The publication of Brodhead's finds was begun in 1853. He supplied a general introduction; but the work of translating and editing, and of compiling an index which fills one very large quarto volume, was entrusted to Dr. O'Callaghan. In all he sent forth eleven such volumes, and they are generally cited as the Colonial Documents, although their real title is Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Their value to the students of any of our northern colonies cannot be over-estimated, yet their adequate, intelligent presentation forms only a small part of the debt we owe to O'Callaghan. No other name stands nearly as high on the roll of those that have served our State with the historian's pen as the name of this Catholic Irishman who chanced to settle in Albany in 1837, and for many years was the keeper of the State archives. Indeed, no other name, I think, stands as high as his on the list of those who have done pioneer work among the long-neglected sources of American history. His interest in the anti-rent troubles that continued so long throughout the districts comprised in the great colonial

estate of the Van Rensselaers first led him to look into the local records. Amazed by their multitude and their importance, he learned the Dutch tongue and devoted his life to the work thus opened before him, pushing his investigations far beyond the borders of New York. He was the first to call attention, for example, to the extraordinary value of those Jesuit Relations which Parkman afterward turned to such good account. His influence was very helpful in deciding the authorities to send Brodhead to Europe; and when he saw the results of this enterprise, his own ardor deepened. It would be impossible here to name a tenth part of the major and minor publications bearing upon the history of our State which we owe to his indefatigable efforts. But the most conspicuous of them is a History of New Netherland, or New York under the Dutch, the first volume of which appeared in 1846, and the second in 1850. Certain sources of information now available were unknown in O'Callaghan's day. Therefore a few serious errors crept into his book through his undue reliance upon the statements of English writers, the most unfortunate being his acceptance of the apocryphal story of Argall's visit to Manhattan in the year 1613. Also, one or two singular slips may be noted, like the giving of the year 1624, instead of 1626, as that when Governor Minuit arrived and purchased Manhattan from the Indians. But except for these few blemishes, the History of New Netherland is a work of admirable accuracy, while it is as comprehensive and detailed as any student could wish; and our admiration for it grows when we remember that, at the time when it was written, not only the papers preserved at Albany but also those collected by Brodhead were still in manuscript.

This, the first account of the Dutch period in New York that was true, or that even approached to fullness, was quickly followed by another, written by Brodhead and published in 1853 as the first volume of a History of the State of New York which he intended to carry down to his own times. A second volume, ending with the year 1691—with the close of the Leisler epoch—was issued in 1871. But Brodhead died in 1873, and a third volume which he left in manuscript has not yet been printed. Nor has any one else yet written a full and accurate history of New York in the eighteenth century.

But with two good and full histories of New Amsterdam in

print for half a century, why are the mendacities of Knickerbocker still so potent? We still may say, almost as truly as George William Curtis in 1859, that "we all see the Dutch as Irving painted them," and that "when we speak of our doughty Governor Stuyvesant * * * we mean, not the governor of the histories, but of Diedrich Knickerbocker." Why has the influence of a burlesque not sensibly weakened, although, now that the taste in humor has changed, it works chiefly in traditional, indirect ways?

Partly because an indirect, traditional influence is the very hardest to shake off; but partly because neither O'Callaghan nor Brodhead had the qualities that tend to popularize historical information.

O'Callaghan's voluminous work is packed on every page with interesting facts; yet it is one of the most uninteresting and most exasperating of valuable books. In manner it is heavy, dry, and dull; and in arrangement it is so rigidly chronological that the complex tale it tells is very hard to follow. Each thread in the twisted skein of events with which it deals is constantly being dropped in favor of another, and therefore no phase of the story is so painted that it stirs the imagination or the sympathies, or even makes a clear impression on the memory. In short, O'Callaghan's book is a book of annals, a minutely faithful chronicle, not a vitalized history conceived with the true story-teller's feeling for the picturesque or the true historian's sense for proportion and for light and shade. It excited great interest among scholars, but it could not catch or hold the public's eye. No one, I think, could read it through for pleasure; and in spite of its exceptional worth to the student, even he must find it a sore test of his patience, his selective and co-ordinating faculties, and his memory as well.

To say this is not to detract from O'Callaghan's claims upon our gratitude, for the main need in a book that told an important historical tale for the first time was that it should be a full reservoir of authentic facts. The real misfortune was that a writer did not at once arise to put O'Callaghan's facts into better literary shape. Brodhead was not the man. His style has more ease than his predecessor's, his manner more warmth and color, his method rather more perspective, and his story much more clearness. Yet his book is also for the student, not for the general reader. "His chief merit," says one of his critics, "is his

admirable co-ordination of an immense mass of material covering a vast circuit of investigation," which is not quite the same as the presentation of facts and their meanings in a way to impress the popular mind. "His own mind," the same critic says, "was legal rather than judicial," and this fact not only injured the value of his book from the philosophical point of view, but impaired its trustworthiness in regard to special facts. Sometimes he is led far astray from the true historical mood by his sympathy with one party in the action; and this is notably true of the pages which we should be most glad to find impartially, judicially written; his account of Leisler's times is narrowly unfair.

Nevertheless, Brodhead's book is still the best we have about seventeenth-century New York; and nothing approaching in scholarly completeness to this or to O'Callaghan's New Netherland has since been written about our city or State. In the shape of special histories of the city we have had Valentine's (1853); Booth's (1859); Lossing's (1884); Lamb's (1877-1880); Todd's (1890); Roosevelt's (1891), and the four large volumes called the Memorial History of the City of New York. These are practically all; and among recent histories of the State the only ones that call for mention are Roberts's (1887) and Brooks's (1888). The unfamiliarity of some of these names is proof enough that the books to which they are attached were not successful in the sense of working a revolution in the popular attitude toward colonial New York; nor were the others more efficacious. In truth, there is not one book on the list that shows real literary skill and charm, and not one that is accurate, if, perhaps, we except Roberts's (in the series called American Commonwealths); and this, of course, gives comparatively little space to the life of the city on Manhattan. It is the best book, however, to put into the hands of one who wants a brief account of the life of the State; while Miss Booth's, I think, is for popular use the best that deals specifically with the city because, although it is superficial and often incorrect, it is at least agreeable to read. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt evidently did not take the time to examine any original sources, or even to secure a right perspective while following current versions of the history of his town; for example, after falling into a multitude of errors with regard to Jacob Leisler's deeds, he fails to mention the fact that the parliament of England reversed the verdict pronounced against him in the

provincial court. On the other hand, Mrs. Lamb's great industry led her so far into side paths of biography, tradition, and gossip that her book is too bulky for general reading while not scientific enough for trusting reference. And the Memorial History edited by James Grant Wilson and written by different hands, after the pattern set by Justin Winsor in the Memorial History of Boston, fell far below its model. It was not conceived with the same breadth and thoroughness; it was not edited at all in Winsor's sense of the term, and some of its authors were unwisely chosen. With a few admirable chapters it contains a number of poor ones, and as a whole it lacks both cohesion and authority.

There is still no history of our city which is either as scholarly in grasp, as accurate in detail, or as interesting in manner as it should be. Yet during the past fifty years so great an amount of good material has been accumulated that it might well have attracted a skilful hand. In fact, one such hand was attracted, but again mischance came into play. When Douglas Campbell published in 1892 his Puritan in Holland, England, and New England, he intended it as an introduction to a history of the City of New York. But again death defrauded us. The popularity of his Puritan, which ran through four editions within a year, and the influence it has had upon students (conspicuously shown, for example, in recent rewritings of the story of New England), assure us that a history of our city from the same pen would have made a mark that would have gone far to obliterate the one so deeply cut by Irving. Even as it is, more in this direction has been done by Campbell than by all the historians of New York put together. Perhaps he would have told the city's story in rather too "filio-pietistic" a way. But in this case this particular sin would not have been very sinful. It is certain that any exaggeration of the merits of the New Netherlanders or of the strength of their influence upon the future of the Republic would have been discounted by ingrained prepossessions. In fact, the over-accentuations to be found in the Puritan have been thus discounted, even to excess.

It must be said, however, that while the book we need should possess the literary charm and force which so greatly helped the influence of Campbell's Puritan, it cannot be undertaken as a merely literary task. As there is no full reservoir of authentic

facts for the whole story of the eighteenth century, and as even O'Callaghan and Brodhead sometimes seem mistaken in the broader light of to-day, every step in a popular version would have to be based upon a personal study of the masses of original documents that city and State have printed, of many others published by other agencies, of the histories of neighboring colonies, and of the fragmentary products of a long list of writers who have touched in some way upon the story of the City of New York. Watson, Benson, J. Carson Brevoort, Gulian C. Verplanck, H. C. Murphy, Horatio Seymour, J. F. Jameson, Dexter North, James W. and Frederick de Peyster, John Gilmary Shea, John Austin Stevens, Henry Tuckerman, George Schuyler, Dr. Da Costa, O. H. Marshall, Robert Ludlow Fowler, William Elliot Griffis, Edward Eggleston, Berthold Fernow—these and many more have published chapters of our colonial history, or comments upon certain phases of it, which no future historian can neglect.

I have thus far avoided all reference to the most recently written book that tells the story of colonial New York. No histories of America have been as popular as Mr. John Fiske's; and when he announced that his Beginnings of New England and his Old Virginia and Her Neighbors would be followed by two similar volumes called The Dutch and Quaker Colonies, much was expected in the way of profit and pleasure. These volumes have now appeared, but a book that is so sure to pass into the hands of many thousands of readers cannot be dismissed in a paragraph. I hope to speak about it in detail in a forthcoming number of this REVIEW.

M. G. VAN RENSSELAER.

MEMORIES OF MAX MÜLLER.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

"THE day cannot judge the day," said Goethe, and the remark finds illustration in the history of many a great scholar and educator. The student reads in old books with a kind of envy the stories of Alcuin founding seats of learning in France, with Charlemagne and his noblemen for pupils, of Roger Bacon at Oxford, of Erasmus at Cambridge, but too often fails to recognize the same men when they reappear in his own teachers—his Agassiz, Jowett, Max Müller. But were Goethe living, he would recognize that the world at large has attained a degree of literary solidarity which secures for each great teacher a class in every nation: the day can esteem if not estimate its own light, and the thinking brotherhood no longer suffers the shame of paying only to a leader's dust the homage denied to his living presence. In the thirteenth century, when the renown of Roger Bacon was drawing studious men to Oxford from all parts of Europe, those who came last found him in prison on account of the novelties he taught *(propter novitates quasdam suspectas);* in our time an Oxford professor, teaching novelties at which his great predecessor would have shuddered, was similarly sought and found weighted with honors. From fifty colleges and learned societies—European, American, Indian—Max Müller received honors, and ten governments invested him with orders. These honors were spontaneously conferred; he never sought anything but the Sanskrit professorship; and he even declined the coveted F. R. S. because it involved functions that might draw him away from his tasks at Oxford.

Having for more than thirty years known Max Müller personally, and had good opportunities for witnessing the growth of his mind and his influence, I was much impressed by some char-

acteristics of the memorial meeting held at Columbia University. The large assembly of cultured people was addressed by eminent educators in different institutions, men occupied with various branches of learning, and the most striking feature of every tribute was its pervading sentiment of personal gratitude to the teacher whose labors had ended. Apparently none of the speakers had known Max Müller personally, and only one—Professor Richard Gottheil—mentioned having seen him; not one appeared to have adopted his peculiar theories; but each had his grateful debt to pay. He had opened for one his field of research; he had stimulated others to their tasks; he had enriched all by his literary and linguistic masterpieces. What are incidental *errata* of a pioneer in unexplored regions compared with this creation of a scholarly race able to correct the mistakes? The master sat at his mighty task, assiduous, unwearied: now his hands are folded on his breast; his case goes to the jury of scholars, and their verdict will everywhere confirm that of the professor of Philosophy at Columbia University: "In a generation rich in scholars no one could be called greater than Max Müller."

Especially impressive were the simple words of the Hindu speaker at the meeting, the Swami Abhedananda, who spoke always of the deceased scholar as "our friend." Max Müller was indeed the greatest friend India ever had. He not only exhumed for the young Hindus whom England was educating the literature of their race, but gave them the means of understanding it. Wherever I went in India I usually met the students and the pundits, and a number of the titled men, and all of these, of whatever caste or sect, regarded Max Müller as the greatest of mankind, and I was charged with messages entreating him to visit India. This enthusiasm of the cultured influenced even the illiterate, insomuch that when his illness was announced in India special sacrifices were offered in the temples for their "friend." For the many Hindu students in England Max Müller's house was a sort of shrine. His hospitality to them was pathetically noble. Most of them spoke good English, but he could converse with them in their mother-tongue, and it was beautiful to listen—occasionally I enjoyed that happiness—to his sympathetic talk with them on their studies and their religious ideas. These pilgrims sometimes carried to him even their personal sorrows. Once there presented himself before him a fine-looking Hindu in threadbare dress, who

began addressing him excitedly in Sanskrit. Few Hindus can speak Sanskrit, and Max Müller at once recognized an extraordinary man beneath the poor garb. When he answered in Sanskrit and asked the youth to take a seat, and cordially grasped his hand, the Hindu wept. He had a sad story to tell. A Brahman of high caste, Nilakantha Goreh by name, learned in Oriental literature, he had for years studied the various religions, and reached faith in that taught by Jesus. It involved martyrdom. At the nearest Mission he announced his conversion. He was deprived of his caste and cast out by his relatives. The stupid missionaries called him "Nehemiah," sent him to their book establishment in London, and there he was set to the lowest drudgery. "A negro slave could hardly be worse treated," said Max Müller. For a long time that was endured by this most learned convert to Christianity ever known in India. At last he fled, and, knowing by repute just one man in England, found his way to Oxford and to that man. The penniless Hindu scholar was at once installed as a guest in Max Müller's home, and there wrote a useful little work on the Vedantic philosophy.

Max Müller appeared to have a mission to individual minds. To every thinker his heart and home were always open, and intolerance was absolutely unknown to him. "You know I do not mind difference of opinion," he wrote me, in relation to criticisms on his Hibbert lectures (Origin and Growth of Religion, etc.); and concerning some comments I forwarded he wrote: "I liked Bradlaugh's articles—they show one of the many possibilities of misunderstanding." He never showed the slightest heat when discussing a religious question, however fundamental, but he once wrote a rather stern note about the dismay into which some of us were thrown by certain fanatical proceedings of the leader of the Brahmo-Somaj in India, Keshub Chunder Sen. When this leader visited England (1870) his first discourse was given in Martineau's chapel, his second in mine, and all rationalists, including some of the clergy (Dean Stanley, of course) united to give him a grand welcome. This was reported in India and gave his theistic movement a great sanction. But some years later not only Keshub Chunder Sen, but some of his nearest followers, gave themselves up to such superstitious extravagances that their London supporters were compromised. This was especially the case with Max Müller, for just at that time the *Indian Mirror*

(Brahmo-Somaj organ at Calcutta) printed extracts from his private letters, praises of the Brahmo movement, that seemed to carry his support to the new fanaticism. A printed lecture of my own being liable to the same misinterpretation, I asked Max Müller whether some mild protest was not needed. He was at first inclined to think there must be misunderstanding or exaggeration in the stories coming from Calcutta, which he, too, had heard: "Nothing is so easily misrepresented as Oriental phraseology. You remember a beautiful prayer that Colenso quoted, and people laughed at it because it began, 'Oh, Ram! oh, Ram!' (*i. e.*, Rama). I enclose you some letters from Keshub Chunder Sen and Mozoomdár. They will show you whether these men are fools or knaves." It was not, however, a question of what was said, but of wild performances—a combination of dervish dances and Roman Catholic rites—and in 1881 the scandal in Calcutta and in London became so acute that silence became impossible. Being in America that year, I did not see what Max Müller wrote, but it was characteristic that his deprecation of the performances should take the form of a quasi-defense of severely censured Sen. He wrote me, December 21, 1881:

"Although I am busy with other matters, I could not resist saying a few words for K. Chunder Sen—not that I am not afraid that he has overstrained his brain and may break down altogether, but because I hate ingratitude. That excellent man (and I feel confident of his honesty and freedom of vanity in the beginning) has spent himself—some wheels in the machine with which he worked are out of order—surely he should be treated with kindness—if anything can restore him, it is kindness and sympathy and gratitude. It is the old story of the squeezed-out orange—we do not want that any more, let us throw it out of the window."

Max Müller never, I think, met the Brahmo leader. Had he known him or listened to his sermons he must have realized that, however good-hearted, Sen had not the culture or the wisdom to establish any really important movement. He had not the wit to recognize that the grand welcome he received in England and the crowds attending his sermons—wearisome rhapsodies—were all due to the interest in India awakened by the long labors of Max Müller. But, for that matter, how many philologists, orientalists, anthropologists are aware that before Max Müller's time such investigators as themselves were voices in the wilderness? Dean Stanley remarked (I quote from memory): "In my early life few knew even the name of Buddha; now he is second to but one

other." It was this Oxford scholar who created audiences for such studies, enthusiasts for "The Light of Asia," and devout readers for the forty-nine Sacred Books of the East which he has placed in our hands—the most important ethical service ever done by any man for mankind.

When the phonograph was invented, one of its first appearances was at the house of J. Fletcher Moulton, Q. C. (now M. P.). A fashionable company, among them some eminent men of science and men of letters, gathered around the novelty, and Max Müller was the first called on to utter something in the phonograph. We presently heard issuing from it these sounds: *Agnim île purohitam yagnasya devam ritvigam—hotâram ratnadhâtamam.*

There was a burst of merriment when these queer sounds came from the machine, but a deep silence when Max Müller explained that we had heard words from the oldest hymn in the world—the first (if I remember rightly) in the Vedas: *"Agni I worship —the chief priest of the sacrifice—the divine priest—the invoker —conferring the greatest wealth."* And then the young people gathered around the smiling scholar, to learn, no doubt, that the hymns had all passed through thousands of years, in a phonographic way, each generation uttering precisely what was poured into its ear by the preceding generation, until their language died, to be recovered in the West, where for the first time the real meaning of Agni, and human significance of the hymns, were studied and known. However, I did not hear exactly what the Professor said to the eager inquirers, but stood apart observing the picturesqueness of the scene, and finding in it something symbolical of the whole career of the polite scholar. He had evoked from the oral Sanskrit phonograph the ancient Aryan literature and mythology; the thin, metallic voices became real and cast their poetic spell not merely on the learned, but on fashionable young ladies and gentlemen in drawing-rooms, throughout Europe and America, adding vast estates to their minds, delivering them from the mere pin-hole views of humanity and of the universe to which our ancestors were limited.

I read in a New York paper that Max Müller was "somewhat vainglorious." This is so contrary to my own impressions of the man, whom I have known in his home and in my own, and whose most famous lectures I heard, that I suppose it based on his having printed for personal friends, on September 1, 1893, the fiftieth

anniversary of his Leipzig degree, a list of his publications, and of his honors, with portraits representing him at various periods of life. His friends were desirous of this unpublished Memorial, which was an "offering of sincere gratitude" in response to their congratulations. When it was sent out Max Müller was not an aspirant for further honors. Even had it been a published autobiography, would that have been "vainglorious"? I can imagine a stranger on first seeing him, especially if in university or court dress, associating some *hauteur* with his erect mien, his handsome, courtly look, and a certain military air characteristic of most high-born Germans. He was a very peculiar man: his virility was expressed in his ruddy face and sparkling eye, and some ancestral huntsman survived in him to such an extent that when on a walk with a friend he would at times unconsciously point his cane as if it were a spear, levelling it to his eye. The cane was pointed at nothing, unless at some point emphasized in discussion, wherein sweetness of speech was always his enforcement.

Max Müller was a man even of humility; he listened to the humblest person addressing him with strict attentiveness; he looked up to some who were really his inferiors. For his great contemporaries his love and reverence were boundless. Here are a few notes from the many private letters before me:

"I heard to-day that Emerson has sent £10 for the Carlyle monument in London. Could you not work a little among your friends and countrymen in London? I have read your paper, and I feel certain that no gossip would shake your loyalty to Carlyle's memory."

"I cannot tell you what a loss Kingsley is to us. I feel as if another cable had broken that held me fast to this life."

"How very sad the news of Bayard Taylor's death. He looked so strong in body and mind when I saw him at your house. He is the second who is gone before I could send him my [Hibbert] lectures, out of those few for whom they were specially written, and whose approval would have been a real reward. I send you his last letter to me. I thought you would like to see it, but please take great care of it and let me have it back soon. I feel deeply obliged to you for having enabled me to know your great countryman face to face."

"I have been reading your article on Emerson with great delight. He is a man I love, and grudge to America."

"Emerson's stay here was very delightful. Oxford has been proud of his visit."

"I send you the new edition of my Hibbert Lectures and of my Introduction to the Science of Religion (considerably altered and enlarged). It was dedicated to Emerson, but he was beginning to fade away when last he was here."

"I feel cast down like yourself [at the death of Emerson], and have many more names to add to the death-roll of this year [1882] and the last. There seems no one left to work for and to look up to now. Ruskin is the only star of the first magnitude left, and he, I hear, is setting."

Emerson and his daughter Ellen were guests of the Max Müllers at Oxford, and he was there surrounded by the best men in the place—Ruskin, Jowett, Dodgson (author of "Alice in Wonderland"), Vice-Chancellor Liddell and others. Dr. Holmes and his daughter were also their guests (1886) for some days, and in "Our Hundred Days in Europe" there is a true little picture of the home in which so many Americans have been welcomed:

"We met there, at dinner, Mr. Herkomer, whom we have recently had with us in Boston, and one or two others. In the evening we had music, the professor playing on the piano, his two daughters, Mrs. Conybeare and her unmarried sister, singing, and a young lady playing the violin. It was a lovely family picture; a pretty house, surrounded by attractive scenery; scholarship, refinement, simple elegance, giving distinction to a home which, to us, seemed a pattern of all we could wish to see beneath an English roof. It all comes back to me very sweetly, but very tenderly and sadly, for the voice of the elder of the two sisters who sang to us is heard no more on earth, and a deep shadow has fallen over the household we found so bright and cheerful. Everything was done to make me enjoy my visit to Oxford."

That indeed was a heart-breaking event. "Life to me can never be again what it has been these fifty years of unbroken sunshine—but it may become something better." In January, 1888, he writes: "I became very fond of Wendell Holmes. I liked his books, and now I love the man—only life seems all over, and nothing remains but some duties to fulfill."

Not only eminent Americans were entertained at the charming home in Norham Gardens. They had a great many American friends, and were kept well posted in transatlantic phenomena and literature.

"I saw," he writes in August, 1883, "that Mr. Howells has been staying with you—a great artist, to judge from one or two sketches which I have lately been made to read by some American friends who are staying here at Oxford. I wish you would tell me what you consider his best book. Sacred Books, you know, are so long and tedious that they leave me little time for other reading, and I can only afford to read the best. I want description of real American life, not that constant theme of American novels—international episodes—metamorphic confusions produced by American volcanoes breaking through the smooth and hard stratification of European society. Please give me a few titles of such books—not too long, and worth reading."

Max Müller appreciated very highly the work done in America in the researches which especially concerned him, and it will be seen by the following letter that he overestimated the interest of our political leaders in such things.

Cromer (Norfolk), 2 Tucker Street, 4 Sept., 1873.—"Many thanks for the Report of the American Philological Congress. It is particularly interesting to me as showing the rapid growth of national sympathy for philological researches, and I am truly pleased to find that American philologists begin to see in what field their labors would be most useful, viz., in the field of the Indian languages of America. I have urged the scientific study of these dialects on several American scholars whom I have had the pleasure of seeing from time to time at Oxford, and I have more than once spoken on the subject to some of your leading political men. To preserve what can still be preserved of the ancient stratum of aboriginal American speech is really a national duty, and considering how many distinguished scholars and philosophers you count in the bright ranks of your statesmen and ambassadors, I look forward hopefully to the time when your government will call upon the members of your philological societies to undertake this great work; a work which, if entrusted to proper hands, will reflect lasting honor on the enlightened spirit of your statesmen, and on the conscientious labors of your scholars.

"If such an exceptional stratum existed in Geology as is represented by the Indian languages in Glossology, think how eagerly students, both young and old, would rush to your quarries, how readily the government would lend its aid, particularly if it were known that in a few generations the whole of this stratum might be submerged and lost to us forever! Is the growth of language, is the history of the human mind, less important in our eyes than the growth of the crust of the earth? I know that to a certain extent the neglect of the study of these dialects is our own fault. Many philologists imagine that the Science of Language is chiefly concerned with classical languages, such as Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Hebrew or Arabic, and that the study of anything outside the pale of Aryan and Semitic speech is a mere parergon. Now, it is clear from the report of your Congress that such is not the view of some, at least, of its members. There can be no doubt that some of the most important problems of our science depend on the study of languages which are still, as it were, in a state of nature. The question of all questions, how and why language changes, will never be answered from a study of Sanskrit, but from a study of those few remaining nomadic languages which are still spoken by the aborigines of America, Polynesia, Melanesia, by the tribes on the borders of China, and, it may be, by some races in Africa. I am glad to see that some of my views on the changeability of the American languages have been canvassed at your Congress. I have no books here, and cannot recollect distinctly what I may have said in my Lectures on the American languages. I feel confident that what I stated was correct, according to the evidence then accessible to me. I wrote it at a time when I was much occupied with Indian dialects. I had a young Mohawk staying with me at Oxford, and while I was writing down from his mouth the first sketch that was ever made of a Mohawk grammar, I could see that

even between his own expressions and those which he remembered to have been used by the old people of his tribe there were some grammatical differences arising from a less accurate distinction of dual and plural forms, and, if I remember aright, of the different genders of the implied object in verbal forms. If it can be proved that some of these Indian dialects change less than I thought, it will be of great importance, as showing that there was much more political or religious concentration among some of these tribes than is generally supposed. Only, we must be very careful in these researches. If a tribe is no longer growing and spreading, but gradually retiring and dying out, its language, like its customs, is sometimes preserved with a kind of religious respect, which keeps off phonetic decay, while dialectic regeneration is excluded by the very nature of the case. Languages in that stage are, of course, of little use for our purpose. I hope this may not be the case with all the Indian languages still spoken on American soil, for it would take away much of their interest for purely linguistic purposes, and make them more useless for the solution of the problems I have at heart. The term 'Literary languages' must not be misunderstood. It does not mean such languages only as possess a written literature, like English, or a traditional oral literature, like Lithuanian or Finnish or Lappish; it applies to languages also which, either through the influence of religion, laws and proverbs, or through contact with foreign nations, have become fixed and traditional. I prefer to call languages during these stages political rather than literary, because, whereas they exist, we may be certain that those who spoke them had at one time or other arrived at some kind of political concentration. But the name is of little consequence, as long as we clearly understand what we mean, which, to judge from the imperfect report of the Philological Congress, which you kindly sent me, has not been the case with all the speakers there. I hope Mr. Trumbull will soon give us the results of his Indian researches, and the more he can prove that I have erred, the more grateful shall I feel. Though at present I have little leisure left for these studies, I like to see in what direction they are followed up by younger scholars, to what results they lead, and what light they are likely to throw on the higher problems of our science. . . .

"And now I am almost ashamed when I see what a long epistle I have written. I promised my doctor to do nothing while enjoying the bracing air of Cromer, and, like a horse that has been idle for weeks in his stable, my pen, on being trotted out for the first time, has fairly run away with me. However, what I have written, I have written, and if you think it will be of interest to any of your philological friends in America, you may do with it as you like."

It appeared to me nothing less than a calamity that there should be any discordant note in the relations between Max Müller and his American *confrères*. Knowing well how eager he was to give credit to the humblest of us who were laboring in fields connected with his own, I felt that the personal attacks directed against him must be some curious survival of the old grammarian's curse—"May God confound thee for thy theory of irregular verbs!" I believe that Max Müller also had a feeling that it

was his theory (that language and thought are inseparable) which had elicited the animadversions of Professor Whitney, up to the year 1874. But in that year, when he opened the International Congress of Orientalists in London with an admirable address, he became conscious of the personal ill-will felt by Professor Whitney's particular friends in Germany—notably by Weber, of Berlin. Max Müller had distributed in the assembly a printed copy of the last hymn of the Vedas, the close of the great work on which he had been engaged for twenty-five years. In his address he had honored the names of the German scholars present—Weber, Stenzler, Windisch, Spiegel, Haug, Pertsch. And all looked for some response from the great Sanskritist, Weber, who spoke English. But he remained silent. I believe Max Müller then believed that Professor Whitney was doing mischief.

In 1875, being for some days the guest of Professor Whitney at New Haven, I listened to his grievances, and took careful notes of them to convey to Max Müller on my return to England. This was done with his approval, and in the following May (1876), by Max Müller's request, I wrote to Professor Whitney, urging him to accept the proposal previously made by the Oxford scholar that all the points in dispute should be submitted to arbitration. Professor Whitney was to be allowed to himself select three professors from any country in Europe, and Max Müller pledged himself to abide by their decision. This proposal was urged in such terms of esteem as my affection for Professor Whitney suggested, but he could not see his way to say more than that if Max Müller chose to organize a tribunal he would appear before it with his defense. I never doubted that Professor Whitney had sufficient reasons, in nowise arising from any misgivings as to his own case, for virtually declining the proposed arbitration. The personal question was bound up with scientific questions, as he said, and a scholar might naturally be as unwilling to submit his opinions to arbitration as any thinker to so submit his creed. I have letters from both of these eminent scholars which I do not feel at liberty to print, but certain recent newspaper articles, whose disparagement of Max Müller I ascribe to this unhappy quarrel, have moved me to do my great friend the justice of declaring that it was not his fault, if fault there was, that the miserable misunderstanding was not healed in the only way that appeared open to him.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE SUBMARINE BOAT AND ITS FUTURE.

BY JOHN P. HOLLAND.

WHEN the first submarine torpedo-boat goes into action, she will bring us face to face with the most puzzling problem ever met in warfare. She will present the unique spectacle, when used in attack, of a weapon against which there is no defense. You can pit sword against sword, rifle against rifle, cannon against cannon, iron-clad against iron-clad. You can send torpedo-boat destroyers against torpedo-boats, and destroyers against destroyers. But you can send nothing against the submarine boat, not even itself. You cannot fight submarines with submarines. The fanciful descriptions of the submarine battle of the future have one fatal defect. You cannot see under water. Hence, you cannot fight under water. Hence, you cannot defend yourself against an attack under water, except by running away. If you cannot run away, you are doomed. Wharves, shipping at anchor, the buildings in seaport towns cannot run away. Therefore, the sending of a submarine against them means their inevitable destruction.

To-morrow, if we had a fleet of submarines big enough, they could protect New York harbor completely against an attack by the combined surface fleets of the world. But our shipping and our city would still be at the mercy of our enemies, if they had even one submarine, manned by a fearless crew of experts. You could not mine against her, for she would countermine. You could not close the harbor against her, even with a net-work of torpedoes and chains stretched across the Narrows, reaching from the surface to the bottom of the channel. From a safe distance she would simply send a torpedo against the network that would blow it to pieces, giving her all the passage-way she wanted to go in and out. You could not chase her with a fleet of your own

submarines, because you could more easily find a needle in a haystack than a sixty-five-foot cylinder in a place like New York Bay. And if, by accident, you did find her, she would be out of sight in a flash. Then, too, the pursuing boats could never tell under water whether it was one of their own number or of the enemy. This difficulty might be met by sending only one submarine in pursuit; but, in that case, the prospect of finding the quarry would be about as promising as dredging with a butterfly-net for a half-dollar that had been thrown into the bay.

No; as nearly as the human mind can discern now, the submarine is indeed a "sea-devil," against which no means that we possess at present can prevail. She can pass by anything above or beneath the waves, destroy wharves and shipping and warships at anchor, throw shells into the city and then make her way out again to sea. She can lie for days at the bottom of the harbor, leaving only when she has used up all her stored power except what is required to carry her back to the open, where she can come to the surface a speck on the water. She would never have to expose herself for more than a second at a time during all her work of destruction in the harbor. This would be when she rose to discharge her gun to shell the city. The recoil of the gun would send her down again and out of sight. The chance of hitting her would be one in a million, even if the harbor was a floating battery, which it would not be very long while the submarine was at work. Her torpedoes she could discharge without coming to the surface at all.

It may be that the tacticians can solve the problem. To me it is the most profound puzzle. To me there seems but one solution, and that is too Utopian for serious consideration. Nations with sea ports will have to refrain from making war. It is probably safe to trust the ingenuity of man to provide the means for preventing such a contingency.

But how the menace of the submarine is to be met nobody has at this time been able to say. The greatest minds in the armies and navies of the world are wrestling with the problem, but so far they have not succeeded in solving it. The genius of scores of inventors is groping in the same field, but so far without result. Still, there are many capable men who insist that, sooner or later, a weapon will be devised to fight the "sea-devil" when she attacks. Even these, however, are agreed that, in one direction at least,

the "sea-devils" will remain unconquerable. They will make a close blockade impossible. With the investment of Santiago, the world, undoubtedly, saw the last instance of a harbor of a civilized nation being closed by hostile warships—that is, unless the next war comes with unexpected suddenness. Even to-day, no fleet of warships could safely lie within the five-mile limit deemed effective in blockading, if France was the object of the attack. Her fleet of submarines, small as it is, would make the enemy very uneasy. If necessary, the boats could be carried from one of her coasts to the other by rail. The six Holland boats building for the United States, though inadequate for general protection, would make a big hole in any blockading squadron that settled down in front of one of our great harbors. The squadron would have to face almost inevitable destruction, or put out to sea.

Those who question the efficiency of the submarine in other directions have been compelled to admit this. They still insist, however, that these boats will never have value as offensive weapons. They say that these boats cannot live away from home, and that, therefore, they will never be available in making war on a country across seas. They rank submarine boats simply as weapons of coast defense.

That this is erroneous will soon be demonstrated. A submarine is now under construction that will explode this theory. Not long after this article is published, she will start on a journey across the Atlantic. She will travel entirely under her own power. She will go first to Bermuda, a distance of 676 miles, then to Fayal, 1,880 miles, and thence to Lisbon, 940 miles, or a total of 3,496 miles. If it were deemed advisable, the trip could just as easily be made direct, without making a call at any intermediate port.

This boat will go on the surface almost exclusively. Her chief motive power will be a gasoline engine of 160 horse-power, that will drive her at the rate of nine and a half knots an hour. This engine will also generate the electric power that may be needed for submerged runs, and such work as may be deemed expedient in the harbors where she touches. Her crew will subsist entirely on the provisions she carries. The food will be cooked by electricity. The crew will consist of seven men, who will sleep in hammocks slung from the ceiling.

While this voyage will not be comfortable, judged from the

standpoint of the regular trans-Atlantic travellers, it will not entail any real hardships. During storms or dirty weather the boat will run awash, only her turret showing above the surface, and, as the water will break over instead of against her, there will be no rolling. The boat will lie as steadily as a water-soaked log. She will be accompanied by a tender, probably a small tramp steamer. An extra crew will be carried on this tender, in case her own men find the confinement too much to endure for the sixteen days required in crossing the ocean.

This trip will show that it is possible to send a fleet of submarines against a foreign coast, as well as to employ them for defense at home.

We have been so busy up to this time in getting a hearing for the claims of the submarine as an engine of war that we have overlooked almost entirely her future usefulness in the pursuits of peace. Yet in this field she presents most fascinating possibilities. As a factor in commerce, there are great achievements before her. As an instrument of science, she has possibilities that no man may prescribe.

As soon as men overcome their fears and learn to go down beneath the water as readily as they now skim its surface, the progress of the submarine in commerce will be rapid. She has, along certain lines, such manifest advantages that her development is to be measured only by the length of time people may require to conquer the foolish dread of travelling under water.

Within the next ten years, we shall have made more progress in submerged navigation than has been made in the three hundred years that have just passed. Within that period, I expect to see submarine boats engaged in regular passenger traffic. Owing to the well-defined limitations that surround travel under water, it is no difficult matter to forecast what the nature of such travel will be.

For trans-Atlantic travel submarine boats will never be possible commercially. Here and there, no doubt, such boats will cross, but the regular ocean carrying-trade will always be conducted on the surface. For short trips, however, the submarine offers commercial advantages that will render it a dangerous rival of the surface-sailing vessel, if, indeed, it does not drive the latter entirely out of the competition in particular waters. Take, for example, the trip across the English Channel. No other water

journey causes an equal amount of suffering. The most hardened traveller becomes seasick there. The fogs and heavy traffic are constantly causing collisions on that course, and the storms toss the stoutest boats about like cockleshells. Thousands are deterred every year by its dangers and annoyances from essaying that short voyage.

The submarine will effectually remove all these objections. There will be no seasickness, because in a submerged boat there is absolutely no perceptible motion. There will be no smells to create nausea, for the boats will be propelled by electric power taken from storage batteries, which will be charged at either end. The offensive odor that causes so much discomfort in surface boats is due to the heated oil on the bearings, and to the escaping steam. There will be no steam on these submerged channel boats, and the little machinery necessary to drive them will be confined within an air-tight chamber.

There will be no collisions, because the boats coming and the boats going will travel at different depths—say, one at twenty, the other at forty feet. The water overhead may be crowded with large and small craft, but the submarine will have a free, unobstructed course. She will be kept absolutely true to this course by means of cables running from shore to shore. On these cables will run an automatic steering gear attached to the submarine. Storms and fogs will have no existence for the traveller, for weather cannot penetrate below the surface of the water. There, everything is smooth and clear.

The appointments on such a vessel will be finer than anything that can be furnished on the surface. There will be no dampness, no stickiness. The passenger will enter a handsomely fitted cabin at Dover. Electric lights will make it cosey and bright. Neither the cold of winter nor the extreme heat of summer will be felt. The temperature under water is about the same all the year round.

Almost without a jar, the boat will put off from her dock on the English side. Practically no vibration will be felt from the smoothly running machinery. Before the traveller fairly realizes that a start has been made, the boat will be fast at her dock at Calais. The three or four hours consumed will be passed in reading, in sleep or in social intercourse, as pleasantly as though the traveller were at home in his own drawing-room. The nerv-

ous old lady will have less to worry her than she would find on a drive through the streets of London or Paris. Her husband or son will find perfect comfort in a handsomely appointed smoking-room.

This is no dream. It is simply the forecast of a trip that I myself expect to make some day, and I am fifty-nine years old. It is so feasible commercially that capital in plenty will be found for its realization.

Had not the unreasonable prejudice against the submarine existed all these years, such a line might be seen in operation to-day.

Boats of this class will be more economical than the surface channel boats are to-day. The first cost, it is true, will be larger than that of constructing the present day craft; but, after that, with charging stations on either shore, the operating expenses will be much less.

These boats will be from 160 to 200 feet in length. Larger boats will never be feasible, unless we discover some better system of storing electricity than exists to-day—a contingency which is exceedingly doubtful.

To cross the Atlantic and to make any sort of speed, a submarine boat the size of one of the surface greyhounds would have to carry electric storage batteries weighing about six times as much as the vessel herself. No other motive power has been found that can be employed under water so well as electricity. Liquid air has been suggested, but nothing has ever been accomplished with it. The expenditure for power, therefore, stands as an absolute bar to commercial traffic across the ocean under water.

There are other objections, too, to general submarine travel across the Atlantic, objections that would prove insuperable even if the power problem were solved. First and foremost is the confinement. Few people could be found who would be willing to endure confinement for ten or twelve days in a limited, submerged space. The chief charms of an ocean voyage, sunshine and fresh air, would be gone. Even freedom from seasickness would not compensate for that. There could be no decks. Then, too, the danger from collision, which would be eliminated from short trips by the submarine, would here be heightened. There could be no cables for an automatic steering gear, and the vessel could not be relied on to hold her course safely, uninfluenced by ocean currents.

In the domain of science, much may be expected of the submarine. With her aid, the bottom of the ocean will be safely explored at comparatively great depths. Just how far down we shall be able to go in her, no one at this time knows. Singularly enough, we have never ascertained the limit of safety—that is, the point where the weight of the water is so great that it will crush the stoutest submarine that could be built. It has been estimated that four hundred feet below the surface is the limit, but it may be a thousand feet, just as well, for all the definite information we have on the subject. Whatever the depth, it is certain to be much greater than any explorers have heretofore been able to reach in person, and the scientists are certain to take full advantage of the possibilities.

In certain submarine pursuits—such as wrecking, pearl and sponge fishing, etc.—a complete revolution will be wrought. Millions of dollars now lost to the world in submerged wrecks will be recovered, and the work of raising sunken ships will be a matter of days, instead of months, with the submarine's aid.

Lake's boat, built in Baltimore, has already given us an example of what may be expected along these lines.

The surveying of harbors and shoals and obstructions to navigation will be reduced to an exact science. Where now such surveys can be made only semi-occasionally, a perfect system of submarine patrol will be maintained.

Much missionary work will probably still have to be done before the people can be taught to take full advantage of the possibilities of submarine navigation. But the time is in sight when the prejudice against going through, instead of over, the water will have disappeared.

Experience teaches that, wherever its application is desirable, submarine navigation is the safest method of water travel we have. For more than three hundred years, there have been submarine boats. In all that time, only one life has been lost in a boat running beneath the water. When it is remembered that, during all these years, the craft employed has been experimental, this record is certainly marvellous.

What other system of transportation can show such a clear bill? From the stage coach to the locomotive, there is a steady trail of blood and death. Last year, 7,123 persons were killed on the railroads of America alone. The trolley, the innocuous, famil-

iar trolley, that we board as blithely as we sink into a chair in our dining-room, numbers its victims by the thousands, though it has been at its work among us only eight or ten years. In the city of Brooklyn alone, over three hundred people have lost their lives since the first trolley spun merrily along the streets of that city.

The automobile, though it has passed the experimental stage, keeps the surgeons and the undertakers actively employed in attending to its daily victims, and this though its use is confined to persons of exceptional intelligence and training.

No one practically objects to travelling on the surface of the water to-day. Yet, from the time when man fashioned his first skin canoe, to the present day, when we go to Europe in floating palaces, the sea has given us a steady record of tragedies. It is no uncommon thing for a whole shipload of people to go down into the depths.

When, in contrast with these experiences, it is remembered that only one life has been lost in a submerged boat, it must be agreed that the objection to submarine travel is a superstition.

For twenty-one years I have been experimenting with submarine craft. I have travelled in submerged boats under all sorts of conditions and with all sorts of crews. All my work has been experimental, the most dangerous stage of any mode of travel. Yet I have never had an accident. On one occasion, an engineer who thought he knew more about my boat than I did gave me a few uncomfortable minutes. Before putting out for a trial dive, he cut off the automatic attachment that supplied us with air. Before I had realized what the trouble was, our supply of air was permitted to get so low that my nose began to bleed. But when the engine was stopped, the reserve buoyancy sent the boat to the surface like a cask, and we had only to open our hatch to get relief. Certainly, that is a fair showing for nearly a quarter of a century of work.

Possibly some people will exclaim against my statement that only one life has been lost in a submerged boat. They will point to half a dozen cases "of record" where whole crews lost their lives. The answer to that is very simple. The majority of cases so recorded were utterly without foundation. In other cases, the men operating the submarine boats were drowned while they were using them as surface boats, and because of that fact. The boat built by McClintock and Howgate for the Confederates sank with

four of her crew, the last time after she had blown up the "Housatonic." These accidents are charged against submarine navigation, when the fact is that had the boat been used as intended, under water, instead of on the surface, she would not have lost a single life. Mr. Howgate, one of her builders, told me himself that the first and second accidents were due to the failure of the crew to close the manhole cover when preparing to run out. The waves washed over the boat and filled her. On her third trip, the new crew didn't fasten the cover before diving. The fourth time, Mr. Howgate himself ordered the men to close the cover as the boat pulled away. Some one called back that it was "too hot."

To charge these accidents against submarine navigation is as reasonable as it would be to argue against surface navigation because a ship that went to sea with her side hatches swinging open filled and went to the bottom.

The other drowning cases set against submarine boats are built on even less foundation; in fact, they have no foundation at all, because they had no existence. Very recently a certain newspaper published a circumstantial account of the great loss of life sustained in the various attempts to navigate the "Intelligent Whale," the submarine boat that has been for years at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Thirty-three deaths were charged to her. As a matter of fact, she never lost a single life, though, Heaven knows, she was handled carelessly enough. She was built in Galveston shortly after the war and brought North. The Government bought her and she made a few trips. Though a good submarine boat to-day, she was abandoned because of the public outcry against sending a crew of men under water. For nearly a quarter of a century, she has been pointed out as the "coffin ship" by wise people who knew all about her terrible record.

Admiral Hichborn, Chief Constructor of the Navy, went extensively into the question of fatal accidents in submarine navigation. He found there were eighty-three cases set down at various times. On investigation he found that fifty had never occurred at all, being of the "Intelligent Whale" class. Thirty-two were chargeable to the Howgate boat. The only case he could find where life had been lost in a submarine, when she was acting as such, was that of Day, an Englishman, who built and operated a submarine boat late in the seventeenth century. The second time she was submerged, it is reported that the hull was crushed by the

weight of water. In a report on the subject, Admiral Hichborn wrote:

"If Day were really crushed in his boat, he has the unique distinction of being the only victim of the dangers of submarine navigation; but this distinction depends upon the supposition that reports of submarine accidents were much more reliable two hundred and forty years ago than they have been for the last forty years, during which period there have been authentic newspaper reports of the loss of eighty-two lives in attempting submarine navigation in the United States. Fifty of these lives were not lost at all, and the other thirty-two, though lost in a boat designed to operate as a submarine, were all lost when, and apparently because, she was not so operating."

These false reports are undoubtedly responsible for the backward state of submarine navigation to-day. The accident to Day practically put a stop to experiments for a hundred years.

Fulton, who went into submarine navigation before he took up steamboats, ran against a solid stone wall of prejudice. He built two excellent boats in France, but all his perseverance could not overcome the fear men have of going down into an element that they invariably associate with drowning. So, though he had the active interest and good will of the first Napoleon, Fulton had to drop the matter. Others took up the work. Almost every year a submarine boat in one form or another was presented to the world by some ambitious inventor. But these craft could make no progress. Day's ghost invariably rose against them.

In my own time, the thirty-two lives lost in the Confederate boat, and the fifty men drowned in the newspapers, stood as a solid barrier against me whenever I tried to take a step forward. But a breach has been made in the barrier. To a limited class at least, to the naval men of France and America, it has been demonstrated that the submarine is not a trap in which men are drowned like rats. The extension of this knowledge may be expected to be rapid. The commercial application of submarine navigation will follow almost immediately in the wake of this extension.

We shall soon be able, in the domain of peace, to say of the under-water boat what Admiral Hichborn said of her in war: "The submarine has arrived."

JOHN P. HOLLAND.

PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN.

BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

An article, by Flora McDonald Thompson, entitled "Retrogression of the American Woman," which was published in the November number of the Review, contains many startling assertions, which, if true, would be the despair of philosophers. The title itself contradicts the facts of the last half century.

When machinery entered the home, to relieve woman's hands of the multiplicity of her labors, a new walk in life became inevitable for her. When our grandmothers made butter and cheese, dipped candles, dried and preserved fruits and vegetables, spun yarn, knit stockings, wove the family clothing, did all the mending of garments, the laundry work, cooking, patchwork and quilting, planting and weeding of gardens, and all the house-cleaning, they were fully occupied. But when, in course of time, all this was done by machinery, their hands were empty, and they were driven outside the home for occupation. If every woman had been sure of a strong right arm on which to lean until safe "on the other side of Jordan," she might have rested, content to do nothing but bask in the smiles of her husband, and recite Mother Goose melodies to her children.

On that theory of woman's position, men gradually took possession of all her employments. They are now the cooks on ocean steamers, on railroads, in all hotels, in fashionable homes and places of resort; they are at the head of laundries, bakeries and mercantile establishments, where tailor-made suits and hats are manufactured for women. Thus, women have been compelled to enter the factories, trades and professions, to provide their own clothes, food and shelter; and, to prepare themselves for the emergencies of life, they have made their way into the schools and colleges, the hospitals, courts, pulpits, editorial chairs, and

they are at work throughout the whole field of literature, art, science and government. We should hardly say that the condition of an intelligent human being was retrogressive, in teaching mathematics instead of making marmalade; in instructing others in philosophy, instead of making pumpkin pie; in studying art, instead of drying apples. When hundreds of girls are graduating from our colleges with high honors every year, when they are interested in all the reforms of their day and generation, superintending kindergarten schools, laboring to secure more merciful treatment for criminals in all our jails and prisons, better sanitary conditions for our homes, streets and public buildings, the abolition of the gallows and whipping-post, the settlement of all national disputes by arbitration instead of war, we must admit that woman's moral influence is greater than it has ever been before at any time in the course of human development. Her moral power, in working side by side with man, is greatly to the advantage of both, as the co-education of the sexes has abundantly proved. When the sexes reach a perfect equilibrium we shall have higher conditions in the state, the church, and the home.

Matthew Arnold says: "The first desire of every cultivated mind is to take part in the great work of government." That woman now makes this demand is a crowning evidence of her higher development. For a true civilization, the masculine and feminine elements in humanity must be in exact equilibrium, just as the centripetal and centrifugal forces are in the material world. If it were possible to suspend either of these great forces for five minutes, we should have material chaos,—just what we have in the moral world to-day, because of the undue depression of the feminine element.

Tennyson, with prophetic vision, forecasts the true relations between man and woman in all the walks of life. He says:

> "Everywhere
> Two heads in council, two beside the hearth,
> Two in the tangled business of the world.
> Two plummets dropped for one to sound the abyss
> Of science and the secrets of the mind."

The first step to be taken in the effort to elevate home life is to make provision for the broadest possible education of woman. Mrs. Thompson attributes the increasing number of divorces to the moral degeneracy of woman; whereas it is the result of higher

moral perceptions as to the mother's responsibilities to the race. Woman has not heard in vain the warning voice of the prophets, ringing down through the centuries: "The sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generations." The more woman appreciates the influences in prenatal life, her power in moulding the race, and the necessity for a pure, exalted fatherhood, the more divorces we shall have, until girls enter this relation with greater care and wisdom. When Naquet's divorce bill passed the French Chamber of Deputies, there were three thousand divorces asked for the first year, and most of the applicants were women. The majority of divorces in this country are also applied for by women. With higher intelligence woman has learned the causes that produce idiots, lunatics, criminals, degenerates of all kinds and degrees, and she is no longer a willing partner to the perpetuation of disgrace and misery.

The writer of the article on the "Retrogression of the American Woman" makes one very puzzling assertion, that the present superiority of the sex immortalizes woman, but demoralizes man. Does she mean that a liberal education can only be acquired at the expense of one's morals? "The American woman to-day," says the writer, "appears to be the fatal symptom of a mortally sick nation." This is a very pessimistic view to take of our Republic, with its government, religion, and social life, and its people in the full enjoyment of a degree of liberty never known in any nation before! In spite of this alleged wholesale demoralization of man, we have great statesmen, bishops, judges, philosophers, scientists, artists, authors, orators and inventors, who surprise us with new discoveries day by day, giving the mothers of the Republic abundant reason to be proud of their sons.

Virtue and subjection, with this writer, seem to be synonymous terms. Did our grandmother at the spinning wheel occupy a higher position in the scale of being than Maria Mitchell, Professor of Astronomy at Vassar College? Did the farmer's wife at the washtub do a greater work for our country than the Widow Green, who invented the cotton-gin? Could Margaret Fuller, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frances E. Willard, Mary Lyon, Clara Barton have done a better work churning butter or weeding their onion beds on their respective farms than the grand work they did in literature, education and reform? Could Fannie Kemble, Ellen Tree, Charlotte Cushman or Ellen Terry (if we may men-

tion English as well as American women) have contributed more to the pleasure of their day and generation had they spent their lives at the spinning-wheel? No! Progress is the law, and the higher development of woman is one of the important steps that have been achieved.

There are great moral laws as fixed and universal as the laws of the material world, and there is a moral as well as material development going on all along the line, bringing the nations of the earth to a higher point of civilization. True, as the nations rise and fall, their great works seem scattered to the winds. For example, Greek art, it is said, has never been equalled, but we would not change our ideas of human liberty, our comforts and conveniences in life, our wonderful inventions and scientific discoveries, the telegraph, telephone, our modes of travel by sea, land and in the air, the general education and demand for better conditions and higher wages by the laboring masses, the abolition of slavery, rapid improvement in woman's condition, the emancipation of large classes from the religious superstitions of the past, for all the wonderful productions of beauty at the very highest period of Greek art. In place of witchcraft, astrology and fortune-telling, we now have phrenology, astronomy and physiology; instead of famine, leprosy and plague, we owe to medical science a knowledge of sanitary laws; instead of an angry God, punishing us for our sins, we know that the evils that surround us are the result of our own ignorance of Nature's laws. He who denies that progress is the law, in both the moral and material world, must be blind to the facts of history, and to what is passing before his eyes in his own day and generation.

The moral status of woman depends on her personal independence and capacity for self-support. "Give a man a right over my subsistence," says Alexander Hamilton, "and he holds a power over my whole moral being."

De Tocqueville cannot be impressed into the service of the writer, nor fairly quoted, even inferentially, as saying that the moral status of the American woman in 1848, owing to certain causes at work, was higher than it would be in 1900. Progress is the law, and woman, the greatest factor in civilization, must lead the van. Whatever degrades man of necessity degrades woman; whatever elevates woman of necessity elevates man.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

ON SEEING MADAME BERNHARDT'S HAMLET.

BY ELIZABETH ROBINS.

For a woman to play at being a man is, surely, a tremendous handicap in the attempt to produce stage illusion. There may be room for difference of opinion about her success in simulating the passions, but there is no real difference of opinion about her success in pretending that she is a man. However well she does it (and I do not believe it could be better done than in the instance under consideration), there is no moment in the drama when the spectator is not fully and calmly conscious that the hero is a woman masquerading, or is jarred into sharp realization of the fact by her doing something that is very like a man. It is a case where every approach to success is merely another insistence on failure. Madame Bernhardt's assumption of masculinity is so cleverly carried out that one loses sight of Hamlet in one's admiration for the *tour de force* of the actress. This is not to say that she gives us a man, but rather Sarah Bernhardt playing, with amazing skill, a spirited boy; doing it with an impetuosity, a youthfulness, almost childish.

The effect produced is only partly due to the actress's extraordinarily successful *picture* of a Prince in his first youth. This Hamlet's juvenility is partly an exemplification of that law by which, apparently, a woman, when she plays at being a man, may hope with some show of success to climb to the height of twenty years, and then stops short, suffering, it would seem, from arrested development. Of course, the voice is never the voice of a man; but, apart from that, watch Madame Bernhardt's quick boyish gestures, her little runs and jumps—notably that one down from the players' dais, when she laughs with all the keen enjoyment of a child, at a moment which is fraught for Hamlet with the most tragic foreboding! The execrable comic business of

cracking Rosencrantz and Guildenstern's heads together is another instance in point; that, like the cocking up of her feet on the bench to prevent Polonius from sitting beside her, is the action of a scampish schoolboy. Indeed, the thought kept returning upon me: it was not the gentle Prince, the melancholy Dane, that we were seeing, nor any man of any sort, but an amazingly good imitation of a high-spirited, somewhat malicious boy.

Most of us can recall, or at any rate imagine, a Hamlet who is something of a thinker in his own right, rather than a precocious lad reciting scraps of borrowed philosophy. We think of Hamlet as one who, with all his unsparing wit and occasional wildness of spirit, is essentially a Prince, and by that fact a man apart. Yet, had Hamlet been born a peasant with the same cast of mind, he would have walked lonely in ploughed furrows, or, solitary still, have watched his flocks upon the hills.

In so much as Hamlet is a Prince, we may look—if we lend ourselves to the illusion of the old time—for some grace of personal distinction, something that, in mere externals, proclaims the King's son, born to the purple and to overlordship. But, in so much as Hamlet is cut off from the common lot of men, not by his outward condition alone, but even more by his aloofness of spirit, in that fact we have the essential stuff of the tragedy.

The most worth-while things that Hamlet says have no inevitable connection with his need to avenge his father. If it is an evidence of Hamlet's greatness that we feel him to be there independent of the plot, it is because his mental isolation is the real tragedy—not that he is foully robbed of an earthly father, but that he is spiritually fatherless.

Now, melancholy, as Madame Bernhardt realizes, is not a popular manifestation. Her way of dealing with the difficulty is, as far as possible, to belittle and deny it. "Another way" even the great public permits, else were the tragedian's occupation gone; and that is to show that, in some specific instance, melancholy may be based on incontrovertible grounds, excused with eloquence, enforced with genius. In accordance with the wholesome popular conviction that melancholy not brilliantly justified is either dullness or mere indigestion, Madame Bernhardt, knowing her public well, gives the people a Hamlet who is sad, so to speak, with his tongue in his cheek.

Not only is this Hamlet leagues away from the true tragedy

of doubt, from fatal brooding on the insoluble mysteries of life, death and responsibility, but he is light-hearted, light-footed, quick to act, ready with laughter, and above all a boon companion of the self-same stuff as those about him.

I am not sure but what almost the first thing one unconsciously demands in Hamlet is the clear and definite *note of distinction*. The hot discussion as to whether Hamlet was fat or thin is of little moment to any of us, in comparison with this question of his distinction of mind.

We Americans were long ago shown a Hamlet who taught us that, however high an ideal the imagination might conjure up, it might yet fall short of a great actor's power to body forth a noble sympathy with noble things. That Hamlet of ours, who being dead yet speaketh, is, half unconsciously to ourselves, still the standard by which we measure the acted play. Sitting in the Adelphi Theatre, I heard again the voice of Edwin Booth soaring out beyond Madame Bernhardt's, and filling the distances she made no attempt to sound.

I had had this experience before, of trying to overlay the great tragic picture with a Hamlet so "reduced" that the old majestic outlines underneath appeared in a wide and mocking margin all round the meagre new design. But one does not anticipate such disappointments. Some of us fortunate ones go to the play for the pleasure of the thing, and with the subconscious intention of yielding ourselves up to the combined influence of playwright and play-actor. It is when these two seem to be widely at variance that our satisfaction is marred. When I first went to see Madame Bernhardt in this part, nothing was further from my mind than to be critical either of her undertaking or of its manner of accomplishment. I had no idea that I was about to be convinced that women cannot "do" men's parts. Indeed, I do not, while I am in the theatre, care two sous about scholarly distinctions. I want emotion; I admire good technique; but I have come first and foremost that my primitive love of the play may be ministered to.

Nevertheless, outside the theatre, it is not perhaps without interest, of a kind, to realize that the most satisfying Hamlet of our day was the one farthest removed from the crude, popular original whom the poet accepted in externals, but endowed with a different soul—the soul of Shakespeare. There are two Hamlets,

beyond a doubt, bound up in the play—the old Hamlet of the *Hystorie* and the new Hamlet whose father was the poet. This, I think, appears even more clearly in a little running comparison between Edwin Booth as the modern Hamlet—Hamlet with all his sensitiveness, profundity and subtilized passion emphasized—and the earlier Hamlet, crude, frankly comic, essentially "popular," of whom Madame Bernhardt gives us more than a glimpse.

Remembering that some of the most poignant passages of the scene with Ophelia ("To a nunnery, go," for instance) used popularly to be relished as comedy, it must be confessed that it seems more than likely that the Hamlet of Edwin Booth and of Mr. Forbes Robertson was a man undreamt of by Elizabethan audiences, with their relish for cruelty, and their readiness to accept a representation of insanity as "comic relief." But, if Hamlet in *action* brings out strongly the pre-Shakespearean character, it is the reflective Hamlet who is the essential Shakespeare—overlaying the popular "situations" with a poetry and wit which have salted the antique story against oblivion.

It is *this* Hamlet, he of soliloquies, Poet and Prince of Questioners, whom Madame Bernhardt slights, probably much as he was slighted three centuries ago. Looking back, I feel that she struck the keynote of her performance in the first scene where Hamlet appears with the Court. There is something pert and theatrical in her mien and expression that does not allow us to take much to heart the jaunty gentleman's little airs of melancholy. Rather are we disposed to echo the king: "How is it that the clouds still hang on you?" In spite of his assurance, we know he is wearing "but the trappings and the suits of woe." "Beyond these voices," I kept hearing the echo of that other, saying with a conviction that seems alien to living tongue:

> "These, indeed, seem,
> For they are actions that a man might play;
> But I have that within which passeth show."

Neither the little eloquent motion that went with the words, nor the proud, high carriage, as of one who walks apart without complaining, nor the unforgetable look out of tragic eyes—not any one of these things made people say (and feel) about Edwin Booth: "Here is one who makes good the poet's claim. Here we have not great words alone, but symbols of feeling and experience to which this actor has the key." No facile use of

frowns and sighs and moody airs can convey the mortal heaviness that Booth put into the lines:

"Oh, God! God!
How weary, stale, flat and unprofitable
Seem to me all the uses of this world!"

In his recapitulation of the hasty marriage, he compelled you to take sides with him, just as surely as he made you a sharer in his presentiment of doom with,

"It is not, nor it cannot come to, good,"

and in the flickering out of his sudden energy in,

"But break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue!"

Very marked was the contrast between the hail-fellow-well-met reception of Horatio, Marcellus and Bernardo by Madame Bernhardt, and Booth's princely courtesy; dropping at Horatio's

"My lord, I came to see your father's funeral,"

into the undisguised pain and shrinking of,

"I pray thee, do not mock me, fellow student."

Madame Bernhardt took the story of the apparition with less surprise than Booth. He stood during the scene, alert, keen to his finger tips, to listen to so strange a story. Madame Bernhardt sat and crossed her legs. I remember how quick and sharp Booth's questions rang:

"Armed, say you?"—"From top to toe?"—"What, look'd he frowningly?"—"Pale or red?"—"And fixed his eyes upon you?"

all going up in a staccato crescendo, and then falling in the deep, long breath with which he said, more to himself than to them:

"I would I had been there."

When Horatio puts in officiously, "It would have much amazed you," Booth's "Very like, very like" was almost a moody rebuff to one who would intrude upon his thought. Quickly he returned to his keen questioning, and with a brief admonishment got rid of his old comrades, not more summarily than kindly. You saw plainly what a grip the story of the apparition took upon him from the first. He was profoundly moved; no philosopher here, but the son of a dear father who had been made the victim of foul play. It was not in this first moment of amazement and emotion that he questioned, Can such things be? Madame Bernhardt, on

the contrary, was more collected and critical here—more "modern"—than in any part of the performance. Her questioning was meditative, with pauses between. She was more like a youthful Psychical Researcher, bent on employing scientific methods of investigation.

And yet I think her scenes with the Ghost appealed to me more than anything she did; particularly the first, where Hamlet's awe is shown to be modified, softened, by his great filial affection. It does, perhaps, take a French tongue to utter the word "father" with such an effect; but certainly, having seen a good many Hamlets, I never got so vivid an impression of the warm, personal relation between the buried Majesty of Denmark and his son as Madame Bernhardt gave me. The instantaneous flinging off of the cap upon catching sight of the apparition was perhaps too light-heartedly done—it had almost the effect of "Hurrah!" and a cap in the air—but the instinct that prompted it atoned for the triviality of the execution.

If, in "Angels and ministers of grace," she missed the majesty and solemnity associated with the great adjuration, it is only fair to remember that she had not Shakespeare's sounding lines to make her effect with. Still, as she stood with bared head and appealing, uplifted hands, the effect was so beautiful that it was something of a shock when, upon the speech, "I do not set my life at a pin's fee," Hamlet turned his back squarely upon the Ghost, and spoke directly to Horatio and Marcellus. Surely, at a moment so absorbing, those words, nominally to his friends, are not meant to be an interruption to the tension, but an awed continuation of it—a half-whispered thinking aloud, with fascinated eyes still held by the spectre. That Hamlet could for a moment turn his back upon it snapped the thread of feeling; showed that he did not take the apparition for a ghost who might fade into formless shadow at any moment. He advertised to us his entire confidence that, when he chose to turn round again, the spectre-king would be obligingly waiting there till he could secure his son's attention. But if the ghostliness of the scene had somehow evaporated, one was made to feel the humanity of Hamlet's exigency and the valid claim this much-loved father had upon his soul.

Booth made a great effort by rousing himself out of his hushed and awed absorption into a sudden fierce energy at:

"Haste me to know't, that I, with wings as swift
As meditation or the thoughts of love,
May sweep to my revenge—"

with a great upward flight of the voice that made you think of an eagle cleaving black cloud masses before a storm.

I ought, perhaps, to make the apologetic explanation, by the way, that, if I set down more of Booth in detail than of Madame Bernhardt, it is because, although I saw her yesterday, and that other Hamlet years ago, the old performance is vivid still from end to end, and the new one only here and there.

Her heavy-handed discourtesy to Polonius has been hinted at; and, although she gets the laughs she plays for, the effect of the scene as a whole is blunted by the obviousness of Madame Bernhardt's contempt of the Chamberlain. The infusion into the encounter of some natural civility heightens wonderfully the effect of Hamlet's bitter wit, as some of us remember to have seen.

She had a very fine moment at the end of this scene, where Polonius takes his leave: "You cannot, sir, take from me anything that I will more willingly part withal." The *"Except my life, except my life, except my life,"* was so entirely beautiful that one forgot for the moment that *this* Hamlet could never have meant it.

In the ensuing scene with Polonius, where the Chamberlain comes to announce the actors, Madame Bernhardt elaborates Shakespeare's laconic "Buz-buz" into a prolonged piece of comic business, affecting to follow a fly about, which ultimately she pretends to catch, herself buzzing vigorously all through Polonius's speech. The Chamberlain was made to appear in this an imbecile indeed; for, had he retained any of the shrewdness Shakespeare permits him in the earlier scenes, he would have sent straightway for doctors and strait-jackets, instead of continuing his speech under such painful difficulties.

Then, when the players are on and Hamlet tries to recall the lines about Pyrrhus, Shakespeare is thus improved upon;

Polonius (encouragingly, when Hamlet pauses an instant)—"C'est ca!"

Hamlet (very snubbily)—"Non, ce n'est pas ca!"

snuffing out the old man with a comic emphasis; and the obedient laughter runs round the gallery.

But, from the point of view of mere stage effect, Booth's

earlier, ironic forbearance with Polonius met its reward when his patience at last was spent:

> Polonius—"This is too long."
> Hamlet—"It shall to the barber's, with your beard."

It is noteworthy that, just after this, Shakespeare evidently means Hamlet to suffer some little prick of compunction for this public contempt: "Follow that lord," he directs, "and, look you, mock him not."

As might be expected, it is more in the great soliloquies than in other parts of the play that one misses the very words of Shakespeare. It would be idle to expect any actor to get the delicate aroma of irony out of, "Aye, there's the rub," when what he has to say is, *"Voilà l'obstacle";* just as before, when Polonius asked Hamlet, "What do you read, my lord?" instead of the briefest and most damning of all criticisms ever uttered, he must say *"Des mots, des mots, des mots."* Those little clogging particles have prevented the point from going home.

The absence of the poetic vehicle, however, does not account for the ignoble cunning Madame Bernhardt puts into the line, "The play's the thing." One is accustomed to thinking this should be treated rather as a desperate clutching at an appearance of action; a fobbing off of revenge by seeming still to feed it —with a lurking hope in the background that the play is the thing, not so much to catch the conscience of the King as to ease that of Hamlet, to show himself that the bloody deed he shrinks from is after all uncalled for.

Booth's Hamlet *stumbled* upon the device of the play. Out of stinging self-recrimination, lashing himself with scorn, he worked himself into a state of strong excitement, in which he pitched upon the first thing that came into his agitated mind as having the appearance of forwarding his mission of vengeance.

Madame Bernhardt speaks the lines with an air of shrewd satisfaction; she enters with zest into the office of detective. So far from the test being one to decide Hamlet's justification as well as the King's complicity, this Hamlet (whom even his enemy has called "most generous, and free from all contriving") has set his heart upon entrapping the King. We see him self-possessed, foot on chair, forefinger raised in meditative self-admonition, shrewd brows knitted—more sly conspirator than storm-swept John-a-Dreams.

The French version retains the scene of King and Queen interrogating Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, where the Queen says: "Did he receive you well?" and Rosencrantz, answering for both, and forgetting that on this occasion Hamlet has cracked their heads together replies: "Most like a gentleman."

Naturally, in the scene with Ophelia, more than in any other, the sense that Hamlet was not a man interfered with the illusion. Booth made you feel the lover in the lines, very softly spoken and with a new note of exquisite tenderness:

> "The fair Ophelia! Nymph, in thy orisons
> Be all my sins remembered."

If my memory serves me aright, he was seized by suspicion of Polonius or some eavesdropper spying on them just before he replies to Ophelia's offer to give back "the remembrances." In a flash, he was on his guard and had given the audience a key to his assumed hardness and bitter raillery:

> "No, not I;
> I never gave you aught."

He went on, talking really for the benefit of the listener behind the arras, piling up disappointment and perplexity for any one who had thought to spy upon him in a moment of unguarded tenderness.

Booth made a magnificent piece of arraignment out of, "I am myself indifferent honest," rising on the words "very proud, revengeful, ambitious"; and, his scorn gathering momentum, he poured out in a torrent, "With more offences at my beck than I have thoughts to put them in, imagination to give them shape, or time to act them in." A little breathless pause, and the contemptuous question: "What should such fellows as I do *crawling* between heaven and earth?" It occurs to me to wonder if there has ever been any one who could give us the height of the heavens above the earth, as he did here, without even raising that glorious voice of his. Did any one, before or since, ever make meanness the reptile that he showed it, with his slight, dragging emphasis on "crawling"?

I could not see that Madame Bernhardt suspected the presence of Polonius till the question, "Where's your father?" She ends the scene (after a singular effect got out of hissing at Ophelia) with, "To a nunnery, go!" thereby cutting Ophelia and

the audience out of the beautiful, "O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown," etc.

In giving advice to the players, the French Hamlet is not so much the fastidious and enlightened Prince, putting the players on their mettle by showing them he knows good art when he sees it—Madame Bernhardt is not so much that, as a precocious young gentleman, who fancies himself as an actor, and thoroughly enjoys laying down the law to plodding "professionals."

His relish of his own oratory could not be more plainly marked than she does it, in that little burst of laughter as she frisks off the platform. But what could be further from Hamlet's real mood than this whole-hearted pleasantry at a moment full for Hamlet of such foreboding?

Booth's assumption of self-possession, so that the King should suspect nothing before the test was applied, was felt to be the mere necessary cloak for his smouldering passion. This view seems to be indicated in the text, where Shakespeare shows Hamlet unable to await the culmination of his own elaborately laid plot, but on a wave of excitement (as he sees the king flinch) exclaiming, "The murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife!"

Here Madame Bernhardt's Hamlet, with something a little reminiscent of an urchin swarming over an orchard wall, crawls up the throne, till his eyes, not sombre and horror-stricken, but keen and glittering, are on a level with the King's. When he has surprised the guilty terror there, this Hamlet actually bursts out into peal on peal of laughter. His clever trick has succeeded, his *Schadenfreude* overflows.

By all the gods, no! Hamlet's blackest fears have been justified. His last excuse for doubting and delaying has been wrenched out of his grasp. The scene closes not on Hamlet's victory, but rather on his defeat; and he meets it, one would think from the text, with a feverish and mocking courage.

I remember, I never used to hear distinctly Ophelia's "The King rises," for Hamlet had risen, and, on the flood of his strong passion, the whole company, with smothered cries and frightened faces, was lifted up, swayed helplessly to and fro, and dashed against the rocks of fear. Booth's stage-management made more of the shipwreck of the King. Hamlet had evidently not been alone in his suspicions of foul play. The scene ended in a tumult, the Court scattered, the King flying, the darkness rent

with fitful torchlight and confused cries, and as these died in the distance, Hamlet's voice was over all crying in an ecstasy of tragic bitterness:

> "For some must watch, while some must sleep;
> Thus runs the world away!"

Madame Bernhardt's scene with the recorders was especially full of interesting and skilful touches. Booth used at this point —it is a small detail—at the climax of his indignation, to snap the pipe across his knee and throw the pieces from him. Madame Bernhardt keeps hers to make excellent business with.

Booth's Hamlet wore a miniature of his father hung round his neck. In the closet scene, the French performance shows the full length portraits of the two kings. The one of Hamlet's father is painted on gauze, and the apparition is made to appear within the frame by a sudden flood of strong light revealing, behind the painted gauze, the brilliantly illuminated figure of the actor who does the Ghost.

After flying to see if she could intercept the apparition as it stole away "out at the portal," Madame Bernhardt got a curious and touching effect by running back to the now dull and unilluminated picture, appealing dumbly for another sign, and passing pathetic fluttering hands over the unresponsive surface, groping piteously like a child in the dark.

Her original business with the dead Polonius, although meant to be in obedience to Shakespeare's direction, is now wisely omitted. One wished, however, that she had followed the old stage direction in dealing with the skull in the grave-yard, especially after seeing that she was as little sensitive about it as the grave-digger, and apparently as ready to see an old friend come down in the world, "knocked about the sconce with a dirty shovel." This skull, too, which had "lain in the earth three and twenty years," instead of being brown, discolored, was of a staring and indecent whiteness, as of bone boiled and bleached. It was not pleasant to see the grinning object handled so callously. Some of the dramatic effect, too, went by the board in this; for what's the use of bringing in the ironic emblem of mortality if it is treated as lightly as a lap-dog? Indeed, I feel sure that Madame Bernhardt treats her lap-dog more considerately, for it would be strange if she made gestures with it as unconcernedly as she does with the skull. If my eyes did not deceive me, she tapped the

grinning teeth with her finger; and she certainly is far from objecting as genuinely to the odor of mortality as Shakespeare makes Hamlet when he asks if Alexander "looked o' this fashion i' the earth, and *smelt so? Pah!*" Here the actor is expressly directed to *"put down the skull,"* but Madame Bernhardt could not only endure to hold it without "Pah!" she seemed to forget what it was she had in those eloquent hands of hers, as she emphasized feelingly the lines on imperious Cæsar by gesticulating with the skull of a former acquaintance.

It would be a work of supererogation at this time of day to dwell upon the magnetism, the untranslatable fascination that Madame Bernhardt exercises over her public, in whatever part she chooses to appear. But, granting the artistic handicap in this particular undertaking—namely, that Hamlet here is a woman and has not Shakespeare to speak—it is interesting to see what special aptitudes the great Frenchwoman brought to her task. Among the most notable of these is her wonderful mastery of sheer *poise;* that power she has of standing stock still for an indefinite length of time with perfect ease and grace, never shifting her ground, and equally never ceasing for a moment to be dramatic. It was when she stood so, her feet firmly planted, making only occasional use of sparing, clean-cut gesture, that she came nearest, I should say, to the effect that the artist in her wanted to produce. Here, again and again, one recognized her faculty of keen observation and paid tribute to the accomplished technique that translated her knowledge into action at times so vivid and yet sober. But there will be those, even among Madame Bernhardt's warm admirers, who will feel that, in this version of Hamlet, the great tragedy has been drained of its dignity, as well as robbed of its mysterious charm. It is as if, upon some moonlit, spectral scene, the noonday sun burst suddenly, routing the shadow legions, showing alluring alleys to be only sheep paths, and infinite distances to be barred and bounded by the common things of day.

ELIZABETH ROBINS.

BRAHMANISN.

BY SIR A. C. LYALL, K. C. B., G. C. I. E., MEMBER OF COUNCIL OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

In order to bring out clearly the point of view from which I shall approach this subject, I must begin by a few preliminary observations. We know that Christianity, the highest and purest Faith in the world, has always been essentially a militant and missionary religion, pressing onward unceasingly to extend its doctrines and to make fresh proselytes. We know, also, that in the seventh century of our era another Faith arose, even more intensely militant, more fiercely intent upon propagation than Christianity—the Faith of Mohammed or Islam. By this rival Faith Christianity was fiercely attacked, and was eventually driven out of Asia and Northern Africa, leaving only a few obscure sects, like the Armenians and Nestorians, surviving in countries which had once been almost wholly Christian. All the western region of Asia was easily overrun and converted by the Mohammedans; but eastward of Persia the spread of their religion ceased to coincide with the spread of their dominion; they could conquer India, yet they could only convert it very partially. In peace and war, they are always proselytising; nevertheless, Islam makes little or no material progress throughout Eastern Asia. A vast majority of the population inhabiting that side of the continent adhere to older beliefs, which differ profoundly from the creed of Islam.

The dividing line, the religious frontier between East and West Asia, runs, therefore, through India; for the two great religions of the East, Brahmanism and Buddhism, are both of Indian origin; and it may be broadly affirmed that, while all the dominant religions of the world are derived from Asia, the whole eastern side of that continent, including Japan, has been profoundly and permanently affected by the teaching and traditions of an Indian

ascetic, Sakya Muni, the Buddha. Yet, although Brahmanism has exercised a vast influence over the beliefs and worships of Asia during many centuries, and still numbers, at the lowest calculation, more than two hundred million votaries, it is not a Faith that can itself be traced back to an epoch or a founder; nor can any concise narrative be here attempted of its course, its changes, or general development. The utterances of certain semi-divine sages, the philosophic systems of some great thinkers and commentators, have authoritatively shaped the leading conceptions upon which the religion now rests; we know, also, that different ideas and rituals have been dominant at different periods, that there have been degradations and revivals, and that the doctrines and practices of North India have varied, and still vary, from those of the South. But here it is impossible to attempt more than a sketch in outline of the general characteristics of Brahmanism.

In the first place, it is neither militant nor aggressively missionary: it does not openly attempt to make proselytes, in the sense of persuading them or compelling them to come in. Secondly, it is not historic; it has sacred books, but no sacred history. And, thirdly, it has never been defined by formal creeds, nor has it ever accepted a single personal Deity. The general character of Indian religion is that it is unlimited and comprehensive, up to the point of confusion; it is a boundless sea of divine beliefs and practices; it encourages the worship of innumerable gods by an infinite variety of rites; it permits every doctrine to be taught, every kind of mystery to be imagined, any sort of theory to be held as to the inner nature and visible operation of the divine power.

Now, at first sight, this is not unlike the old polytheism of Greece, Rome, and the pre-Christian world generally, with its multitude of divinities and multifarious ceremonials. There are passages in Augustine's *"Civitas Dei,"* describing the worship of the unconverted folk among whom he lived, the deification of every natural object and even of physical functions, that might have been written yesterday by a Christian bishop in India. But then, one might ask, why was not all this paganism swept out from among such an intellectual people as the Indians, as it was out of the western countries, by some superior and more highly organized Faith? Undoubtedly, the permanent conditions and the course of events which contrive to stamp a particular form of religion upon any great people are complex and manifold; but

into an analysis of these elements I cannot go. It is sufficient for my present purpose to point out that the two sheet-anchors of Brahmanism are the institution of Caste, and the Sacred Books, both of which were unknown to European paganism. The effect of Caste is to give all Hindu society a religious basis; and the Sacred Books provide Brahmanism with a theology, that is, with a science or philosophy of religion. I believe I may say that the old polytheism of the Roman Empire had neither of these two things. According to Greek ideas, the business of framing laws for all departments of human life, of laying down rules of conduct, belonged to Politics; while the philosophers of Greece and Rome were rationalists and teachers of morals, they seem to have regarded the popular superstitions with good-natured contempt. They conformed to public worship that they might avoid odium and accusations of impiety, but they gave it no help or countenance; and in philosophic discussions they treated the ordinary polytheism as unworthy the notice of serious men. They never, or very rarely, gave an inner meaning to myths and fables, or read the minds of the people through their fanciful beliefs.

But the Indian philosophy does not ignore or hold aloof from the religion of the masses; it underlies, supports, and interprets their polytheism. This may be accounted the keystone of the fabric of Brahmanism, which accepts and even encourages the rudest forms of idolatry, explaining everything by giving it a higher meaning. It treats all the worships as outward, visible signs of some spiritual truth, and is ready to show how each particular image or rite is the symbol of some aspect of universal divinity. The Hindus, like the pagans of antiquity, adore natural objects and forces—a mountain, a river, or an animal. The Brahman holds all Nature to be the vesture or cloak of indwelling, divine energy, which inspires everything that produces awe or passes man's understanding. Again, it is very common in India, as it was in Greece and Rome, to deify extraordinary men, and the Brahman does not tell his disciples that this is absurd; he agrees that such persons must have been special embodiments of all-pervading divine power. In short, he accepts every variety of cult and objective worships as symbolical; it is merely the expression or emblem, suited to the common intelligence, of mysterious truths known to the philosophic theologian. In this manner, the gross idolatry of the people is defended, and connected with the loftier

ideas. It is maintained that God is a Pure Spirit, but to make Him wholly impersonal is to place Him beyond the reach of ordinary human interest and imagination; so it is well for the less advanced minds to be encouraged by forms and signs of His presence. All worship, it is said, is expressed through the senses symbolically. A temple or church is a visible mark of our belief that the divinity abides among us; an image is the mystical token of the indwelling spirit; while prayer and sacrifice are the preparatory training toward more intelligent devotion. What we can conceive in our minds we may well picture to our eyes: and, by this method, the innumerable shapes and sacred places of Hindu polytheism are consecrated and adopted into the higher theology. It is on this principle that all the innumerable signs and carved images of divinity are accounted for among the upper classes. Each form, and every detail of that form, they say, is the outer clothing of some idea or impression; pictures and sculpture represent some mode of the divine presence: although the high doctrine is that knowledge, not worship or ritual, is the true way that opens the door to the soul's complete emancipation.

Above and beyond the miscellaneous crowd of things and persons, living or inanimate, unseen or embodied, that are worshipped as possessed by divine power, we have the great deities of Brahmanism, from whom all this divine power proceeds, and in whom the principal energies and the fundamental laws of nature are personified. Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva are the realistic abstractions of the understanding from objects of sense. They denote Creation, Preservation, and Destruction, the constant succession of birth and death throughout all existence, the process of destroying to produce, and of producing to destroy. Here we perceive that, as soon as we pass upward through the disorderly mass of ordinary paganism, we come upon polytheism backed by philosophy; we may scatter the irregular levies, and are confronted by the outworks of disciplined theology. The great Brahmanic Trinity are adored with various rites and sacrifices; they have innumerable temples, images, and personified attributes. Yet to all the more intellectual worshippers, Vishnu and Siva represent the course and constitution of Nature. And, if you inquire further about these things, you will learn that all phenomenal existence is a kind of illusion, to be gradually dissipated by the acquisition of knowledge; for the reality becomes intelligible only to

those whose souls have been strengthened and clarified by long meditation, by ascetic exercises, by casting out all worldly thoughts and desires. To the eye of inner illumination, those who know God only by delusive appearances see no more than the shadow of divinity. And, conversely, to the empirical or naturalistic mind the whole religion is intelligible as a kind of reflection or mystical transformation of human experience, the vast shadow of the earth projected upon the sky.

But all Hindus worship directly the high gods of Brahmanism. Brahma, having accomplished once for all his work of creation, has retired into the background of the popular Pantheon; he has very few temples or images; Vishnu and Siva divide the allegiance of devout and orthodox people. It is impossible here to give the diverse names or emblems under which they are worshipped; yet some mention must be made of the Sakhtis—that is, of the divine forces of preservation and destruction, especially the female principle of productiveness, as personified by goddesses, the mates or consorts of Vishnu and Siva. The worship of women plays a material part in all polytheistic systems; and the grosser forms have been caught up and transmuted into loftier conceptions of divine maternity. In Brahmanism, the lower rites are unclean and disreputable, though they become purified in the higher regions of ideas; and a curious likeness may be observed between the consorts of the great Hindu divinities and the emanations, or abstract personalities, of the Gnostic systems that prevailed in the first ages of Christianity. These emanations were arranged in pairs of male and female; and, indeed, it is obvious that human speculation can only attach form or function to divinity by drawing upon terrestrial analogies.

Thus, Vishnu and Siva, with their consorts, are the pinnacles of the visible Brahmanic edifice; they are different manifestations of the Supreme Being; they represent among educated men separate systems of worship, which, again, are founded on separate schools or opinions regarding the relations between God and man, and the proper ways and means of attaining to spiritual emancipation. For, the whole purpose of the higher Brahmanism is to find and show the path which leads upward, from the simple unvarnished popular superstitions to the true and pure knowledge of the Supreme Being, by laying out a connection between the upper and lower aspects of religion. One of the cardinal points

upon which the two systems differ is in regard to what are called the Avatars—the bodily appearance of the Deity upon earth.

Vishnu, according to those who belong to Vaishnava tradition, has several times descended upon earth, and has appeared in various forms. From the high spiritual point of view, this tradition may be interpreted as a devout belief which helps worshippers to realize, so to speak, the relations between divinity and humanity, which brings the Supreme Being within our limited powers of conception, establishes a bond of sympathy, and allows us to address to Him prayers and offerings. In fact, the dogma of Avatars is symbolical of the spiritual link and intercourse between God and man; it sanctions and gives meaning to a widespread popular tradition, that divinities sometimes come down and mingle with mortals and their affairs.

Siva, on the other hand, is never represented by an image, always by an emblem of his powers, destructive or regenerative. He has no Avatars; and the high theologians of this school refuse to admit that the Deity assumes visible embodiment. They argue that, by assuming a man's body, He would become subject to the laws of mortality, to changes, imperfections, human passions, and the like, to birth and death—and this they hold to be impossible, and inconsistent with the divine nature. The Avatar, they say, is an illusion. They permit and encourage all the rites and worships of the people as making generally for devotion; but they maintain that the only true spiritual path to salvation, for the superior intelligences, is by ascetic practices, by meditation, by separation from all worldly thoughts and cares; so that the soul gradually obtains true communion with the Supreme Being, and becomes at last absorbed, like a drop into the ocean, into light and rest. The metaphor sometimes employed is that the soul is like the flickering lamp, tossed by the winds and darkness, which loses itself completely in bright, noon-day sunshine, and remains still and quiet. To this doctrine, the reply of the Vishnu worshipper (I am quoting from a writer in a contemporary Hindu magazine —the *Dawn*) is that it is too high for the people. Worship and prayer can only be addressed by ordinary folk to a personified Deity. The spiritual Brahma may be realized by intense thought and constant discipline of the mind, so that Spirit can commune with Spirit; but only the ascetic who has arrived at the loftiest stage of devotional contemplation can reach this height. In the

meantime, what is to be prescribed for the untrained, inferior souls? Man's spiritual cravings are as strong and as natural as his physical wants. What, then, should be his spiritual food? He should take shelter under something, to inspire him with hope, liberate him from fear, and qualify him to be grateful and loving so that he may be loved in return. A theology which does not attempt to be popular can never be generally useful; and so it is necessary to accept and believe in ways of approaching the Deity that can be used and understood by the people. Yet, each of these two schools only professes to show a different path to the same goal of the soul's liberation, and its absorption into Pure Intelligence; for the Hindu mind cannot accept, as an ultimate notion, a personal Deity caught in the meshes of time, space and causality. It must follow until He is placed somewhere beyond all phenomenal relations; although the problem of reconciling the conditional with the unconditional remains insoluble. This, I repeat, is the high philosophical religion at the back of the rough, outward, popular worship of all kinds of animals, stocks and stones, natural forces, deified men, local gods, and so on. I do not think that the common paganism of Europe in the old times had anything like this behind it, any more than the wild superstitions of uncivilized races have in other parts of the world at this day. And, certainly, the Indian religions have one great advantage unknown, I think, to the ancient polytheisms—they have their Sacred Books.

This, then, is the philosophic religion at the back of the popular worship, to which it gives an explanation and a final purpose. For Brahmanism holds out to all men, as its scheme of salvation, the hope of escape from the pain and weariness of sensitive existence in any shape or stage. If a Hindu be asked what is the object and ultimate good that he is striving to reach through religious rites and devotional exercises, he will answer "Liberation." Whether he be peasant or pundit, his reply will be the same; he must free his soul, the divine particle, from the bondage of the senses, from the pressure of encompassing phenomena, and so gradually become united with spiritual infinity. To attain this union, it must pass through very many bodies or forms of life; and whether the passage be short or long, easy or arduous, depends upon a man's deeds, whether they be good or ill, pleasing or displeasing to the high gods. Belief in the transmigration of souls

is common among all primitive races, having probably been stamped on the imagination of mankind by the constant alternation of death and life in the natural order of things animate. With the Hindus, it has become, universally, the shape into which they have cast the instinctive clinging to some future existence which belongs to all humanity; they are convinced that each birth is a waking out of sleep and a forgetting; and to the conception of a long journey, with many stages, they have added the good or moral purpose of purification and final changelessness. The inner self, that which speaks, is but a particle of the divine essence, which passes like a drop of water through cloud and river into the ocean. When we realize this to be the effective creed of Brahmanism, we can understand how such a system, with its long, laborious way to salvation, its antipathy to action, its preference of grace to works, and its conception of Divinity as something impersonal, remote, and everywhere diffused, stands totally apart from the energetic, unwavering religions of the West, from firm reliance on a personal God, the Judge and Moral Governor of mankind, to Whom all must give immediate account after death.

In regard to the Sacred Books, they contain, partly, the sayings, precepts, and mystic utterances of the ancient sages; partly, prayers and psalms; and, partly, abstruse speculations on the divine nature, with scholastic dissertations and commentaries. The modern students and teachers of the various schools or sects of Brahmanism treat these books as authoritative, and are constantly discussing, expounding, or adapting them to the ideas and circumstances of a people that is becoming profoundly affected by European modes of thought. One thing must be noticed in these Books, that they are not historical: they give no account of the rise or spreading of the religion, they do not trace it back to a founder, as in Christianity, Mohammedanism, or even Buddhism. The Hindu would say, in the words of an early Christian Father, that the objects of religious knowledge are not historical, that such things in their essence can only be comprehended intellectually, or through divine inspiration. And the fact that Brahmanism has no authentic and universally accepted sacred narrative, that it is not concentrated round the life and acts of a personal founder is, I think, one reason why it has remained diffuse, incoherent, without a central figure or dominant

plan. On the other hand, this very want, so to speak, of dogmatic backbone has left the religion elastic and tolerant, has enabled its teachers to assimilate and adapt the lower forms of worship, instead of endeavoring to destroy them.

Perhaps I may now have succeeded in showing where lies the true strength and backing of Indian polytheism, which looks at first sight so irrational, grotesque, and superficial. It is upheld and interpreted by the Brahmans, who hold the stewardship of the mysteries; so that, as the worshipper advances in intelligence and culture, he may find explanations which satisfy him, and inner meanings to account for outward forms. Although the Brahmanic religion is not militant, does not make war upon rivals, nor openly go about to make proselytes, yet it is always ready to instruct and admit the ignorant folk into its outer courts; and thus it gradually draws in the wilder races of India, who live in the woods and hills of the central region, or on the skirts of the mountains. It comprehends and absorbs miscellaneous beliefs and worships, treating all divinities as manifestations of universal power, discovering germs of truth in the lowest layers of superstition, and treating the way of ascent to higher notions as a kind of ladder, leading by steps from the bottom to the top.

"What is the meaning of Toleration in the Vedic sense of the word? Not that which makes all souls equal, all castes equal, and creates a confusion worse confounded, defeating the Providential design. The Sacred Teaching should be adapted to the souls in the order of their merit, but not that all souls, ripe or unripe, rude or unrude, barbarous or civilized . . . . . should be adapted at once to the Sacred Teaching. The right meaning of Toleration is—allowing each soul to stand on its own rung, and bidding it see below and see above, and understand that it has got over so many rungs, and that there are so many rungs to be got over still. The ladder is tremendously high. But if you should ill-advise that soul that its rung is false, and that your own rung, say several steps above the former, is true, and that it should get at once to your rung, is it possible or conceivable to jump over at once several intermediate rungs? In perfect concordance with the multifarious merits of the myriads of coexistent souls, the Perfect Lord has fixed the corresponding number of stages of religion."

In this extract from the writing of an educated Hindu of the present day, we have the working principle of Brahmanism, and its attitude toward the people at large, very fairly expounded. Nevertheless, we have always to remember that, while the religion is tolerant, philosophical, and non-militant, yet, if Brahmanism were attacked by persecution, political pressure, or by some dis-

tinctly aggressive heresy within its own dominion, it would make an obstinate and dangerous resistance; and that any offensive disregard of caste rules or social prejudices might provoke a violent insurrection. But this is merely to say that a pacific religion may be formidable in self-defense.

The secret of Brahmanism, therefore, is to make abstract religious conceptions popular by means of symbols, pictures, and images; and conversely to recognize the rude idolatry and nature-worship of the peasantry as being in some way the ignorant adoration of the greater gods. At the bottom of the religious scale, this worship is addressed to hills, rivers, or animals, to the thing or creature itself. Next follows the process of personifying the mountain or the flood, the tiger or the boar; they are the embodiment of deities who wield power, usually malignant; and it is gradually revealed that some profound theologic doctrine may be symbolically expressed by the same figures. On the slopes of the Himalayas, where Buddhism and Brahmanism are intermixed, they worship certain mighty female deities called the Divine Mothers, who are types or incarnations of powerful energies that can harm or help mankind. One of the most famous of these deities is figured to the people as the Diamond Sav, whose image may be seen at Benares, and who is also understood to be incorporate as the Abbess of a Buddhist nunnery in Tibet. Now, the Buddhist symbol of Ignorance, which is the efficient cause of all Illusion, is a pig; while, on the other hand, the wild boar, like other fierce and destructive animals, is worshipped by primitive folk in the hills and forests. A most capable observer, Sir John Edgar, believes—and I quite agree with him—that this aboriginal boar-worship has become identified with the philosophical type of ignorance and illusion; so that here we have at one end of the ladder of religious evolution a mysterious dogma, and at the other end a wild beast. We have the same example in central India, where the boar has become one of the twelve great incarnations of Vishnu, and I may quote an account of the transforming process, as it was described, thirty years ago, by a missionary who wrote the best handbook of popular Hinduism that is known to me:

"To the south-east of Ajmere is a district inhabited by a tribe called the Minas. An incident in the history of one of their progenitors, according to their present tradition, has led them to look on the boar as a sacred animal, though this may be a relic of boar worship. When the Mohammedans came to India, the Minas seem to have confounded

the Mohammedan horror of the boar as an unclean animal with their own regard for it as a sacred animal, and to have been induced, in some degree, to conform to their faith. In fact they were half converted to Islam. Their old idol, however, they still worshipped, but gave it the Mohammedan name of Father Adam. Subsequently, the Saiva Brahmans got hold of them. They did not persuade them to give up the worship of Father Adam or of the boar, but simply to allow that Father Adam was a name of Siva, and to worship the cow as well as the boar. Temples were erected in their principal villages and stones placed in them bearing representations of Siva as Father Adam, of a cow and a boar, and inscriptions to the effect that the Mohammedans respected the boar and the Hindus the cow, but the true followers of Father Adam respected both; and if they should neglect the worship of any one of the three, the worship of the other two would not benefit them. There are several Saiva temples in the district in which I heard the Brahmans invoke Mahadeva, and the Minas Father Adam."

The truth is that the method of reconciling all these religions with a double face, with an outer form and an inward meaning, is Mysticism. The Mystic is one who is illuminated by the light of real knowledge, who discerns the veiled divinity or the secret doctrine behind symbols, who perceives the unity of spiritual truth under many forms; and whose business it is gradually to lift the curtain to those who are fitted to understand, while he allows the stage-play to go on in front for the benefit of the crowd. This is, I think, the secret of the true Asiatic religion, and to a great degree the source of its strength and power of resistance. Of course, Mysticism has existed in all religions, and has everywhere had its dangers; everywhere, it has led to Pantheism, or the identification of God with Nature, and even to the self-deification of the Mystic himself—he fancies that he is himself divine and confuses himself with God. But, in the West, this dissolving power of Mysticism, which reduces all positive, outward religious beliefs and worship to symbolism, and regards the historical facts of religion as mere shadows and signs of mysterious truths, has been vigorously resisted both by Christian churches and by Islam. Instead of explaining the lower worships, they have trampled out and destroyed them; they have insisted on the unequivocal acceptance of the facts of sacred history as essential to salvation; and, undoubtedly, this has been one main reason why the militant Faiths have conquered and kept a permanent dominion.

But, in Eastern Asia, the two different faces of religion (I may call them the mythical and the mysterious) have remained

and have worked together—the outer worship for the people who must have their innumerable deities, their images, and their miraculous legends; the inner teaching that explains all these things as symbolical, as signs and shadows of divine truths. You will understand that Hinduism and Buddhism have never set out formal creeds, containing articles of faith which a man must accept at his peril; they have not turned dogmatic propositions, such as those contained in the Athanasian Creed, into ecclesiastical laws, so that a heretic who disputed them might, as in the Middle Ages, be punished as a pernicious law-breaker. All these masterful methods of enforcing unity of belief, which gave the Roman Church such power in the Middle Ages, and which caused religious wars and long persecutions, are unknown to the tolerant and somewhat indifferent religions of Eastern Asia. The people could always worship as they liked; and the priests, or stewards of divine mysteries, did not attempt to persecute, because they treated all outward forms and rites as of little importance, the one thing really essential being the inner truth which lay behind.

Nevertheless, I repeat that to my mind the strength, for resistance against outward attack, of these Eastern religions lies in the fact that the polytheism is backed by the philosophy; the ruder worships are supported by intellectual explanations, and the two forms are closely allied; indeed, they blend and run into each other. But I do not pretend that this kind of understanding between simple worships and subtle interpretations is unknown elsewhere. On the contrary, the gradual elevation and refining of ritual and doctrine has always gone on, is still going on, in all societies that have a studious and intellectual priesthood. You find it in the Roman Catholic church, which has a scientific theology for the elect, and manuals of simple devotion, full of miracles and saintly legends, for the masses. But, while it is the business of theology to provide a reasonable ground for implicit faith, no Christian church openly allows tampering with the plain statements of historic fact contained in Revealed Scripture, or permits articles of faith to be treated as anything but positive truths. Hinduism has neither one authorized revelation, nor a Church to guarantee and uphold it. Yet, in one way, the very looseness of its formation is an advantage, because it can assimilate and find room for almost any religious conception, treating everything as a fresh manifestation of the all-pervading divine

spirit. And Science troubles the Eastern Mystic no more than a fresh religion; for Science may be understood as merely a symbolical language, shadowing forth the truths of divinity. One may even treat the Asiatic process of assimilating and melting down all religious ideas as belonging to the general intellectual tendency to accept the continuous growth and elevation by slow change of all forms and feelings, and the gradual development of higher and wider truths contained in primitive beliefs.

As the Brahmans would put it, their religion has two forms: the interior, which is invariable; the exterior, which may be constantly modified and adapted to circumstances. The interior truths, the divine secrets, the real way of salvation, are known only to a few; the great majority of men, being timid and ignorant, are concerned mainly in propitiating the powerful and malignant influences by which they fancy themselves to be surrounded. As knowledge increases, as man succeeds in subduing and controlling the forces of nature, he overcomes or despises the troubles of this transitory life, he attains spiritual independence, and rises into a higher sphere of religion and morality. My suggestion is that a religion of this sort, which has its outworks in paganism, and its citadel in Pantheism, has always had great power of resistance and endurance, for the very reason that it can change and accommodate itself to social or intellectual conditions. How it will maintain itself in front of the rapid influx of European education and material civilization is another and much more difficult question. In India and in Japan, and to a certain degree wherever European influences have spread in Eastern Asia, they are changing the whole atmosphere in which fantastic superstitions, and metaphysical speculations, grow and flourish; they are introducing orderly government and pacific leisure, scientific methods of inquiry and critical reasoning. Yet, after all, the influence of Europe is mostly industrial and political; we are reorganizing the old-fashioned Asiatic governments and developing commerce and the sources of wealth. I hope that the morality, public and private, of the countries that are falling within the sphere of European influence will be improved. I am not sure what effect may be produced upon the profound spiritualism of Eastern Asia.

And this brings us to the weak side of a religion, which, though intensely spiritualistic, is founded on somewhat vague

philosophy, and embraces schools of thought, accepts different theories as to the divine nature. It has no dogmatic rulings upon such questions as are settled by Christian and Mohammedan creeds; and since it has no ecclesiastical laws, it requires no man's implicit obedience to its teachings I do not say that Hinduism contains nothing more than philosophic speculations and devotional rhapsodies. In the ascetic desire to be rid of the flesh, to extinguish worldly thought, and, above all, in the longing to escape illusion, change and all the ills of earthly existence, there is a dominant strain of morality; and the great doctrine of transmigration of souls may well operate as insisting on the penalties of sin and the way of ascending to salvation by purity of conduct. Yet Hinduism, and even Buddhism, has never succeeded in so limiting and clearly stating certain rules of faith and morals as to lay down and impress them upon the people at large, for their practical guidance in life. They have nothing, for instance, like our Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer, which order our lives and direct our consciences.

It would be presumptuous to attempt any kind of prediction as to the religious future of India, what will be the nature and direction of the changes that must follow altered circumstances and larger experiences. The antique polytheism will probably disappear, though slowly, before wider and more precise conceptions and before a higher standard of rational morality. Long ago, indeed, the Hindu philosophy struck out one line of thought that undermines all anthropomorphic conceptions of divinity—that ultimate Being must be out of relation with the phenomenal world, except, possibly, by an unconscious projection of creative energy. But metaphysical ideas, though they are the central stronghold of all religious systems, have little or no influence upon the multitude; and the more practical question is, what effect will be wrought upon educated Hindus by the teachings of physical science. The supremely dominant principle of modern times is that the world is in a course of continual evolution, that life from the protoplasm is but a phase of immemorable existence, and that the death of individuals is merely the natural process whereby all material forms are thrown into the crucible for reproduction in fresh diversity. But this principle has already been recognized by Indian thinkers, with the vital difference that to them the whole order of nature was spiritual, it was stated in terms of vast

metaphysical theories regarding the deified forces and the mysterious relation to phenomena of some Absolute Being from whom all souls issue, and to whom they return in dreamless sleep. The Indians could not agree to change a philosophic doctrine for a scientific discovery. On the contrary, they would accept Coleridge's view that the development theory, a theory of progress as regards the physical being, is typical of the progress of man as a spiritual being; that the living soul, springing from an unknown eternity, is capable of endless improvement, ever rising higher and higher through numberless cycles of existence. They would firmly resist the invasion of the spiritual domain by uncompromising materialism, which would insist on dissipating all the allegories, symbolisms, personifications, and theosophies, leaving only the mechanical processes of plastic matter, the observation of phenomena, and, possibly, as some cold comfort, the worship of Humanity. If we are to have the cultus of Humanity, why not of all sentient life, of Nature in its totality? And that will bring us round again to a materialistic pantheism. But the Hindu mind is essentially speculative and transcendental; it will never consent to be shut up in the prison of sensual experience, for it has grasped and holds firmly the central idea that all things are manifestations of some power outside phenomena. And the tendency of contemporary religious discussion in India, so far as it can be followed from a distance, is toward an ethical reform on the old foundations, toward searching for some method of reconciling their Vedic theology with the practice of religion taken as a rule of conduct and a system of moral government. One can already discern a movement in various quarters toward a recognition of impersonal Theism, and toward fixing the teaching of the philosophical schools upon some definitely authorized system of Faith and Morals, which may satisfy a rising ethical standard, and may thus permanently embody that tendency to substitute spiritual devotion for external forms and caste rules which is the characteristic of the sects that have from time to time dissented from orthodox Brahmanism.

A. C. LYALL.

THE NEW HISTORICAL ROMANCES.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

A PROPHET of the kind skilled in forecasting accomplished events would have little difficulty in making himself believe that the recent deluge of historical romance, now perhaps beginning to ebb, was something he had all along expected. He might even succeed in persuading others that he had known the flood was coming; but this would be of minor importance; the great thing for the prophet, if a man of conscience, is to convince himself; the rest easily follows. At the worst, in a case like the present, the hardiest skeptic could do no more than retort that the actual fact was what everybody had foreseen.

I.

The actual fact of historical romance had been with us all through the period when the natural tendency in fiction prevailed, just as this tendency is now present amidst the welter of overwhelming romance. But some of the great masters of the natural school have ceased to be, and some have ceased to write. Flaubert and Maupassant, George Eliot and Anthony Trollope, Tourguénieff and Dostoyevsky are dead; from Björnson, Kielland and Lie we hear seldom. Of the Spaniards, Galdós, Pardo-Bazán and Valdés, Valdés alone has recently published anything. In Italy the movement that swept all before it is only apparent in the work of Matilde Serao and Fogazzaro. In England Mrs. Humphry Ward alone seems active for truth in fiction; since "Jude" Mr. Thomas Hardy has done nothing considerable, and Mr. George Moore nothing since "Esther Waters." In France Zola confesses not merely in his abated energy, but in the sad explicitness of so many words, that he has "fought a losing fight." In Russia Tolstoy indeed has just spoken, after long silence in fiction, a word worthy his incomparable great-

ness in "Resurrection." In our own country, where every genuine talent, young as well as old, is characterized by the instinct if not the reason of reality, nothing of late has been heard but the din of arms, the horrid tumult of the swashbuckler swashing on his buckler.

If we inquire in our own case, or the Anglo-Saxon case, what in the psychological, sociological, or meteorological conditions will account for this state of things, we are met by the ready, the too ready, the even officious suggestion, that the accumulation of riches has vulgarized and the explosion of wars has brutalized the popular mind and spoiled the taste. There may be something in that, and something more in the more subjective implication that our race, having more reason than ever to be ashamed of itself for its lust of gold and blood, is more than ever anxious to get away from itself, and welcomes the tarradiddles of the historical romancers as a relief from the facts of the odious present. It is a race which likes a good conscience so much that it prefers unconsciousness to a bad one; and there may be something in the notion thrown out and in the notion that our appetite for gross fable has been stimulated by the spread of athletics among us, and that there is an occult relation between the passion for golf, say, and the passion for historical romance. One must not press a conjecture of this sort too hard, and it is interesting rather than convincing to consider how much the prevalence of that sort of fiction has to do with the prevalence of the muscular ideals, especially among women, who especially with us are the repository of such intellectual refinement as we have attained, and whose tastes and manners have been coarsened by sharing the rude sports and boyish games of men. Apparently, women must follow men in their literary pastimes if they follow them in their other amusements: very few women probably enjoy athletics as much as they pretend, and very few women probably are fond of novels of adventure; but athletics have flourished more and more since women took to them, and the novels of adventure have superabounded since our reading class, or reading sex, has pretended to enjoy them.

II.

The psychologist may be interested in tracing the obscure relations of these facts; but for the present purpose it seems

more useful to note that the novel of adventure, as a representation, or misrepresentation, of life soon exhausted the range of tolerable improbability. It had to escape into a region where comparisons and criterions could not follow it, and so we presently had that curious modern development of fiction on the lines of the old heroical romances which a few years ago filled the magazines with its phenomena. Imaginary thrones, principalities and powers in a map of Europe which the novelist changed with more than Napoleonic ease, became the ready, the eager prey of English and American soldiers of fortune, and the field of such deeds of love and war as have not been equalled since the heroes of the French seventeenth century romancers overran their airy Asias and Africas, and subdued their pretended Persians, their imaginary Egypts, and married the native rulers. The modern adventurers did not indeed encounter the giants, dwarfs and magicians of the old books of chivalry, but if they had met them, no one can doubt that they would have overcome them; for these Englishmen and Americans were equipped for their forays, in that extraordinary fable land where they triumphed, with all the science and culture of the nineteenth century.

They were, of course, not the heroes of the old heroical romancers; they resembled, rather, in everything but the humility of his origin, the good Corporal Fritz of the "Grand Duchess of Gerolstein," and the countries where they flourished were as probably ascertained as the hereditary dominions of that capricious but amusing princess. Their histories were the heroical romances come again, but with a modern difference; as the historical novels which have succeeded them are by no means the novels of Scott, of Manzoni, of Hugo, of Dumas, or even of Cooper. No reader could mistake them for the work of these authors, either collectively or severally, and yet they are as interestingly a reversion to the ideal, though not the scope of their work, as the late Gerolstein school was to that of the heroical romancers. Like the Gerolstein school, the new historical school pays its duty to the spirit of reality, up to a certain point voluntarily, and beyond that involuntarily, and its writers represent life as they have themselves seen it look and heard it talk. In one of the best of their books, built very, very carefully upon the model of Thackeray's historical fiction, and languaged with anxious scruple in the parlance of the eighteenth century as Thackeray reconstructed

it, the autobiographying hero has an instant of delightful naturalness when he says he "raised up in bed" and another when he reports a London lackey of George III.'s time as saying his master is "some better." We might have mistaken him for a Maryland gentleman of the colonial period, but these slight touches give him away for an up-to-date citizen of our imperial republic; and comfort us with the belief that the author, if he ever takes again to writing straight American, will not suffer from the inability to rid himself of Queen Anne English, which Trollope noted in Thackeray after his "Henry Esmond." Another of the new historical novelists makes a Franco-American backwoodsman of the Fenimore Cooper type employ phrases drawn from our actual slang; and yet another gives vivacity if not vitality to an English princess of the sixteenth century by having her speak and act like a little Hoosier hoyden. In a fourth the heroine thees and thous the father of her country without the warrant of Quaker breeding, and misbehaves herself upon most opportunities like a schoolgirl of our familiar *fin de siècle* sort. In the fifth we have Virginia life painted in talk so tall that it can never be measured except when by some happy accident one of the heroes forgets his lines, and tells a certain company of miscreants that he has "run with them long enough."

III.

Such a lapse is rare in that book, and I am willing to own that in citing these instances I have been testing the chain by its weakest link. When I have said this, however, in the interest of impartiality, I am not sure that it is true, even as regards the workmanship of the new historical school. One must recognize the fact that its writers have an ideal of workmanship, and that they aim at literary beauty with a praiseworthy constancy. They mean to have style, and they have each his or her standard to which they conscientiously devote themselves. But nature is the only model which can be followed with the assurance of unerring success, and literary beauty is so shy and evasive a thing that it will respond only to a beauty of the mind, and then only if it is not too much entreated. It does not appear from their work that these writers have invented any memorable personage, or represented any action that persists in the mind like an experience of the reader. In fact, all the links seem weakest in a chain

which fails to bind character and the incident significant of character together, which does not unite a truth to life with a nobility of ideal, or an artistic sense with an ethical motive.

If I find the new historical romance wanting in these essentials of good fiction, what do I find in it? That might not be easy to say without losing one's patience; for, after all, fiction is one of our most precious possessions, and if it is not good it is one of the worst things that can be. One cannot see it fall below the highest aim of the greatest novelists without a pang; and this highest aim of the greatest novelists has always been to move the reader by what he must feel to be the truth. For the civilized man no representation of events can give pleasure, or fail to give pain, if it is false to his knowledge of himself and others, though effected with art indefinitely finer than that which mainly offends the taste in our new historical romance.

If the cave dweller told tales of fighting and hunting, full of bloodshed and violence, he was probably true to life as he had known it, and if he celebrated revenge as one of its highest aims, and homicide as one of its noblest facts, his ethics were of the quality of his æsthetics. But that does not form, to my mind, a reason why a twentieth century, or even a nineteenth century, novelist should expect me to believe and to be edified in believing his representation that this was the fact or the ideal of life in the eighteenth, seventeenth or even sixteenth century. I am obliged to protest that it was not, but is untrue to what we mainly know of them. What we mainly know of those ages is that the great mass of men, high and low, were then actuated by the wish to be friends and at peace with other men; that they were often of humble and contrite hearts for their sins, and wished to bear themselves gently and not violently; that they, too, like ourselves, abhorred tumult and sought their happiness in religion and industry and learning, and often suffered for conscience' sake imprisonment and martyrdom, that we who have come after them might be the freer and safer and peacefuller in our lives.

But I find scarce a hint of this in the new historical romances, which are as untrue to the complexion of the past as to personality in any time, or rather as crudely tentative and partial. I find duels and battles set forth as the great and prevalent human events; I find pride and revenge worshipped as right and fine, but no suggestion of the shame and heartache which have followed the

doers of violence in all times and countries since the stone age. There is such spilth of blood that you might almost expect to see it drip from the printed page, and nowhere the consciousness that it is better to suffer wrong than to take the life of the vilest miscreant. In the several ages when the Quaker conceived of Christ in conduct, the Puritan of the personal conscience and the Baptist of toleration in religion, the philosopher of positive freedom in thought, they had no part in life as it shows itself to our new historical romancers. The moral and mental activities of those times were apparently confined to incidents which you come upon so often in their imaginary histories that they stamp themselves on the memory as the only incidents.

"The ruffian against whom I was pitted began to draw his breath in gasps. He was a scoundrel not fit to die, . . . unworthy of a gentleman's steel. I presently ran him through with as little compunction, and as great desire to be quit of a dirty job, as if he had been a mad dog."

" 'Now, I'll scalp you,' he cried in a voice terrible to hear; and with his words, out came his hunting-knife from its sheath. . . . In fact, he had taken off part of Maisonville's scalp, . . . insisting upon completing his cruel performance. . . . The big man wept with rage when he saw the bleeding prisoner protected. 'Eh bien! I'll keep what I've got,' he roared, 'and I'll take the rest of it next time!' He shook the tuft of hair at Maisonville, and glared like a mad bull."

"Young Brandon replied, 'Stand your ground, you coward! . . . If you try to run, I will thrust you through the neck as I would a cur. Listen how you snort.' . . . Judson tried to keep the merciless sword-point from his throat. At last, by a dexterous twist of his blade, Brandon sent Judson's sword flying thirty feet away. The fellow started to run, but turned and fell upon his knees to beg for life. Brandon's reply was a flashing circle of his steel, and his sword-point cut lengthwise through Judson's eyes and the bridge of his nose, leaving him sightless and hideous for life."

" 'Now, then, have you got that officer ready? . . . Up with him, then!' At the command, half a dozen men pulled on a rope which had been passed over the bough of a tree, and the young subaltern was swung clear of the ground. He struggled so fiercely for a moment that the cords which bound his wrists parted and he was able to clutch the rope above his head in a desperate attempt to save himself. It was useless, for instantly two rifles were leveled and two bullets sent through him; his hands relaxing, he hung limply, save for a slight muscular quiver."

The inventors of the hideous incidents with which the new romances teem have no turn for character if they had the time for it; and possibly they do not prefer bloodshed, but are simply too busy with butchery for anything else. They are mostly gentlemen of peaceful callings and the instincts of law-abiding citizens,

with probably no love of homicide in them, who would rather stay away from a slugging match than not, and would not greatly enjoy an electrocution. Any pleasure in their bloody business, if it could be realized, is still less imaginable of the young ladies who deal in its horrors. These can hardly have witnessed violence of any kind, and must sicken at the sight of blows with the fist, much more thrusts with a sword or shots with a pistol; and it may well be said that they mean no harm by their ideals of militant manhood. Very likely their ideals do not do all the harm which is their logic, but it is all the same their logic; just as the logic of the royalties and nobilities which abound in the new historical romances is that life cannot be beautiful or great without them. Their testimony, false witness as it is, is against the American life of individual worth, without titles and ranks, and only the distinction of honorable achievement.

To be sure, one must not take the books too seriously. When their manners and their morals were the property of the dime novels, they sometimes inspired a neighborhood of boys to make for the Western plains in order to become or to destroy Indians; and sometimes moved them to attempt burning one of their number as a captive at the stake. But, after all, such things seldom happened, and now that the dime novel has got into good literary society, and flourishes in periodicals of the highest class, with a tradition of exacting taste in fiction, it is not credible that its ideals will immediately affect the conduct of its readers. The vast majority of readers will rise from the books as guiltless of any wish to realize the ideals of conduct presented to them as the gentle young girls and amiable gentlemen who write them. But that such fiction will in a measure and for a while debauch the minds and through their minds the morals of their readers, is reasonably to be feared even by the optimist. That delicate something which we call tone, whether intellectual or ethical, must suffer from an orgy of the kind as it would suffer from an excess in opium or absinthe.

IV.

Again I find myself growing too serious about a phase of fiction which I cannot denounce unsparingly without suspecting myself of forcing the note; and if I have borne on too hard I should like to make amends. I am bound to say that what I think the grotesque, the ludicrous immorality of the new histor-

ical romancers does not include the sort of immorality which we have first in mind when we use the word. The relations of the sexes, so far as I have noticed, are mostly most exemplary in them. There is nowhere anything but a wish to get the lovers married at all hazards, or as many hazards as possible. Perhaps the books would be a little truer to human experience in the past, not to say the present, if the behavior of their heroes and heroines, in this respect, was not so irreproachable; but I am not going to make this a reproach to their authors, who have enough to answer for in their inculcation of revenge, pride, anger, contempt and other bad passions. It seems to be a condition of getting their tremendous affairs transacted that the hero should often be a ruthless homicide; but he really must be a tiresome ass or an impossible peacock, not to be mismated with the pert and foolish doll that passes for the heroine. He, being what he is, is apt to be of a solemn behavior; but she is commonly very sprightly, with extraordinary social gifts for getting herself into trouble; she must usually have a touch of comedy, an arch manner, a habit of dropping ironical curtseys, and of making satirical speeches the wit of which she might be supposed to keep her secret, if they were not of such manifest effect upon the other characters.

Characters? Are they characters, any of those figments which pass for such in the new historical romances? They are hardly so by any test of comparison with people we know in life or in the great fictions. They are very simple souls, whose main business is to impersonate a single propensity, and immediately or remotely to do the hero and the heroine good or harm; to show them off; to die by his hand, or to cherish a baffled ambition for hers. When they are historical figures their deportment is such as would be imaginable of the historical figures of the Eden Musée if these were called upon to leave their statuesque repose and move and speak.

No pains have been spared to make them life-like, and, as I have suggested, the novelists have each been anxious to produce a literary masterpiece. The trouble with their attempt seems to be that it is only too literary. It appears that we may have some virtues in excess; that in matters of art it is possible to be so artistic as to exclude nature. I should say that the mistake of the new historical novelist, when his æsthetic intention is most admirable, was to have done just that. It is hard

to get nature to take part in one's little effects when it is an affair of contemporary life; if it is an affair of life in the past, her co-operation is still more reluctant. But literature is always willing and ready to lend a hand to the literary man; it is at home when he calls; it is never previously engaged when he invites it, as nature is so often; and perhaps it is not altogether their own fault that the new historical romancers have got her help so seldom. I fancy moments when they have tried for it, and been disappointed, and so turned to the faithful friend of authorship, and got on with literature alone. At the best, the historical novelist must often do this, for the life which he wishes to portray exists only in the records, and speaks a language surviving only in the books. If he is a very great talent, he will divine that nature, especially human nature, is the same from generation to generation; and that his only hope is to put the present frankly into the clothes of the past. But he seems to me not to be a very great talent in the recent instances, or of any gift so marked as the instinct for hitting the fancy of our enormous commonplace average. Besides, what is a poor man to do with the nineteenth century in eighteenth or seventeenth century clothes, if he has at the same time to celebrate the ideals of the stone age? His difficulty is simply doubled.

V.

I do not think it by any means a despicable thing to have hit the fancy of our enormous commonplace average. Some of the best and truest books have done this. "The Pilgrim's Progress" did it; "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did it; Mr. Clemens's "Roughing It" did it; Longfellow's poetry did it; Mr. James Whitcomb Riley's poetry does it; Edward Bellamy's gospel of justice in "Looking Backward" did it. But what is despicable, what is lamentable is to have hit the popular fancy and not have done anything to change it, but everything to fix it; to flatter it with false dreams of splendor in the past, when life was mainly as simple and sad-colored as it is now; to corrupt it to an ignominious discontent with patience and humility, and every-day duty, and peace.

This, after all the allowances and exceptions, is what the new American school of historical romance must do, not of set purpose or deliberate design, but largely in obedience to the mystical law of interaction which in human affairs makes every power the

agent as well as the authority. A vulgar literature is because the vulgar taste for it was, and the vulgar taste for it will be, because the vulgar literature has been. Cause and effect are so intimately associated in such things that we cannot part or distinguish one from the other; and my own failure to do so is confessed in turning from it to recognize the extraneous fact that the popularity of this sort of fiction seems already to be waning, however long its influence is obscurely to continue. There are clear signs that its immense favor is abating; there are sullen whispers in the Trade that the historical romance, as a "seller," has had its day; and a corresponding impatience in the simple-hearted candor of those unliterary critics who feel duped in having yielded to the temptation of reading a book because everybody else was reading it. These critics seem, if you hear them complain, not to be much comforted by the assurance of some literary critics that they were indulging a very wholesome appetite in gorging themselves at the bloody repast spread by the historical romancers; and I own that I sympathize with them in this. I do not see why the spectacle of every sort of brute adventure, even when it is not bloody, should be thought particularly wholesome. I suspect that the taste for it is not so very simple or natural in civilized and cultivated people, who might be much more simply and naturally attracted by a social situation, a moral problem, or a psychological question, and would revert to brute adventure only in their abnormal moods.

But the confession of the dupes, which, though so justly indignant, is also so amusing, would do little more to philosophize the phenomenon than the whispers of the Trade. That work must be left, apparently, to some synthetic student of our time, who may hereafter get a better perspective of the fact than seems possible now. I have tried to note such phases of it as appeal to the contemporary observer, and there are, doubtless, others which will have caught the attention of other inquirers, who may possibly offer some plausible explanation of one curious fact of the situation.

While the Gerolstein school of heroical romance was almost wholly of English origin, the new historical romance is almost altogether native American. I can think of no new English historical novel which has enjoyed the overwhelming popularity of so many American romances; though the two countries seem to be

moved now by so many impulses in common, and to be swollen by the same race-conceit, the same ignoble ideals of force. It is possibly because the English have looked more constantly and more profoundly into the past, and found there was nothing in it, that they have invented imaginary realms, and left the exploitation of history to our more ardent, more inexperienced romantic school. It is certainly simpler to cut loose from any sort of fact, and abandon one's self to pure fake as the English have done. One cannot, then, be brought to book, or in any wise held responsible by the reader's knowledge; the answer to all criticisms of manners, morals, costume, parlance, in the work of the Gerolstein school, is that it *is* pure fake. With historical fiction it is different and much more difficult. The novelist is obliged to keep a conscience so far moral that he may not commit the solecisms he can help, or make the misrepresentations that he is likely to be found out in. He, indeed, addresses a crude and ignorant audience for the most part, but there is always a chance, which he must guard, that some better informed person may overhear him. He is not so free as the heroical romancer, and hardly even as free as the poor realist who restricts himself to reporting what he knows of life, and otherwise keeps off the grass in the straight and narrow path of truth.

VI.

Do I, then, wholly dislike historical fiction as impossible and deplorable? On the contrary, I like it very much in the instances which I can allege for the reasons I can give. I like Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," Richardson's "Pamela" and "Clarissa," Frances Burney's "Evelina," Maria Edgeworth's "Belinda," Jane Austen's "Pride and Prejudice," "Northanger Abbey" and "Emma," all of Anthony Trollope's novels and most of George Eliot's; my catholic affection for historical fiction embraces even Fielding's "Tom Jones" and De Foe's "Roxana." These and the novels like them are what Mr. Kipling has somewhere declared the only historical novels, because, being true to the manners of their own times, they alone present a picture of the past, worthy to be called historical. But I go farther than this, and delight in certain retrospective novels which I find as veracious as the faithfullest circumspective novels. First and foremost among them is Tolstoy's "War and Peace," which presents an image of the past

that appeals to my knowledge of myself and of other men as unimpeachably true. There a whole important epoch lives again, not in the flare of theatrical facts, but in motives and feelings so much like those of our own time, that I know them for the passions and principles of all times. It is perhaps because the characters and events are separated from the author's day by only a generation that they are so well ascertained, or perhaps they are made equal with us in date by the author's conception of the human solidarity as always essentially the same; so that when I read a chapter of "War and Peace" it is as convincing of the external fact from the internal truth as a chapter of such a palpitant actuality as "Resurrection." For a like reason our greatest romancer, Mark Twain, by art as unlike Tolstoy's as possible, enables one to have one's being in the sixth century with his "Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court." He, too, in an imaginative scheme as wildly fantastic as Tolstoy's is simply real, is a true historical novelist because he represents humanity as we know it must have been, since it is humanity as we know it is. His historical fiction is as nobly anarchical as most historical fiction is meanly conventional in the presence of all that wrong which calls itself vested right; and the moral law is as active in that fascinating dream world which he has created as it is in this waking world, where sooner or later every man feels its power.

I like Mark Twain's historical fiction above all for this supreme truth, just as I like Tolstoy's; but I am not above a more purely æsthetic pleasure in such an historical novel as Stendhal's "Chartreuse de Parme," though this was written so near to the supposed time of the action that it might be called reminiscential rather than historical. In this, as in "War and Peace," and "I Promessi Sposi," which I like equally, a whole epoch lives again morally, politically and socially, with such entirety and large inclusion that the reader himself becomes of it.

It is by some such test that we are to know the validity of any work of art. It is not by taking us out of ourselves, but by taking us into ourselves, that its truth, its worth, is manifest; it convinces us by entering into our experience and making its events part of that, if it does not enter into our conscience and make its ideals part of that. My grief with our new historical romances is that they do neither the one nor the other; and though it is not a serious grief, the thing itself being so unserious, I must insist upon it, for it is greater than any other feeling I

have concerning them. If one could go and acquire a little inexperience, or a good deal; or if one could rid one's self of one's moral sense as easily as one sometimes defies it, perhaps one might better enjoy these books; and I wish to say here, while there is yet a minute, that their badness does not seem wilful in any sort. In the literary sort, though it is often so grotesque and hopeless, it is at other moments relieved by the distinct intention of art in construction and treatment. One cannot say that there is ever much more than the intention; but such an intention is always respectable; and in some of the books there is a real feeling for nature, poetically expressed, though, so far as I have noticed, never a real feeling for human nature. In that all the rest fall below, and immeasurably below, Colonel J. W. De Forest's recent story of the revolutionary beginnings in Boston. "A Lover's Revolt" is in indefinitely smaller compass, a story akin to "War and Peace" through the moral quality of truth to universal and eternal human experience. The author makes the epoch his own by knowledge and penetrating sympathy; and the battle pieces, if less fearlessly painted than the bloody scenes in the romances which I have refrained from distinguishing by name, have the fascination of a soldier's talk about such things. It is not only from his own experience of war that Colonel De Forest paints war as it is, with Tolstoyan fidelity, but from the artistic conscience of a true novelist. This has before availed him in his novels of contemporaneous American life, though it has not availed him with a large public, which seems to be sometimes as wonderfully missed as made. It is not probable that in the wane of the historical school his book, which so easily outvalues them all in the qualities of real historical fiction, will enjoy their spectacular vogue. It has its weak points, and it is a little too thumpingly patriotic for my pleasure; but its weak points are not so many and its patriotism not so vainglorious as our public seems to like in historical romance.

The patriotism in Edward Bellamy's posthumous romance, "The Duke of Stockbridge," is full of a misgiving which the retrospective patriot of our day always does well to acquaint himself with as a part of our national history. It is with the short and simple annals of the poor, as they may be read in the facts of that squalid period immediately following the Revolution, that this admirable book concerns itself; and if it is bare and bleak in the atmosphere to which it exposes our national pride, it is prob-

ably not less veracious for that reason. Economically it represents that terrible time when the depreciated Continental currency made the hard-working poor the easy prey of the gentleman class—the lawyers, doctors, shop-keepers, preachers and schoolmasters—all through New England, and the loathsome jails were choked with imprisoned debtors; when the poor hated the rich as never before or since in our country, and the rich ground the faces of the poor with a secure conviction of their right to do so that very few millionaires now enjoy. Politically it celebrates a phase of Shays' Rebellion, which was foredoomed to failure, and has been easily handed down to obloquy, but which is here shown as grounded in such suffering as few people have tamely undergone. On the personal side, the story is intensely vivid, and its characters live with the life that is our nature to-day, and constitute it truly historical by their truth to themselves and to us. It was by a series of chances that the book remained unpublished while the author was with us, but more than ever, in reading the story, imperfect and wanting as it is in those last touches which he would have known how to give it, one realizes how great a loss his death was not to humanity only, but to the humanities; how infinitely beyond all our other historical romancers, his fine imagination would have carried him in fiction.

VII.

In my praise of these two books I must own to having got rather far away from both the temper and the text of my sermon. After all, the sources of loving or hating in any sort will not be successfully interrogated; and I am sensible, at the end, of leaving the popularity of the present or recent historical school much the same mystery I found it. I will not risk any reputation for prophecy I may have acquired by too frankly predicting the end of that school. It may be beginning to be recent, or it may have only begun to be present. If we suppose that the young and strong, if not very sage or clear, generation now swelling the census is tired of it, there are always generations of the young and strong to come, who will perhaps be no sager or clearer than this. But we have still a republic and not yet an empire of letters, and no one is obliged to read silly books. There are plenty of wise ones which some of us have not read.

W. D. Howells.

CHRISTMAS CAROLS.

BY NORA HOPPER.

THE EVE OF MARY.

Sing out, and with rejoicing bring
Shepherds and neatherds to their King—
  Their King who lies in stable-stall,
With straw for all His plenishing;
  Who in His hands most weak and small
  Doth hold the earth and heavens all:
    Sing loud, the Eve of Mary!

Bring in the soft ewes and their rams,
And bring the little crying lambs;
  This stable's wide enough for all.
Bring hither all the bleating dams,
  And bid them crouch around the stall,
  And watch the wonders that befall
    Earth, on the Eve of Mary.

This mother-maid with drooping head
Hath but a straw-heap to her bed;
  Yet, did she list, would angels come
And make a palace of her shed,
  With myrrh and music bring Him home—
  'Mid these glad mouths the one mouth dumb—
    Here, on the Eve of Mary.

But rather would she lie below
Thatched roof, and hear the north wind blow,
  And pattering footsteps of the rain.

Ay, rather would she pay her throe
And take her joy: to quit all pain
His lips are on her breast again—
Sing low, the Eve of Mary!

Sing low, indeed; and softly bleat,
You lambing ewes, about her feet,
Lest ye should wake the Child from sleep.
No other hour so still and sweet
Shall fall for Mary's heart to keep,
Until her death-hour on her creep—
Sing soft, the Eve of Mary!

CAROL OF MARY AND MARIAMNE

Was a Maiden sweet to see,
White and pure as lilies be;
Black as bird's wing was her hair
Folded meekly on her brows;
Like a moonbeam in the house
Went she, leaving blessings there.
Joseph, the old carpenter,
Saw, and loved, and wedded her.

Was a Lady great and fair,
With red gold upon her hair—
Plaited full and purfled deep.
Herod took her for his bride,
Set her splendid at his side,
Kissed her doubts and fears to sleep.
High-born dame and peasant may
Wedded on the selfsame day.

Mariamne's gold-shod feet
Were too dainty for the street;
Barefoot the girl Mary went
From her mother to her lord.
Mariamne's bosom-bird

Sang her sick with discontent.
Mary's breast-bird did not stir
Till an angel came to her.

When she prayed within her room,
Rose and lily-flower in bloom
Were the only sweets she had;
But the room was not so poor,
Since God's angel in the door
Stood, and gave her greeting glad:
"Blessed, and a Maid thou art,
With thy Son beneath thy heart!"

Mariamne sewed nor spun
Birthrobes for her little son.
Like to carven ebony,
Mariamne's hair lay spread
On gold cushions sewn with red.
Divers sought and spoiled the sea,
That her neck no pearl might miss
Tiréd for King Herod's kiss.

Mary's pains on her gat hold
When the winter night was cold;
Was a manger for her bed:
And no music and no charm
Bade avaunt the pain and harm.
Bitter was her bearing-bread,
Tears were all her bearing-wine,
Where she lay among the kine.

Mariamne lay on silk,
But her man-child lacked the milk.
Lutes and flutes made music sweet
When the birthing-pain grew sore.
Charms were written on her door,
Amulets were on her feet.
Mary had no crown to hide
Where her sweat of sorrow dried.

Mariamne wailed, and slept,
And forgot that she had wept;
  While her women night-watch held
Round the son that she had borne,
Lapped in silk a queen had worn—
  Garments scented and be-spelled.
Little God did her deny,
Yet her mother-breast was dry.

Mary in the stable lay—
Mary Mother, Mary may—
  Held her Babe upon her breast,
Sang Him lovely lullaby.
But the death that He would die
  Knew not, and so lay at rest,
Holding God and Man in one,
While her bosom fed her Son.

INDEX

TO THE

ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIRST VOLUME

OF THE

North American Review

America—Forecast of the Twelfth American Census, 90; America's Duty in China, 145; America's Share in a Partition of China, 171; America's Treatment of the Chinese, 214; Imperialism America's Historic Policy, 246; Catholics and American Citizenship, 320; Retrogression of the American Woman, 748.

American Citizenship, Catholics and, 320.

American Woman, Progress of the, 904.

American Woman, Retrogression of the, 748.

Anarchy, Nihilism and, 302.

Anglo-Saxon Race, The Future of the, 802.

Anti-Foreign Feeling in China, Causes of, 182.

Art of Robert Louis Stevenson, Notes on, 348.

Asia, Ocean Transportation to Eastern, 76.

Asiatic Conditions, Effects of, Upon International Policies, 609.

Assassination Mania, The, 314.

AUSTIN, O. P. A Century of International Commerce, 664.

BALZAC, HONORÉ DE. Modern Government, 769.

BARRETT, JOHN. America's Duty in China, 145.

BELLAIRS, CARLYON. The Responsibility of the Rulers for the Disturbances in China, 158.

BERESFORD, LORD CHARLES. The Future of the Anglo-Saxon Race, 802.

BIGELOW, POULTNEY. Missions and Missionaries in China, 26.

Boat, The Submarine, and Its Future, 894.

Boers — The Settlement in South Africa After the War, 124; The Ultimate Triumph of the Boers, 135; British Strategy in South Africa, 259.

BONSAL, STEPHEN. What the Chinese Think of Us, 411.

BOULGER, DEMETRIUS C. America's Share in a Partition of China, 171.

Brahmanism, 920.

"British Commerce, The Decline of," 577.

British Strategy in South Africa, 259.

Bryan or McKinley? 433.

BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS. The Election of 1900, 788.

Buckle, Notes on, 55.

Buddhism, 517.

Cable-Line to the Philippines, The Projected, 82.

CALMETTE, ALBERT. The Plague at Oporto, 104.

CARNEGIE, ANDREW. Bryan or McKinley? 495.

Catholic Citizens and Constitutional Rights, 594.

Catholics and American Citizenship, 320.

Causes of Anti-Foreign Feeling in China, 182.

Census, Forecast of the Twelfth American, 90.

Century of International Commerce, A, 664.

CHAMBERLAIN, EUGENE T. Ocean Transportation to Eastern Asia, 76.

Chaucer, 712.

Children, State Care of Dependent, 112.

China—Mutual Helpfulness Between China and the United States, 1; The Struggle for Reform in China, 13; Missions and Missionaries in China, 26; America's Duty in China, 145; The Responsibility of the Rulers for the Disturbances in China, 158; America's Share in a Partition of China, 171; Causes of Anti-Foreign Feeling in China, 182; The Japanese View of the Situation in China, 198; The Gathering of the Storm in China, 208; America's Treatment of the Chinese, 214; The Empire of the Dead, 375; Commercial Aspect of the Yellow Peril, 389; The Root of the Chinese Trouble, 401; What

the Chinese Think of Us, 411; China and Russia, 528; China and the Western Powers, 692.
Christianity at the Grave of the Nineteenth Century, 817.
Christianity, Imperialism and, 289.
Christmas Carols, 949.
Citizens, Catholic, and Constitutional Rights, 594.
Citizenship, Catholics and American, 320.
CLARK, FRANCIS E. The Empire of the Dead, 375.
Colonial Possessions, Native Troops for Our, 847.
Commerce, International, A Century of, 664.
"Commerce, The Decline of British," 577.
Commercial Aspect of the Yellow Peril, 389.
Commons, Some Absurdities of the House of, 265.
Comte, Notes on, 55.
Confucianism in the Nineteenth Century, 359.
CONSTANT, BENJAMIN J. J. A Glance at the Wallace Collection, 704.
Constitutional Rights, Catholic Citizens and, 594.
CONWAY, MONCURE D. Memories of Max Müller, 884.
Crane, Stephen, 233.
CRISPI, F. China and the Western Powers, 692.
CROKER, RICHARD. Bryan or McKinley? 455.
CROWNRIGHT-SCHREINER, S. C. The Settlement in South Africa After the War, 124.

D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE. The Third Life of Italy, 627.
DAVIDS, T. W. RHYS. Buddhism, 517.
Dead, The Empire of the, 375.
"Decline of British Commerce, The," 577.
Democrats, The Duty of, 296.
Dependent Children, State Care of, 112.
Disturbances in China, The Responsibility of the Rulers for the, 158.
DUNNELL, MARK B. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 829.
Duty of Democrats, The, 296.

Eastern Asia, Ocean Transportation to, 76.
ECKELS, JAMES H. Bryan or McKinley? 507.
Education Will Solve the Race Problem, 221.
Effects of Asiatic Conditions Upon International Policies, 609.
Election of 1900, The, 788.
Elections, Presidential, by Direct Popular Vote, 281.
Empire of the Dead, The, 375.
England—The Settlement in South Africa After the War, 124; The Ultimate Triumph of the Boers, 135; British Strategy in South Africa, 259; Some Absurdities of the House of Commons, 265; "The Decline of British Commerce," 577.
Far East, The—Mutual Helpfulness Between China and the United States, 1; The Struggle for Reform in China, 13; Missions and Missionaries in China, 26; Ocean Transportation to Eastern Asia, 76; The Projected Cable-Line to the Philippines, 82; America's Duty in China, 145; The Responsibility of the Rulers for the Disturbances in China, 158; America's Share in a Partition of China, 171; Causes of Anti-Foreign Feeling in China, 182; The Japanese View of the Situation in China, 198; The Gathering of the Storm in China, 208; America's Treatment of the Chinese, 214; The Empire of the Dead, 375; Commercial Aspect of the Yellow Peril, 389; The Root of the Chinese Trouble, 401; What the Chinese Think of Us, 411; China and Russia, 528; Misunderstood Japan, 566; Effects of Asiatic Conditions Upon International Policies, 609; The Industrial Revolution in Japan, 677; China and the Western Powers, 692.
FARRAR, F. W. Imperialism and Christianity, 289.
Filipinos' Vain Hope of Independence, The, 333.
FLOURNOY'S "From India to the Planet Mars," 734.
Forecast of the Twelfth American Census, 90.
FOORD, JOHN. The Root of the Chinese Trouble, 401.
"From India to the Planet Mars," 734.
Future of the Anglo-Saxon Race, The, 802.

GAMBETTA, LÉON. Notes on Spencer, Buckle, and Comte, 55.
Gambetta's Methods of Study, 55.
GARIBALDI, RICCIOTTI. Monarchy and Republic in Italy, 811.
Gathering of the Storm in China, The, 208.
GILES, HERBERT ALLEN. Confucianism in the Nineteenth Century, 359.
Glance at the Wallace Collection, A, 704.
Great Religions of the World, The—Confucianism in the Nineteenth Century, 359; Buddhism, 517; Mohammedanism in the Nineteenth Century, 754; Brahmanism, 920.
GROSVENOR, CHARLES HENRY. A Republican View of the Presidential Campaign, 41.

HALE, CHANDLER. The Projected Cable-Line to the Philippines, 82.
HALES, JOHN W. Chaucer, 712.
Hamlet, On Seeing Madame Bernhardt's, 908.
HANDIBOE, JOHN. Presidential Elections by Direct Popular Vote, 281.
HARRISON, FREDERIC. Christianity at the Grave of the Nineteenth Century, 817.
HAWLEY, WALTER L. The Part of the People and of the States in Choosing the President, 273.
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, The, 829.

HAZELTINE, M. W. Lord Playfair, 65.
Hermitage, The Picture Gallery of the, 600.
Historians, New York and Its, 724; 872.
HOAR, GEORGE F. Bryan or McKinley? 473.
HOLDER, CHARLES F. America's Treatment of the Chinese, 214.
HOLLAND, JOHN P. The Submarine Boat and Its Future. 894.
HOPPER, NORA. Christmas Carols, 949.
House of Commons, Some Absurdities of the, 265.
HOWARD, O. O. British Strategy in South Africa, 259.
HOWELLS, W. D. The New Historical Romances, 935.
HYSLOP, JAMES H. "From India to the Planet Mars," 734.

Imperialism America's Historic Policy, 246.
Imperialism and Christianity, 289.
Independence, The Filipinos' Vain Hope of, 333.
Industrial Revolution in Japan, The, 677.
INGALLS, M. E. The Duty of Democrats, 296.
International Commerce, A Century of, 664.
International Policies, Effects of Asiatic Conditions Upon, 609.
"*In Terra Pax*," 663.
IRELAND, ALLEYNE. Commercial Aspect of the Yellow Peril, 389.
Italy, Monarchy and Republic in, 811.
Italy, The Third Life of, 627.

JACKSON, A. W. James Martineau, 543.
Japan—The Japanese View of the Situation in China, 198; Misunderstood Japan, 566; The Industrial Revolution in Japan, 677.
JOHNSTON, CHARLES. The Struggle for Reform in China, 13; Nihilism and Anarchy, 302.
Jubilee of the Printing Press, 861.

LEVESON-GOWER, G. "*In Terra Pax*," 663.
LEWIS, ROBERT E. The Gathering of the Storm in China, 208.
LOMBROSO, CESARE. The Ultimate Triumph of the Boers, 135.
LYALL, SIR A. C. Brahmanism, 920.

MAHAN, A. T. Effects of Asiatic Conditions Upon International Policies, 609.
MALONE, THOMAS H. Catholic Citizens and Constitutional Rights, 594.
MANN, OSKAR. Mohammedanism in the Nineteenth Century, 754.
Martineau, James, 543.
Max Müller, Memories of, 884.
MCFAUL, JAMES A. Catholics and American Citizenship, 320.
McKinley, Bryan or? 433.
Memories of Max Müller, 884.
Misunderstood Japan, 566.
Missions and Missionaries in China, 26,
Modern Government, 769.
Mohammedanism in the Nineteenth Century, 754.
Monarchy and Republic in Italy, 811.
MULHALL, MICHAEL G. Forecast of the Twelfth American Census, 90.
Mutual Helpfulness Between China and the United States, 1.

Native Troops for Our Colonial Possessions, 847.
New Historical Romances, The, 935.
New York and Its Historians, 724; 872.
Nihilism and Anarchy, 302.
Nineteenth Century, Christianity at the Grave of the, 817.
Notes on Spencer, Buckle, and Comte, 55.
Notes on the Art of Robert Louis Stevenson, 348.

Ocean Transportation to Eastern Asia, 76.
O'CONNOR, T. P. Some Absurdities of the House of Commons, 265.
OKUMA, COUNT. The Industrial Revolution in Japan, 677.
OMOND, G. W. T. Notes on the Art of Robert Louis Stevenson, 348.
On Seeing Madame Bernhardt's Hamlet, 908.
Oporto, The Plague at, 104.
OSWALD, F. L. The Assassination Mania, 314.
OZAKI, Y. Misunderstood Japan, 566.

Part of the People and of the States in Choosing the President, The, 273.
Peace Movement, Present Status and Prospects of the, 653.
PEFFER, W. A. Imperialism America's Historic Policy, 246.
People, The Part of the, and of the States in Choosing the President, 273.
Peril, The Commercial Aspect of the Yellow, 389.
Philippines—The Projected Cable-Line to the Philippines, 82; The Filipinos' Vain Hope of Independence, 333.
PHILLIPS, CLAUDE. The Picture Gallery of the Hermitage, 600.
Picture Gallery of the Hermitage, The, 600.
Plague at Oporto, The, 104.
PLATT, T. C. Bryan or McKinley? 486.
Playfair, Lord, 65.
Poetry—"*In Terra Pax*," 663; Christmas Carols, 949.
Popular Vote, Presidential Elections by Direct, 281.
Powers, The Western, China and, 692.
Present Status and Prospects of the Peace Movement, 653.
President, The Part of the People and of the States in Choosing the, 273.
Presidential Campaign—A Republican View of the Presidential Campaign, 41; The Issue of the Campaign, 433; Causes of Southern Opposition to Imperialism, 439; Support of Mr. Bryan by Sound-Money

Democrats, 446; The Interest of the first Voter, 455; The Anti-Imperialist Position, 460; The Vital Issues of the Campaign, 468; President McKinley or President Bryan? 473; The Cost of a Blunder, 486; The Paramount Issue, 489; The Presidential Election—Our Duty, 495; What Ought a Gold Democrat to Do? 507; The Election of 1900, 788.
Presidential Elections by Direct Popular Vote, 281.
Printing Press, The Jubilee of the, 861.
Progress of the American Woman, 904.
Projected Cable-Line to the Philippines The, 82.

QUINCY, JOSIAH. China and Russia, 528.

Race Problem, Education Will Solve the, 221.
Race, The Future of the Anglo-Saxon, 802.
Reform, The Struggle for, in China, 13.
REINACH, JOSEPH. Gambetta's Methods of Study, 55.
Religions of the World, Great—Confucianism in the Nineteenth Century, 359; Buddhism, 517; Mohammedanism in the Nineteenth Century, 754; Brahmanism, 920.
Republican View of the Presidential Campaign, A, 41.
Responsibility of the Rulers for the Disturbances in China, The, 158.
Retrogression of the American Woman, 748.
ROBINS, ELIZABETH. On Seeing Madame Bernhardt's Hamlet, 908.
Romances, The New Historical, 935.
Root of the Chinese Trouble, The, 401.
Russia—China and Russia, 528.

SEAMAN, LOUIS LIVINGSTON. Native Troops for Our Colonial Possessions, 847.
Settlement in South Africa After the War, The, 124.
SHEPARD, EDWARD M. Bryan or McKinley? 446.
Sherman, Why General, Declined the Nomination in 1884, 243.
SHERMAN, W. T. Why General Sherman Declined the Nomination in 1884, 243.
Situation in China, The Japanese View of the, 198.
SMITH, CHARLES EMORY. Bryan or McKinley? 468.
SMYTH, GEORGE B. Causes of Anti-Foreign Feeling in China, 182.
Some Absurdities of the House of Commons, 265.
South African Republic—The Settlement in South Africa After the War, 124; The Ultimate Triumph of the Boers, 135; British Strategy in South Africa, 259.
Spencer, Buckle, and Comte, Notes on, 55.
STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. Progress of the American Woman, 904.
State Care of Dependent Children, 112.
States, The Part of the People and of the, in Choosing the President, 273.
STEVENSON, ADLAI E. Bryan or McKinley? 433.
Stevenson, Notes on the Art of Robert Louis, 348.
STEWART, WILLIAM M. Bryan or McKinley? 489.
Storm in China, The Gathering of the, 208.
Struggle for Reform in China, The, 13.
Study, Gambetta's Methods of, 55.
Submarine Boat and Its Future, 874.
SÜTTNER, Baroness BERTHA VON. Present Status and Prospects of the Peace Movement, 653.

TAYLOR, BENJAMIN. "The Decline of British Commerce," 577.
Third Life of Italy, The, 627.
THOMPSON, FLORA MCDONALD. Retrogression of the American Woman, 748.
TILLMAN, B. R. Bryan or McKinley? 439.
Transvaal—The Settlement in South Africa After the War, 124; The Ultimate Triumph of the Boers, 135; British Strategy in South Africa, 259.
Treaty, The Hay-Pauncefote, 829.

Ultimate Triumph of the Boers, The, 135.
United States—Mutual Helpfulness Between China and the United States, 1; Ocean Transportation to Eastern Asia, 76; The Projected Cable-Line to the Philippines, 82; Forecast of the Twelfth American Census, 90; The Part of the People and of the States in Choosing the President, 273; Presidential Elections by Direct Popular Vote, 281; The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 829; Native Troops for our Colonial Possessions, 847.

VAN RENSSELAER, Mrs. SCHUYLER. New York and Its Historians, 724; 872.

Wallace Collection, A Glance at the, 704.
WASHINGTON, BOOKER T. Education Will Solve the Race Problem, 221.
WELLS, H. G. Stephen Crane, 233.
Western Powers, China and the, 692.
What the Chinese Think of Us, 411.
WHIBLEY, CHARLES. The Jubilee of the Printing Press, 861.
Why General Sherman Declined the Nomination in 1884, 243.
WILCOX, MARRION. The Filipinos' Vain Hope of Independence, 333.
WINSLOW, ERVING. Bryan or McKinley? 460.
Woman, Progress of the American, 904.
Woman, Retrogression of the American, 748.
WRIGHT, HENRIETTA CHRISTIAN. State Care of Dependent Children, 112.
WU TING-FANG. Mutual Helpfulness Between China and the United States, 1.

Yellow Peril, Commercial Aspect of the, 389.

DUBOIS, PENNSYLVANIA.

Situated in the very heart of one of the richest bituminous coal-fields in the world, and surrounded by natural advantages that have made DuBois what it is, and insure for the city a greater future than even its most sanguine and enthusiastic inhabitants have thought possible, the claim that it is destined to become the leading inland city of Northern and Central Pennsylvania can well be sustained. Thirty years ago its site was covered by heavy forests of pine and hemlock; less than twenty years ago it was but a hamlet; and ten years ago it suffered almost total destruction by a fire, made memorable by its extent, the greater part having been reduced to ashes, including the main business and residence parts. Yet, Phœnix-like, it rose from the ruins, and each successive year has witnessed remarkable growth and increased activity along all lines that contribute to a city's growth and prosperity. The year about to close shows marked advancement in commercial, manufacturing, and industrial movements, the greatest in the city's history, and today it stands as one of the most progressive centres of population in Central Pennsylvania.

Located high in the Alleghanies, near the water-shed that divides the headwaters of the Susquehanna and Alleghany rivers, the town enjoys a varied but healthful and salubrious climate, the mortality rate being among the lowest claimed for any in the State. Possessing a population of more than 10,000 souls, a very respectable showing for a city of its age, the growth being steady and permanent, the city enjoys municipal advantages and their natural results, the installing of electric light and power, street cars, paved streets, excellent and ample school facilities, good water and sewerage systems, manufactories and industries that provide plenteous work to well-paid employees, good business opportunities, and a growing trade and population, the surest and most certain advantages that any centre of population could hope to possess.

It has not been many years since the lumbering business constituted the sole industry of the town and region. The founding of DuBois can be attributed to the foresight and forethought of Mr. John DuBois, a man who amassed millions in the lumber trade and keenly perceived that the future held something ever greater and richer in store for the town and community. Naturally, while the lumbering operations were at their height, the practice of agriculture was retarded, but fine farms have taken the places of denuded woodlands, and the soil has proven itself to be well adapted to the growing of the leading cereals of the Northern States, as well as to fruits and vegetables, and is rapidly being utilized for that purpose.

Briefly reviewed, the growth of DuBois can be attributed to the following natural advantages: The immense deposits of bituminous coal that are being reached by various companies whose names are familiar in all the leading markets along the sea-board ports, form an important industry. It furnishes employment to hundreds of men and directly affects the railroad interests, whose business it augments and stimulates. The extensive lumber manufactories are destined to play a conspicuous part in the business of the town for many years, employing many men in its various departments. Hand in hand with the lumbering business goes the tanning industry, two large plants being located in DuBois and manufacturing many different varieties of leather. The glass-making industry is yet in its infancy, but is destined to become one of the city's leading manufacturing enterprises. Two large factories are located in close proximity, and both are turning out glass of excellent quality. The sand is obtained in the vicinity, and is of unlimited quantity. By experts it is considered to be of unusual quality and especially adapted to the making of window-glass. Manufactured stone is another important industry, the product being in demand all over the State. Being the natural railroad outlet for this part of the State, DuBois is assuming a position as a railroad centre, several of the most important lines traversing the central portion of the State reaching DuBois. This fact has induced one of the largest coal-carrying roads to erect large locomotive and repair works in the city, on which work at the present time is rapidly progressing. The presence of such extensive institutions in the town will induce other like concerns to locate.

To accommodate the rapid business and manufacturing impetus, the attention of the municipal board is being directed to an enlarged water supply, and during the coming year work will be commenced on an extension that will insure an abundance of excellent mountain water, sufficient for a population much in excess of the present, and for manufacturing purposes as well.

The central location of DuBois and its splendid railroad facilities have attracted many wholesale houses. During the past few years a number of like concerns have found DuBois a suitable point and have extensive establishments. Others are erecting similar places or have them under contemplation. The business portions of the city have been built up solidly, and the merchants are carrying larger stocks than ever before and are enjoying an increased trade from year to year. The city has excellent banks, up-to-date clothing, dry-goods, grocery, and other mercantile establishments, and rapid means of transit to the larger cities of Pennsylvania and New York. All branches of trade are being stimulated by the excellent outlook for the future and improved business conditions, and those who have pinned their faith to the progressive "Mountain City" of Central Pennsylvania have no occasion to regret their decision.

M. I. McCREIGHT.

A Few of Many Unsolicited Testimonials.

"Your magazine is far and away ahead of all other magazines to teachers and thoughtful people."—E. W. WRIGHT, *Teachers' Examiner*, Lunenburg, Vt.

"The subscribers among the clergy ought to be greatly increased in numbers."—Rev. L. R. DEWOLF, Belgrade, Neb.

"I consider THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW the very best book that comes to my table."—M. D. PACE (Teacher), Troy, Ala.

"I desire to express my unqualified satisfaction with the contents of the REVIEW."—A. M. BROBST, Kankakee, Ill.

"I assure you that I appreciate the great improvement of the REVIEW under its present editorial management. In my judgment it easily ranks first among magazines."—Rev. E. C. MOULTON, Red Oak, Ia.

"Permit me to express my admiration for your ability in placing THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW where it is to-day. From a newsdealer's standpoint the merit of the magazine sells it. Our sales for the last number of more than 200 copies is phenomenal for a high price Review."—T. J. MCBRIDE (Newsdealer), New York.

"Herewith please find my check in payment of bill for renewal subscription. The great journal is a necessity to my happiness now, having enjoyed it for so many years."—THAD. A. REAMY, M.D., LL.D., Prof. in Medical College, Cincinnati.

"Your estimable REVIEW I have read for years, but, alas! owing to meagre circumstances into which a poor parish, such as this, has placed me, I have been unable to subscribe to it personally. To-day, despite my still stringent circumstances, I feel it no extravagance on my part to cheerfully subscribe to it, cost what it will; for a Catholic priest must be, besides his ecclesiastical requirements, a man as universally informed as can be. Hence it is that, as I consider your magazine the foremost in this country for the importance of the subjects it treats and the master pens that produce them, I most readily enclose herein my subscription."—Rev. H. L. PINARD, Lecompte, La.

"I enclose a year's subscription to your valuable magazine, which I consider by far the best of its kind in the United States."—Rev. EDWARD R. DODDS, Rawlins, Wyo.

"I have been familiar with THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for a number of years. I have always admired it, but allow me to say that I think it has recently improved very greatly."—Judge WM. GORDON ROBERTSON, Roanoke, Va.

"Permit me to add that I feel you are meeting the need of every minister's library for a wider and more accurate knowledge of the true political condition of the world. Permit me to congratulate you on the improved condition of the REVIEW under the new management."—Rev. PERCY HARTLE GORDON, Burgettstown, Pa.

"I have been a reader of the REVIEW for six years and cannot get along without it or some publication of kindred scope and excellence. Since the marked improvement in the REVIEW, dating from last May, there is no rival publication of equal excellence. The REVIEW clearly leads them all."—Rev. W. P. GRAHAM, Jamestown, N. Y.

"I consider the REVIEW the best periodical that is published."—Rev. C. H. MILLER, Schuyler, Neb.

"I cannot afford to be without the REVIEW as a man, a citizen, or a preacher."—Rev. GEO. M. BAILEY, Searsmont, Me.

"The broad and comprehensive view of affairs the REVIEW gives is truly refreshing."—Rev. B. R. BLACK, Mullica Hill, N. J.

"I thoroughly appreciate the magazine, and do not feel as if I could ever do without it."—S. B. DELANO, Fulton, Neb.

"The REVIEW is extremely valuable to our students."—ANNIE R. WHITE, Librarian, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

"It is one of my best helps."—Rev. B. L. MCELREY, Ann Arbor, Mich.

"Your journal is *par excellence* the best."—A. B. FARQUHAR, York, Pa.

"Your magazine is still first by a more marked superiority than ever."—Rev. ELVIN J. CURRY, Baltimore, Md.

"I know of no other review on the market at present that is so well calculated to educate the public mind on the great questions of the day as THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW."—Rev. M. J. CREGAN, Kansas City, Mo.

"I wish you could know how much I enjoy reading your magazine."—Rev. MARSHALL R. GAINES, Austin, Tex.

"I wish to add that no magazine has improved as much during the past year as THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, that I have seen."—L. W. BRIGGS, Treasurer State Normal School, Oshkosh, Wis.

"Enclosed please find one year's subscription. I would willingly pay that much for the latest number of your very useful REVIEW."—Rev. M. S. LIEBANA, Los Angeles, Cal.

"Allow me to say that I have such a high appreciation of the REVIEW that I cannot afford to miss its monthly visits."—Rev. RICHARD PACEY, Brimfield, Ill.

"The contents of every issue is a compliment to the intelligence of its readers and a monument to the genius of its editor."—Rev. O. R. THOMAS, Franklin, Pa.

"It is the most valuable magazine of which I know."—Rev. W. E. I. D'ARGENT, Geneseo, Ill.

"Permit me to say that I am more and more pleased with the REVIEW; it has no equals."—Rev. MAYO CABELL MARTIN, El Paso, Tex.

"Enclosed find postal-money order for $5.00 to pay subscription for current year. . . . I do not begrudge the money. The June number would be cheap at $5.00"—J. M. O'NEILL, Attorney-at-Law, Yreka, Cal.

INSURE IN

The TRAVELERS

OF HARTFORD, CONN.

OLDEST,

LARGEST,

and BEST.

Life, Endowment, Accident, and . . . **Employer's Liability Insurance** of all forms. . . .

HEALTH POLICIES.

INDEMNITY FOR DISABILITY CAUSED BY SICKNESS.

LIABILITY INSURANCE.

Manufacturers and Mechanics, Contractors, and Owners of Buildings, Horses, and Vehicles, can all be protected by policies in THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE COMPANY. . .

ASSETS, $29,046,737.45

LIABILITIES, ... **24,926,280.61**

EXCESS (3½ per cent. basis), **4,120,456.84**

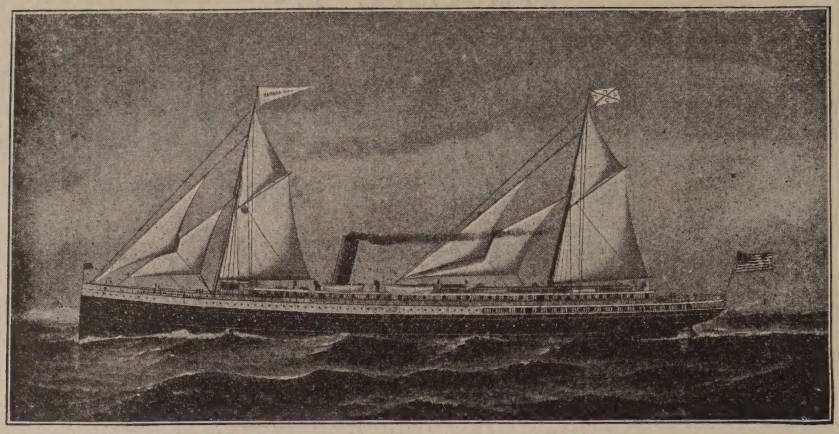
GAINS: 6 MONTHS, JANUARY TO JULY, 1900.

In Assets, ...	$1,286,225.89
Increase in Reserves (both Departments), .	1,128,534.12
Premiums, Interest, and Rents, 6 Months, .	4,055,985.62

J. G. BATTERSON, President.

S. C. DUNHAM, Vice-President.
JOHN E. MORRIS, Secretary.

H. J. MESSENGER, Actuary.
E. V. PRESTON, Sup't of Agencies.



Steamer City of Augusta.

The Savannah Line Steamship Co.,

runs seven magnificent modern steamships between Savannah, Ga., New York and Boston. They have superb passenger accommodations and a cuisine unexcelled. On their tables they serve exclusively

Once used by the hostelry where epicures dine its use has never been discontinued. The only argument ever urged against it is the price—"it costs more because it is worth more." Following is a partial list of the famous hostelries in the United States, where it is served exclusively:

HOTEL BROADMOOR, Colorado Spg's, Colo.
HOTEL COLORADO, Glenwood Spg's, Colo.
ARLINGTON, Hot Springs, Arkansas
GRAND HOTEL, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia
BATTERY PARK, Asheville, N. C.
GRAND HOTEL, Cincinnati, Ohio
DENVER & RIO GRANDE Dining Cars
PULLMAN PALACE CARS
L. S. & M. S. Dining Cars
B. & O. S. W. Dining Cars
BARTHOLDI, New York
C. R. I. & P. Dining Cars
IMPERIAL, New York
DEL PRADO, Chicago
WABASH R. R. Dining Cars
TONY FAUST'S, St. Louis
SCHENLEY HOTEL, Pittsburg
COTTON BELT Parlor Cafe Cars
HAMPSHIRE ARMS, Minneapolis
SHANLEY'S CAFES, New York
THE MORAINE, Highland Park, Ill.

The same blend of coffee served by the list of hostelries mentioned above—"FAUST BLEND"—is on sale generally by grocers throughout the U. S., at 45 cents per pound, in packages convenient for the family—one, two and three pound air tight tins and in bulk.

A 3-lb can, whole, ground or pulverized of your grocer, $1.30; or of us, prepaid east of the Rocky Mountains, if he will not supply you. Signature on every can.

"Over the Coffee Cups," a new booklet by Mr. C. F. Blanke, tells all about coffee; gives several recipes for making it and tells how to care for the coffee pot. Send a postal card for it.

C. F. BLANKE TEA & COFFEE CO., St. Louis, U. S. A.

Londonderry
LITHIA WATER
THE PEER OF TABLE WATERS

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

AUGUST, 1900.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

The Duty of America. JOHN BARRETT, *Formerly United States Minister to Siam.*

The Responsibility of the Rulers. Lieut. CARLYON BELLAIRS, R.N.

America's Share in the Event of Partition. DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

Causes of Anti-Foreign Feeling. GEO. B. SMYTH, *President of the Anglo-Chinese College at Foochow.*

The Japanese View of the Situation. A JAPANESE DIPLOMAT.

The Gathering of the Storm. ROBERT E. LEWIS.

America's Treatment of the Chinese. CHARLES F. HOLDER.

Education will Solve the Race Question. A Reply. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, *President of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.*

Stephen Crane. H. G. WELLS.

Why an Old Soldier Declined the Presidency. The Late General W. T. SHERMAN.

Imperialism America's Historic Policy. W. A. PEFFER, *Formerly United States Senator from Kansas.*

British Strategy in South Africa. Gen. O. O. HOWARD, U.S.A.

Some Absurdities of the House of Commons. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.

CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT.

The Part of the People and of the States. WALTER L. HAWLEY.

Election by Direct Popular Vote. JOHN HANDIBOE.

SEPTEMBER, 1900.

Imperialism and Christianity. The Very Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., *Dean of Canterbury.*

The Duty of the Gold Democrat. MELVILLE E. INGALLS, *President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway.*

Nihilism and Anarchy. CHARLES JOHNSTON.

The Assassination Mania. Dr. FELIX L. OSWALD.

Catholics and American Citizenship. The Rt. Rev. J. A. MCFAUL, *Bishop of Trenton.*

The Vain Hope of the Filipinos. MARRION WILCOX.

The Art of Robert Louis Stevenson. G. W. T. OMOND.

Confucianism in the Nineteenth Century. HERBERT A. GILES, *Professor of Chinese in Cambridge University.*

THE OUTBREAK IN CHINA.

The Empire of the Dead. The Rev. F. E. CLARK, D.D., *President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor.*

Commercial Aspect of the Yellow Peril. ALLEYNE IRELAND.

The Root of the Chinese Trouble. JOHN FOORD, *Secretary of the American Asiatic Association.*

What the Chinese Think of Us. STEPHEN BONSAL.

OCTOBER, 1900.

BRYAN OR McKINLEY?

The Present Duty of American Citizens.

FOR BRYAN: ADLAI E. STEVENSON, *Democratic Candidate for the Vice-Presidency;* Senator B. R. TILLMAN; EDWARD M. SHEPARD; RICHARD CROKER; and ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary of the New England Anti-Imperialist League.*

FOR MCKINLEY: Postmaster-General CHARLES EMORY SMITH; Senators G. F. HOAR, T. C. PLATT, and W. M. STEWART; ANDREW CARNEGIE; and JAMES H. ECKELS, *formerly Comptroller of the Currency.*

The Great Religions of the World.—II. Buddhism. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, *Professor of Buddhist Literature in University College, London.*

China and Russia. JOSIAH QUINCY.

James Martineau. The Rev. A. W. JACKSON.

The Decline of British Commerce: A Reply. BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

Misunderstood Japan. Y. OZAKI.

Catholic Citizens and Constitutional Rights. The Rev. T. H. MALONE.

The Picture Gallery of the Hermitage.—IV. CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

NOVEMBER, 1900.

Asiatic Conditions and International Policies. Captain A. T. MAHAN, U. S. N.

The Third Life of Italy. GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO.

Present Status and Prospects of the Peace Movement. Baroness BERTHA VON SÜTTNER.

"In Terra Pax." G. LEVESON GOWER.

A Century of International Commerce. O. P. AUSTIN, *Chief of the Bureau of Statistics.*

The Industrial Revolution in Japan. Count OKUMA, *Formerly Prime Minister of Japan.*

China and the Western Nations. F. CRISPI, *Formerly Prime Minister of Italy.*

A Glance at the Wallace Collection. J. J. BENJAMIN CONSTANT.

Chaucer. JOHN W. HALES, *Professor of English Literature in King's College, London.*

New York and Its Historians.—I. Mrs. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER.

"From India to the Planet Mars." J. H. HYSLOP, *Professor of Logic and Ethics in Columbia University.*

Retrogression of the American Woman. FLORA MCDONALD THOMPSON.

The Great Religions of the World.—III. Mohammedanism. OSKAR MANN.

Wherever I go, I find it!

Wherever children look for Santa Claus, Schlitz beer is known and is the standard. In Vladivostok, Pretoria, Shanghai, Singapore, Bombay, Cairo and Constantinople, it is the beer of civilization.

Schlitz beer has won the world's markets by its reputation for purity, maintained for half a century. Wherever white men live, Schlitz beer is acknowledged the pure beer. Our pledge to you, and our pledge to all nations, is that never will a bottle of Schlitz go out until we have insured its purity; never a bottle insufficiently aged.

Schlitz beer, wherever you find it, is healthful.

With all the changes of centuries Ale has never lost its hold on the public appetite, and never in its past history has it been brewed in the perfection shown in

EVANS' Ale and Stout

There you find the luscious flavor of the malt judiciously blended with that of the fragrant hop—ale as it should be. Evans' is the first and only ale without a particle of sediment. Ideal brewing and bottling.

THE TYPEWRITER EXCHANGE.

EIGHT STORES { 1½ Barclay Street, New York. 88 Bromfield Street, Boston. 124 LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill. 432 Diamond St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 8 W. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md. 817 Wyandotte Street, Kansas City. 208 North Ninth Street, St. Louis. 536 California St., San Francisco, Cal.

A GOOD TYPEWRITER IN YOUR OFFICE will demonstrate its advantages.

Send for samples of writing, with prices, etc. Largest and most complete stock of second-hand Typewriters of any house in the trade. Machines shipped, privilege of inspection. **Title to every machine guaranteed.**

20TH CENTURY ELECTRO-VAPOR LAUNCHES

will be used exclusively at the Pan American Exposition, because they are the best. They are elegantly finished, simple, seaworthy, safe, reliable, and **FULLY GUARANTEED.** Stock sizes 15 to 50 ft. **$150** buys a Launch this year. Send 10c. for handsome catalogue of Steam and Sail Yachts, Row Boats, Canoes, etc. Order now; avoid spring rush.

RACINE BOAT MFG. CO., (Box R), Racine, Wis.

If afflicted with SORE EYES USE Dr. ISAAC THOMPSON'S EYE WATER

If afflicted with SORE EYES USE Dr. ISAAC THOMPSON'S EYE WATER

QUAKER FOLDING VAPOR BATH CABINET

600,000 SOLD. A home necessity. **Opens the millions of pores,** draws out the poisons which cause disease. Cooling, refreshing in hot weather. Preserves health. **Prevents disease.** Provides Turkish and Vapor Baths at home 3c each. **Beautifies complexion.** Physicians recommend it for **Colds, Fevers, Rheumatism, Obesity, Female Ills, Asthma, Hay Fever, Blood, Skin, Kidney and Nerve Diseases.** Guaranteed. Best made. Every improvement. Easily carried. **Price complete $5.00.** Head Attachment $1.00 extra. **Order today. Valuable BOOKLET FREE.**

AGENTS WANTED—$100 a Month and Expenses.

The WORLD MFG. CO., 52 World B'ld'g, Cincinnati, O.

[We recommend above firm as reliable.—Publisher.]

MORPHINE

EASY HOME CURE

PAINLESS— PERMANENT

We will send anyone addicted to **OPIUM, MORPHINE, LAUDANUM,** or other drug habit, a **Trial Treatment, Free of Charge,** of the most remarkable remedy ever discovered. Contains **Great Vital Principle** heretofore unknown. **Refractory Cases** solicited. Confidential correspondence invited from all, especially **Physicians.** ST. JAMES SOCIETY, 1181 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

OLD CLUB HOUSE 1860 WHISKEY

WARRANTED PURE AND SOFTENED BY AGE ONLY.

MACY & JENKINS - 67 LIBERTY STREET, N.Y.

ESTABLISHED 1844.

Work Well

Remington

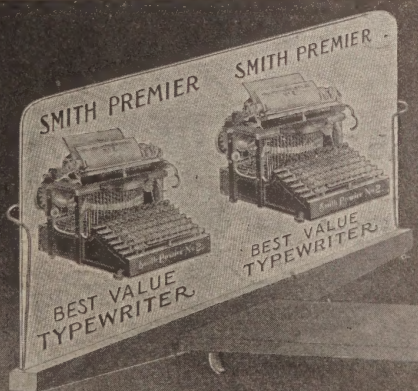
Typewriters

Wear Well

A BUSINESS LIFE PRESERVER

THE YOST TYPEWRITER.

YOST WRITING MACHINE CO.
320 Broadway, N.Y.



one of America's far famed Views

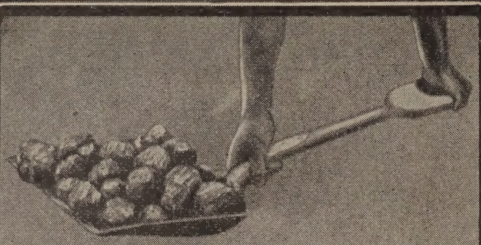
Don't take our Views on the subject, look into it and see for yourself.

THE SMITH PREMIER

THE BEST VALUE TYPEWRITER.

ILLUSTRATED PRINTED MATTER FREE.

THE SMITH PREMIER TYPEWRITER CO. SYRACUSE N.Y.



THIS IS THE COAL
THAT MAKES THE STEAM
THAT TURNS THE WHEELS
THAT PULL THE TRAIN
ON THE

Lackawanna Railroad

HARD COAL MEANS No Smoke No Dust.

SHORT LINE BETWEEN
NEW YORK AND BUFFALO
NEW YORK AND CHICAGO VIA BUFFALO

FAST TIME BETWEEN
NEW YORK & ST. LOUIS
Through Palace Sleeping and Parlor Cars.

DINING CAR SERVICE WITHOUT PEER
POPULAR PRICES.

For Information Rates etc.
429 Broadway, New York.
103 Adams St., Chicago.
26 Exchange Pl. New York.

B. D. CALDWELL, TRAFFIC MANAGER.
T. W. LEE, GEN'L PASS. AGENT.

COLORADO, UTAH, ARIZONA, AND NEW MEXICO.

Contain marvelous scenery, great varieties of climate and wonders that all should see. The way to reach them is by the

NEW YORK CENTRAL LINES.

Copy of the Illustrated Catalogue of the "Four-Track Series," New York Central's books of travel and education, will be sent free, post-paid, to any address on receipt of a postage-stamp, by George H. Daniels, General Passenger Agent, Grand Central Station, New York.

Big Four

The 'Buffalo Route' to

1901
Pan-American
Exposition

Big Four Route in connection with Lake Shore & Michigan Southern and New York Central R. R. offers the finest equipped train service at frequent intervals to Buffalo from South and West.

M. E. Ingalls, President.
Warren J. Lynch, Genl. Pass. Agt.
W. P. Deppe, A. G. P. A.
Cincinnati.

Papa wears this kind when he's all dressed up - for it's

"LION BRAND."

STANMORE 3¼" high
LINDEN 3⅛ "
LAKOTA 2⅞ "
TANUS 2⅝ "
SAMOA 2⅜ "

COLLARS CUFFS AND SHIRTS

TRADE MARK TRADE MARK

You cannot feel dressed if ill at ease. You cannot be at ease if your collar doesn't fit. Your collar cannot fit you unless it fits the shirt, and you cannot get collars and shirts in one brand fitted to each other with cuffs to match unless you buy Lion Brand collars, cuffs, and shirts. Two collars or two cuffs cost 25 cts. It doesn't pay to pay more. Shirts cost $1, $1.50, or $2, depending on the kind you want. Ask your furnisher. Do not send us money. **United Shirt and Collar Co., Makers, Troy, N.Y.**

Williams' Shaving Stick

"The Only Kind that Won't Dry on the Face"

SOLD EVERYWHERE.

Williams' Shaving Stick, 25c.
Genuine Yankee Shaving Soap, 10c.
Luxury Shaving Tablet, 25c.
Swiss Violet Shaving Cream, 50c.
Williams' Shaving Soap (Barbers'), 6 Round Cakes, 1 lb., 40c. Exquisite also for toilet. Trial cake for 2c. stamp.

The only firm in the world making a specialty of SHAVING Soaps

THE J. B. WILLIAMS CO.
Glastonbury, Ct.
LONDON PARIS DRESDEN SYDNEY

$18 to $35 WEEKLY and Expenses | **MEN and WOMEN** At Home or Traveling

Mr. Smith, of Ind., made $927.50 first 6 months. Albert Hill, of N. J., $238 first month. Mr. Muncy, of Texas, $12.50 first 2 hours. Carrie Williams, clerk, $144 in 6 weeks. Mrs. Hitchcox, $222, besides housekeeping.

LET US START YOU—no experience. **Our agents made $47,000 last month** supplying enormous demand for our famous Quaker Bath Cabinet, and appointing agents. Wonderful seller. Everybody buys. **No scheme, fraud or fake methods. Write today** for Proposition, New Plan, etc., **free.**

The WORLD MFG. CO., 47 World B'ld'g, Cincinnati, O.

[We recommend above firm as reliable.—Publisher.]

TYPEWRITER HEADQUARTERS,

102 Fulton st., New York, sell all makes under half price. Don't buy before writing them for unprejudiced advice and prices. Exchanges. Immense stock for selection. Shipped for trial. Guaranteed first class. Dealers supplied. 52-page illus. cat. free.

University Shoe

(Trade-Mark.)

Heaviest oily grain leather —tan colored. Watertight construction. Comfortable and nearly indestructible. Send for pamphlet.

J. P. TWADDELL,
1210-1212 Market Street,
Philadelphia.

If afflicted with SORE EYES USE Dr. ISAAC THOMPSON'S EYE WATER

Awarded
"GRAND PRIX"
Paris Exposition
1900

Jaeger PURE WOOL UNDERWEAR

Send for Illustrated Catalogue.

New York: { 16 West 23d Street / 166 Broadway
Brooklyn: 504 Fulton Street
Boston: 169 Tremont Street
Philadelphia: 924 Chestnut Street
Chicago: 74 State Street

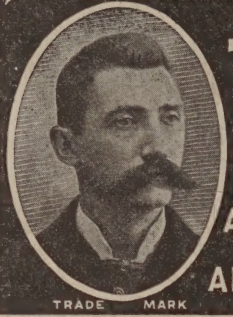
All the largest and fastest gas-propelled yachts on the Great Lakes are equipped with

SINTZ

Send for Catalog GAS ENGINES Send for Catalog

SINTZ GAS ENGINE CO.
Box A, Grand Rapids, Mich.

MENNEN'S
BORATED TALCUM



TOILET POWDER
AFTER BATHING AND SHAVING.

TRADE MARK

Delightful After Bathing
A Luxury After Shaving

A POSITIVE RELIEF FOR
CHAPPED HANDS, CHAFING,

and all afflictions of the skin. Removes all odor of perspiration.

Get **MENNEN'S** (the original), *a little higher in price, perhaps, than worthless substitutes, but there is a reason for it.*

Refuse all other powders, which are liable to do harm.

Sold everywhere, or mailed for **25 cents.** (*Sample free.*

GERHARD MENNEN CO., Newark, N. J.

THE ST. PAUL ROAD

SUPERBLY EQUIPPED

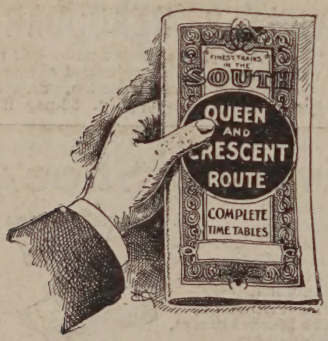
Pioneer Limited Trains

BETWEEN **CHICAGO** AND

OMAHA DES MOINES MILWAUKEE
LA CROSSE WINONA
ST. PAUL MINNEAPOLIS FARGO
ABERDEEN SIOUX FALLS
SIOUX CITY COUNCIL BLUFFS DUBUQUE
DAVENPORT CEDAR RAPIDS
OTTUMWA KANSAS CITY ROCK ISLAND
ROCKFORD BELOIT
JANESVILLE MADISON WAUKESHA
OCONOMOWOC GREEN BAY
OSHKOSH IRON MOUNTAIN MARQUETTE
"THE COPPER COUNTRY"

and a thousand other cities and towns on 6400 miles of first-class road owned by the
CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE & ST. PAUL RAILWAY.

F. A. MILLER
General Passenger Agent., CHICAGO.



So Much Like Home

QUEEN & CRESCENT through trains, like some households, have a homelike atmosphere. Travellers notice it quickly, and the fatigue of travel vanishes before it. Careful attendants look to your every comfort; your meals (a la carté) are not surpassed in the best hotels; your rest is unbroken on the smooth, rock ballasted roadway; you pass through some of the most interesting scenery in America.

Winter Tourist Tickets are sold at reduced rates

Why not write us about it? Only 24 hours Cincinnati to Florida. Direct connections at Port Tampa and Miami for Key West, Nassau and Havana. We quote rates gladly. Handsome printed matter sent free to inquirers.

W. J. MURPHY, GEN'L MANAGER. CINCINNATI. W. C. RINEARSON, GEN'L PASS'GR AGENT.

AMERICA'S MOST POPULAR RAILROAD
C&A C&A C&A C&A
CHICAGO AND ALTON RAILROAD.
C&A C&A C&A C&A
PERFECT PASSENGER SERVICE BETWEEN

CHICAGO AND KANSAS CITY.
CHICAGO AND ST. LOUIS.
CHICAGO AND PEORIA.
ST. LOUIS AND KANSAS CITY.

Through Pullman service between Chicago and

HOT SPRINGS, Ark., DENVER, Colo.,
TEXAS, FLORIDA, UTAH,
CALIFORNIA AND OREGON.

If you are contemplating a trip, any portion of which can be made over the Chicago & Alton, it will pay you to write to the undersigned for maps, pamphlets, rates, time tables, etc.

GEO. J. CHARLTON,
General Passenger and Ticket Agent,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

If Your Friend is a Camera "Fiend,"

Give him (or her) a

Goerz Lens

for Christmas.

This cut proves the speed of the

Goerz Double Anastigmat Lenses.

The negative was made over two years ago, when the series 3 Double Anastigmats worked at a maximum opening of F : 7.7. They now work at F : 6.8, and are thus about 25 per cent. faster than they used to be. Neither the price nor other properties have changed. Ask for full descriptive price-list from your dealer or from the manufacturer.

C. P. GOERZ OPTICAL WORKS, 52 East Union Square, New York.

TO INVESTORS

Whether your capital is much or little, you are interested in learning where it can be advantageously invested.

YOU WANT TWO THINGS:

First, as good security as is consistent with business prudence, and *second*, as large profits as possible. You do not wish to speculate in uncertain securities, nor to risk the loss of your capital on a mere chance to "get rich quick."

If you knew of some good proposition that would realize you a larger return than from 2½ to 5 per cent, you would consider it, provided it did not involve too great risks.

I OFFER SUCH OPPORTUNITIES

Before placing your money elsewhere, send for my propositions and compare them with others. My line is realizing investors upwards of

6EN PER CENT

Every one who has invested with me is satisfied with his security.

My propositions are equally desirable for the investor of $100 and the one with $100,000. The reason, because they are not speculative in their nature but are in permanent business enterprises that will yield steady and lucrative profits.

Send for my pamphlets, "Short Talks With Investors."

6ESTIMONIAL

"I have been acquainted with Cassius M. Paine for a number of years and know him to be an honorable and upright man. I have confidence in his personal integrity and business ability, and do not hesitate to recommend to him persons who want to do business with a courteous, straightforward and reliable gentleman."

E. P. RIPLEY	PRESIDENT A., T. & S. F. R'Y SYSTEM	CHICAGO
A. J. EARLING	PRESIDENT C., M. & ST. P. RAILWAY	CHICAGO
H. C. HAARSTICK	PRES'T ST. L. & M. V. TRANS. CO.	ST. LOUIS
HENRY L. LITTLE	MANAGER PILLSBURY MILLS	MINNEAPOLIS
CHARLES E. COFFIN	PRES'T CENTRAL TRUST CO.	INDIANAPOLIS
JOHN OMWAKE	TREAS. U. S. PLAYING CARD CO.	CINCINNATI
PATRICK CUDAHY	PRES'T CUDAHY BROTHERS CO.	MILWAUKEE
WM. W. ALLIS	PRESIDENT E. P. ALLIS COMPANY	MILWAUKEE
ALFRED JAMES	PRES'T NORTH-W'N NAT'L INS. CO.	MILWAUKEE

Solicitor of ✕ *Commercial Investments*

CASSIUS M. PAINE
61-A New Insurance Building
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Organizer of ✕ *Business Enterprises*

THE AUDIT COMPANY
OF NEW YORK.

Queen Building,
Cedar and William Sts.,
New York City.

New York Life Bldg.,
La Salle and Monroe Sts.,
Chicago.

AN AUDIT BY THIS COMPANY IS A GUARANTEE THAT

1. The books have been closed in a proper manner.
2. Any carelessness or irregularities have been discovered.
3. The simplest modes of book-keeping have been suggested.
4. If the books do not present a true commercial situation, the fact will have been pointed out.

Inspections of books are made without charge, for the purpose of quoting prices. Terms are reasonable because of the dispatch with which audits are made and reports are furnished. Managerial oversight is given to all accounting.

Hanson Brothers

BANKERS AND BROKERS

Dealers in High-Grade Investment Securities

Correspondents in New York, London and Paris

CANADA LIFE CHAMBERS
MONTREAL, CANADA

FOR GOUT & RHEUMATISM
Use the Great English Remedy
BLAIR'S PILLS
Safe, Sure, Effective. 50c. & $1
DRUGGISTS, or 224 William St., N. Y.

MASON, LEWIS & CO.

BANKERS,

BOSTON - - 60 DEVONSHIRE ST.
CHICAGO - Jackson & Dearborn Sts.

State, Municipal, Railway and Corporation **BONDS**

Circulars upon application Correspondence and personal interviews invited.

A Sharp Point

can be kept on *Dixon's American Graphite Pencils* without breaking off every minute. They write smoothest and last longest. Ask your dealer for

DIXON'S PENCILS

or mention THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and send 16 cents for samples worth double the money.
JOSEPH DIXON CRUCIBLE Co., Jersey City, N. J.

He was overboard struggling for life and shouting for help. Some one threw him a crowbar. The intention was kindly, but the act was inconsiderate. Consider the aid you intend for your family.

PENN MUTUAL LIFE,
921-3-5 Chestnut Street,
Philadelphia.

The Provident Life & Trust Co.
OF PHILADELPHIA.

Insurance in Force, $129,000,000. Assets, $40,000,000.

Low Death Rate; Small Expense Rate; Conservative Management.

The Real Estate Trust Company

....OF PHILADELPHIA....

S. E. Corner Chestnut and Broad Streets.

Capital (full paid), - - - - $1,000,000

Surplus and Undivided Profits, - - $600,000

Receives Deposits of Money payable by check, and allows Interest thereon. Collects Interest, Dividends, and Income of all kinds whatsoever.

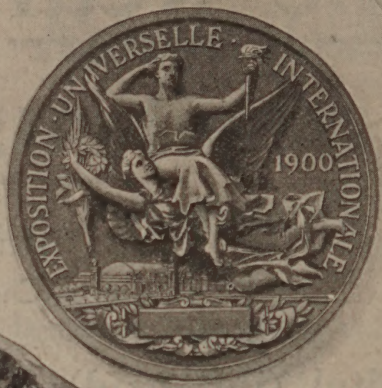
Receives for safe keeping Securities and other valuables, and rents Safe Deposit Boxes in Burglar Proof Vaults. Buys, sells, and leases Real Estate in Philadelphia and its vicinity. Assumes general charge and management of Real and Personal Estates.

Executes Trusts of every description under the appointment of Courts, Corporations, and Individuals. Acts as Registrar or Transfer Agent for Corporations and as Trustee under Corporation Mortgages. Receives Wills for safe keeping without charge.

FRANK K. HIPPLE, President.
WILLIAM R. PHILLER, Secretary.
WILLIAM F. NORTH, Treasurer.
THOMAS B. PROSSER, Real Estate Officer.

DIRECTORS:

FRANK K. HIPPLE,
CHARLES W. HENRY,
JOHN F. BETZ,
EDWARD P. BORDEN,
GEORGE PHILLER,
JOSEPH DE F. JUNKIN,
WILLIAM W. PORTER,
JOHN H. CONVERSE,
GEORGE JUNKIN, SOLICITOR.
R. DALE BENSON,
WILLIAM A. PATTON,
S. WEIR MITCHELL M.D.,
SAMUEL F. HOUSTON.



THE
PRUDENTIAL
HAS THE
STRENGTH OF
GIBRALTAR

The Only American Life Insurance Company

Awarded a Gold Medal at the Paris International Exposition of 1900 was

THE PRUDENTIAL

Insurance Company of America.

Home Office:
Newark, N. J.

Write for information.

John F. Dryden,
Prest.

Boston Public Library
Central Library, Copley Square

Division of
Reference and Research Services

The Date Due Card in the pocket indicates the date on or before which this book should be returned to the Library.

Please do not remove cards from this pocket.

AUG 1 1901